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THE FOUNDING OF THE COLONY OF NEW HAVEN
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HISTORY
of
New Haven County
CONNECTICUT

By
MARY HEWITT MITCHELL, B. A., Ph. D.



VOLUME I

Illustrated

Chicago — Boston
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FOREWORD

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The subject of study in this book is a consideration of New Haven County as a unit, rather than as the sum of a number of towns within a prescribed geographical area, though the latter would have been in many ways the easier task. This aim has necessitated a topical treatment, and occasionally has involved consideration of some material from different points of view. An example is the acquisition and division of land, considered first in connection with the arrival of settlers and again in connection with agriculture. It also meant the omission of much interesting matter relating to the various towns, a circumstance of less regret since omissions must happen in any study covering so large and varied a region, and one with a history extending over so long a period of time. New Haven County is one of the oldest parts of our country, and moreover contains within itself institutions such as Yale University and part of the "New Haven System," whose history alone would fill several volumes.

The results of even the incomplete investigation into county activity which it has been possible to make in the time allowed have often been negative, and in some cases the county seems to disappear from sight and become merely a geographical division. But the amount of its activity and its continuous employment as a convenient division for organization are surprising.

The writer wishes to make most grateful acknowledgment to the Librarian and officials of the Yale University Library for generous consideration in the use of their facilities; to the New Haven Colony Historical Society; to the Chambers of Commerce; to the officials of the New York, New Haven and Hartford Railroad Company for the loan of material and for a file of the magazine *Along the Line*; to Mr. Henry C. Rowe for an account of the Oyster Industry; and to the Secretary of the New Haven Water Company for a short history of that organization. Acknowledgments to those who have most kindly allowed the use of pictures for illustrations are given in each case.

Specific references to books and articles used would obviously have produced a mass of footnotes, but, even without them, it is equally obvious that the main sources of information were the histories of the various towns. It is also obvious that there is need of new histories bringing the account down to the present, and supplementing the work of the older historians. Such work has recently been done for the Old Stone Church of East Haven, and the Old Parish of Mount Carmel, and it is understood, is in process of compilation for Derby. The biographies of individuals in town histories, and in publications such as "The Commem-

orative Biographical Record of New Haven County," Chicago, 1902, are important sources of information. Similar histories of business houses and of particular industries, such as is given in "The Brass Industry in Connecticut," by William G. Lathrop would be equally valuable. Besides this general acknowledgment of indebtedness, a list of the publications principally used is given at the end of this volume. Those who are familiar with this material will readily recognize the extent of dependence on these authorities.

In leaving a work of whose short-comings the writer is more conscious than anyone else can be, she can do no better than quote a sentence written nearly one hundred years ago, "The candour of the reader, we trust, will excuse imperfections which are unavoidable in a work of this description."

Mary Hewitt Mitchell

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INTRODUCTORY

PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS OF NEW HAVEN COUNTY

New Haven County lies in the southern part of Connecticut on the shore of Long Island Sound, in the western half of the State. To the east lies Middlesex County, to the north Hartford and Litchfield, to the west Fairfield and Litchfield Counties, and to the south the Sound. Its average length from east to west is 26 miles, and its average width from north to south 21 miles. From the extreme northwestern point in Southbury to the extreme southeastern point in Madison is about 35 miles. It contains approximately 385,920 acres, about one eighth of the area of the State. Politically it is divided into 26 towns.

The whole county slopes gradually toward Long Island Sound, along the shore of which is a strip of land, fairly level, of varying width up to four or five miles, which is above the level of the sea. Topographically the county, small though it is, forms the southern end of the three districts that subdivide Connecticut, or even all of southern New England. These are the Central Lowland, the Eastern and the Western Highlands. The Central Lowland in this county forms a strip which is about twelve miles wide, at the northern boundary, and which remains about constant in width till near the city of New Haven, when it shrinks to a width of five miles, with New Haven harbor at the center. The strip runs nearly north and south, with a slight slant toward the northwest. Its western limit falls near the center of the county just between West Rock and the highland of which Woodbridge and Bethany form a part. It comprises almost the eastern half of the county. Madison, most of Guilford, and the northern fringes of Branford and East Haven are not included in the valley.

The valley is a sandy plain which slopes so slowly upwards that around Meriden it attains a height of only one hundred feet or so above sea level. It is drained by the Quinnipiac, the Mill, and the West rivers and their affluents, all rising within the county except the Quinnipiac, which takes its start in Southington. The sandy soil is in general easily cultivated and yields good crops if properly fertilized. In some places, as around Wallingford, it is so sandy that it is even today a barren waste.

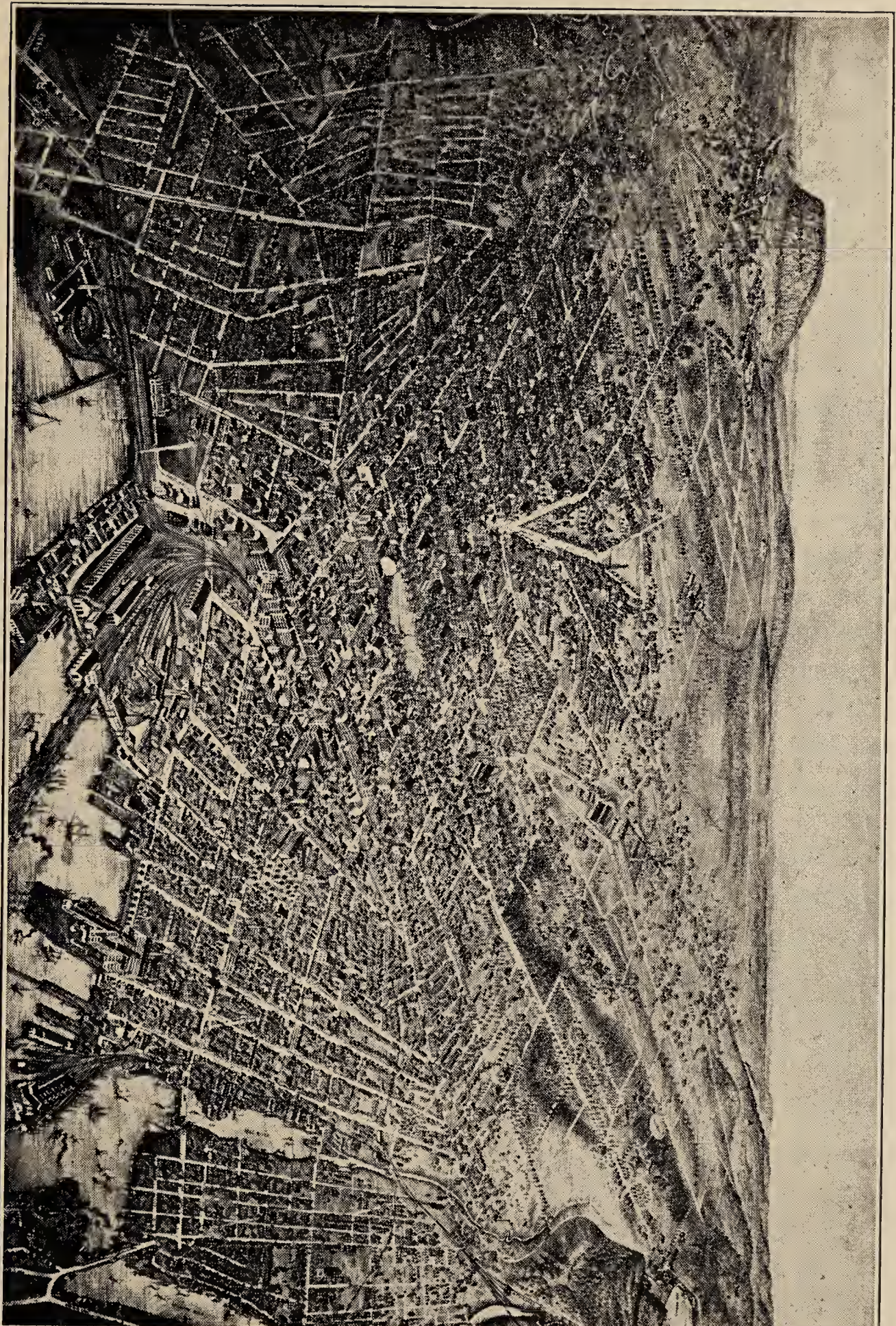
Picturesque features of this plain are the ridges of trap rock or volcanic lava rock, running north and south, of various lengths from several miles to a few hundred rods. In general they exhibit a precipitous face to the west and a gentle slope down to the plain on the eastern side. There are four series of ridges: one begins with West Rock at New Haven and runs along the western edge of the plain to the northern boundary of the county; three other series rise in the eastern half of the plain and

take a slight northeast and southwest direction. Some of the best known ridges are East Rock, Pine Rock, Saltonstall, Totoket Mountain, the Hanging Hills of Meriden, the last as picturesque in name as in appearance. Far off in the western corner of the county is another trap rock ridge running up from Southbury to Woodbury. These ridges are a characteristic feature of the central valley clear up into Massachusetts. Mt. Tom, Mt. Holyoke, Sugar Loaf and many others belong to them. They are covered only by thin soil, and have never been cultivated except on the sides near the bases, and are today, as in earlier times, covered with forests, which have often been cut away. They vary in height from Pond Hill (Saltonstall) 240 feet, and hills that are even lower near the Sound; East Rock, 359 feet; West Rock, 405 feet; Totoket Mountain, 600 feet; Mt. Carmel, 737 feet; to the Hanging Hills of Meriden, 877 feet. In general the ridges decrease in height as we go from north to south.

The western half of the county forms the southern end of the Western Highland of Southern New England. It comprises a rough, rocky area with the tops of hills and ridges eight and nine hundred feet above sea level in the northern part of the county, gradually sloping down to 400 feet in Woodbridge, four or five miles from the Sound, and then the surface drops more rapidly toward the sea level. Between the hills and ridges the streams have cut deep gullies and valleys with steep banks, but the air and water have not been able to wear the tops down much. The foundation is covered with a heavy gravelly soil, containing innumerable pebbles and boulders varying in size from a baseball to a rock weighing a thousand tons. Such soil is hard to cultivate, even when the stones are cleared away. It contains however abundant plant food, and resists drought, so that when the farmer has with infinite labor tilled these hills, he obtains rich rewards.

The southeastern corner of the county contains only a small fraction of the total area. It includes the town of Madison, all of Guilford, except the northwestern portion, and the southern parts of Branford and East Haven. It forms the extreme southern part of the Eastern Highland of Connecticut, and is similar in all respects to the Western Highland, only it has no hills or ridges as high as those in the western part of the county, because its whole area lies more to the south, nearer the Sound.

It is noteworthy, that if one looks at the landscape from some height like West Rock or Mt. Carmel, where he can view the hills of both central valley and highlands, the lines formed by ridges and hills are almost level. If you consult a map that records the height of elevations you find striking regularity. In Madison there are various hills from 350 to 400 feet high; in North Madison some rise as high as 500 feet; similarly in Guilford. The trap rock hills, as we have seen, vary from 240 feet near the coast to nearly 900 feet in the north of the county. In Orange and Milford they vary from sea level up to 300 feet and go on rising up to 800 feet in Southbury, Middlebury and Wolcott. Thus as Professor Rice says, an enormous sheet of cardboard would rest upon the tops of hills in the



(Courtesy of R. C. Chamberlain, New Haven)

NEW HAVEN, 1879

The city at the end of the central plain. At right and left, East and West Rocks, the ends of ridges of volcanic (trap) rock; and the Quinnipiac, Mill and West rivers.

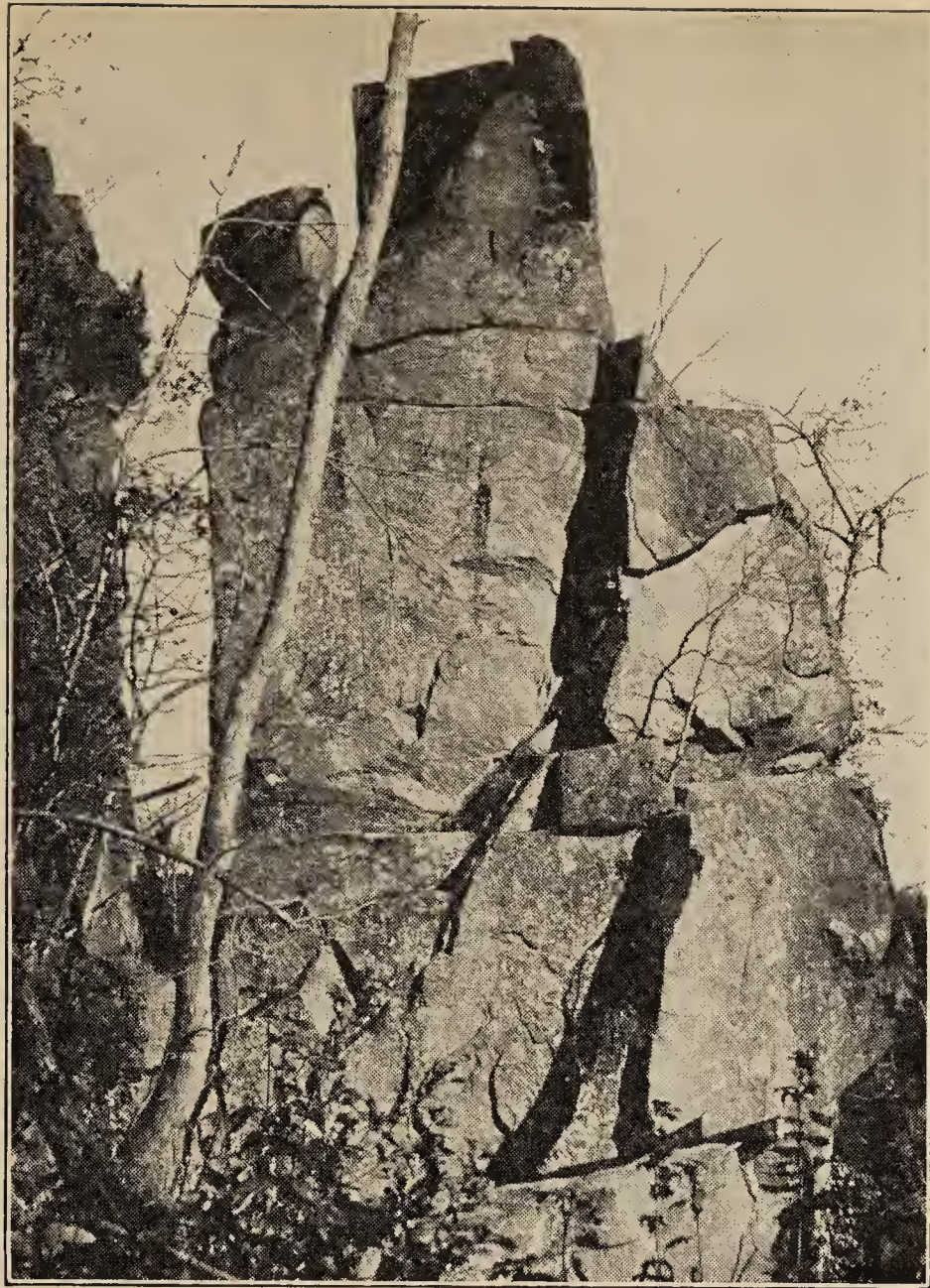
whole county, and would have an inclination from north to south. Such a condition suggests that in older geologic time the county formed part of a nearly level plateau, whose top is represented by the crests of the present peaks and ridges.

How then did the present topography of the county, its plains and hills, rivers, lakes, rocks and soil arise? For all of its modern history is affected by the changes that occurred in the dim past of cosmic time.

Geologists tell us that the rock underlying the great Central Lowland is quite different from the rock of the Eastern and Western Highlands. The Lowland rocks are arranged in parallel beds or strata, sometimes horizontal, but usually with an inclination toward the east and southeast. They are formed from sediment deposited by water and then formed into rock by pressure from the weight of many hundreds of feet of this sediment. Formed in comparatively recent (geologic) time, they are among the softer rock structures of the earth. Given a moderate time, as geologists reckon it, water and atmosphere will readily wear them down. One exception to these remarks must be noted, the trap rocks or ridges. They are igneous rocks formed by heat and then cooled, far harder than the sedimentary rock of most of the Lowland.

The rocks of the Eastern and Western Highlands are of a different variety. Part of them were original sedimentary rock, but they have been subjected to far greater pressure and to the action of heat, gases, and chemicals so that they have lost their original stratified character and have become much harder than they were originally. Part too of these rocks are igneous in origin and have been solidified from a state of fusion. These too have been greatly changed by pressure and by chemical processes underneath the surface of the earth. Thus there are these unyielding rocks of the Highlands and the trap rock ridges of similar character and the other softer rocks of the Lowland plain. The oldest rock is naturally that of the Highlands. We have now to note the part played by this structure in the development of New Haven County.

An early geologic map of Connecticut would show a narrow valley, extending across the State north and south where the Quinnipiac and the Farmington valleys are now located. Through its center was an estuary with a narrow opening into the ocean about where New Haven now stands. On either side of the valley were lofty mountains which were gradually being worn down by water and washed into the central valley and estuary. This process continued until the mountains had been greatly worn down, and the central valley had been covered with many layers of sediment. Then, apparently as a result of the shrinking of the earth the crust of Connecticut was tilted upwards with a southerly and easterly dip. This caused the water in the central estuary to flow into the ocean, and there is therefore a great river which takes its rise in Massachusetts and empties into the ocean, passing through the middle of the county. This elevation of the crust pushed the Connecticut River off to the east at Middletown, and so it followed its present valley to the sea. The



(Photograph by E. G. Wooster, New Haven)

“THE DEVIL’S PULPIT”

Face of Third Mountain, Mt. Carmel, showing volcanic rock of the central plain



(Photograph by E. G. Wooster, New Haven)

FACE OF THIRD MOUNTAIN, MT. CARMEL
Showing volcanic rock of the central plain

tilting of the crust cracked it and at three or four different times, lava poured through the cracks, once at least to a thickness of hundreds of feet, and hardened into trap rock. Later the surface shifted where these cracks are, the rock west of the crack sliding down and the rock east of it, the trap rock, sliding up, leaving thus a vertical face to the west. During this time, the work of water and atmosphere went on, until long afterwards all of Connecticut was a great plain hardly above the level of the sea. This formation scientists call a peneplain. Such was New Haven County, with the great Farmington-Quinnipiac River flowing south to the ocean through the center. But it is to be noticed that its surface exhibits two sorts of rock. The bases of the mountain ridges to the east and to the west are extremely hard rock, primitive, only in the course of countless ages eroded. The rock in the central plain is new sedimentary rock recently hardened by pressure, but not nearly so compact or unyielding as the bases of the old Alpine ranges.

Another change intervened. The surface of the whole state was tilted up again so that the northwest corner was at least 2,000 feet higher than before, and the whole surface again sloped to the south and a little to the east. This caused all the streams to flow more swiftly and the work of erosion began anew more vigorously. The softer rock of the central plain was again in great part worn away and the central lowland again formed. But the ridges of harder volcanic rock that had broken through the crust could not so readily be eroded, and consequently after a time, the trap rock ridges appeared with the precipitous faces, to the west and the gentle slope to the east. On the Highlands, east and west, the work of the streams on the hard crystalline rock did not result in formation of a great plain as in the central valley. Rather, rivers and brooks wore deep gulleys and valleys with steep banks, leaving the watersheds between without much change.

At the close of this period the topography of the county was very similar to that of today with some significant differences. There was a single great river through the center, the Farmington-Quinnipiac, larger in volume and deeper than any river we have today, rising far up in Massachusetts. There were no lakes; no great boulders; no huge piles of coarse rock, gravel, sand and clay (drumlins) scattered here and there all over the lowland and the highland. But the central valley, its trap rock ridges, the highlands deeply depressed, the Naugatuck, the Housatonic, and the West rivers were all there. The final change was now to come to prepare the county for the settlers, the great ice cap coming down one or more times, scraping off the soil which had already been formed and carrying it out to sea, sowing boulders of all sizes everywhere, dropping everywhere mounds and hills of gravel, sand, etc.—glacial drift. This forms much of our present arable soil. As the ice melted, the streams carried in solution the sand which forms great sandy plains in the central valley, in places they deposited the great clay beds of Hamden and North Haven. Scraping along the surface, piling up heaps of gravel, it checked

the courses of streams and thus formed lakes and ponds. A great body of earth was let fall north of New Haven County, which stopped the flow of the Farmington River south, turned it north until it finally broke through between two ridges of trap rock to empty into the Connecticut River.

To the glacier therefore we owe the Mill and Quinnipiac as they exist today draining the great plain of the county. To the tilting and to the glacial drift we owe the steep beds and swift currents and rapids of our streams. In general, they do not form highways to the interior. The Quinnipiac has, it is true, served the people of Wallingford somewhat as a waterway, for we read of travel from New Haven part way to Wallingford. The Housatonic, too, is navigable to Derby. They have served to a far greater extent to drive grist mills, fulling mills, saw-mills, from the earliest times of European settlement, and in this way they have fostered early agriculture and commerce. In the development of manufacturing they played an indispensable role by furnishing power for the machines. Hand power and horse power could do but little. The real advance came with the employment of water power. Only in 1870 did steam reach a par with water as a source of power in manufacturing. It is fair therefore to attribute not only the foundation but the development of manufacturing in New Haven County nearly to the close of the nineteenth century to the power derived from its streams.

At some time during the prehistoric ages the coast of New Haven County began to sink. Thereby we have the numerous small inlets, etc., helpful as harbors when seagoing vessels were smaller. The mouths of streams on a sinking coast form harbors. The mouth of the East River in Guilford and Madison formed a port where anciently a New York packet landed and where, too, ships were built. Guilford harbor, now somewhat too shallow, was in former days an important port, and in the same town Sachem's Head harbor formed a small, deep harbor whence ships used to sail even to the West Indies. Branford harbor and River were within recent times an important shipping and shipbuilding point. New Haven harbor extends five miles inland and is a mile wide. It is lengthened for smaller vessels by the lower course of the Quinnipiac and the Mill rivers. In depth, it ranges from $7\frac{1}{2}$ to 24 feet at low tide, and at high tide vessels of 22 feet can reach the dock. Today two great breakwaters protect the mouth of the harbor, the depth is maintained by dredging, and the United States government continues to spend money on it. It is a port of entry, but its chief importance is no longer its foreign, but its coastwise commerce. However one can see that New Haven possessed a natural harbor adequate to all needs of great commerce and shipbuilding before the advent of steam and the great iron ships.

Milford has a harbor once of considerable importance. Gradually it filled with mud so that vessels were unable to dock, but at the close of the 19th century the United States dredged it and it became again usable. In the 17th and 18th centuries, Milford merchants carried on a con-

siderable coastwise and foreign trade, the latter chiefly with the West Indies, and shipbuilding was a vigorous local industry.

The lower Housatonic River, along the western boundary of the county was a harbor. Some boats were built in Milford territory at Wheeler's farm. But its chief significance lay in the harbor of Derby, twelve miles from the mouth. From earliest times sea trade was carried on, and far down into the 19th century ships were built and launched at Derby.

The county thus had ample opportunity afforded by the character of the coast to develop trade with America and abroad and when other conditions were favorable, the opportunity for marine development was adequately embraced.

From the ice age came the lakes of New Haven County, and the lakes of the interior that have played a part in New Haven economy. There is Quassapaug between Woodbury and Waterbury, Saltonstall in East Haven, Quonnipaug in Guilford, Long Meadow Pond in Middlebury, to mention only the largest. They are important in two ways, first as sources of water for the great industrial populations of the county. They are inadequate, for they have to be supplemented by artificial dams of various water companies. Secondly, the lakes and ponds feed the streams so that they run uniformly throughout the year. This made it possible to run mills all the year round, of extreme importance when water was the chief source of power.

In minerals, New Haven County is not rich from an industrial standpoint, though geologists say that there are specks of all sorts of minerals here. There is no coal and, today, no iron of value.

Formerly, (in 1655-1680) they found iron in a bog in North Haven, carried it to East Haven both overland and by water down the Muddy River, where there was a bloomery. This was a furnace where the ore was smelted by means of charcoal. As happened everywhere at that time the result of the smelting was to produce a lump of mixed steel, wrought iron and cast iron, very difficult to reduce. Perhaps one of the reasons for the early abandonment of the furnace was that the technical difficulties were too great for the skilled labor that was available. At all events after a determined effort to develop an iron industry, it was permanently abandoned, leaving to the lake now called Saltonstall its memory in the name of Furnace Pond.

Copper existed in Wallingford. In 1712 mining was begun, but stopped because of too much water. In 1718 another unsuccessful effort was made, and in 1737 a new company, called the Golden Parlour Mining Company, was formed to work the abandoned mines. It was thought that gold as well as copper might be found. One account exists of £132 13s 1d expended. More work may have been done, but if so it was soon given up. Some other efforts at mining in that region were made without much success. Native copper has frequently been found in Connecticut. A mass of six pounds was found in Wallingford, not far from the Hartford turnpike. New Haven County thus has no mineral wealth.

The building stone is of some value. The most abundant and widely



(Photograph by E. G. Wooster, New Haven)

“THE SLEEPING GIANT,” MT. CARMEL



(Courtesy of E. G. Wooster, New Haven)

FROM TOP OF EAST ROCK, 1863 Showing New Haven Harbor and shipping

distributed is red sandstone, found in many places, especially in Fair Haven. "Where care is taken," says Professor Rice, "to place the blocks in a wall with the lamination horizontal, the stone proves very desirable." Stony Creek granite is quarried in a number of localities and makes good building material. The trap rock, of which there is abundance, forms splendid material for our modern hard roads.

The hard gravelly, and stony soil of the highlands which made our agriculture relatively so indifferent goes back to the glacial drift of the ice cap. When the glacier was melting, the resultant streams of water sometimes flowed widely over a great nearly level stretch of rock, and deposited the material which they held in suspension to form a plain. Hence come the sandy loams of Hamden plains and the sandy plains along Wallingford. If the melting streams from the ice entered a body of quiet water, and the current thus became extremely slow, the heavier particles would be deposited near the shore. These areas formed the clay beds which are found today in Hamden and North Haven.

When the Europeans arrived, New Haven County was covered with forests, except for a strip along the sea, some salt marshes along the lower courses of the rivers and certain alluvial plains like those of the Naugatuck River. What kinds of trees grew in the woods? Many times cut off, it is impossible to say what the original timber was. The settlers took no pains to make an accurate list of the kinds of trees. We may hazard the conjecture that the chestnut then as now, was abundant; that the white pine, the maple, and various kinds of oak were everywhere to be found. Very likely elms, too, flourished. Lumbering was at times a great source of revenue.

Let us, therefore, form a picture of the physical characteristics of this county in 1638 when Davenport and his compatriots arrived. It was a land difficult to cultivate, with no mineral wealth other than brick clay and building stone; a land with good harbors, but no natural means of access to the interior. The ox, the horse, or man himself must bring the imports to the interior and the exports to the coast. Plenty of timber for building existed, even for export. It was a land with no ready agricultural or commercial wealth. There were no furs readily accessible; the settler had to trap or kill the animals himself, for there was no access to sources of the fur trade controlled by the native Indians. Why then did New Haven grow slowly for generations? There was nothing here to attract settlers in crowds. She had no trade for a century. Trade is two sided. You must sell, if you are to buy, and New Haven had little or nothing for a long time to sell, until she had by thrift and hard work and rigid economy accumulated some supplies. Finally, one advantage it had, it was on the route between Boston and New York, and not far from the latter. Some day that would be of inestimable advantage to New Haven, but not in 1640.



(Courtesy of Waterbury Chamber of Commerce)

VIEW OF THE SCENIC NAUGATUCK VALLEY, WATERBURY



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OUTLINE MAP OF NEW HAVEN COUNTY

SECTION I—NEW HAVEN COLONY 1638-1665

CHAPTER I BOUNDARIES

Ambassador Bryce in his *American Commonwealth* remarks that one reason why the county in the United States has drawn to itself no great part of the interests and affections of the citizens is that in general, it is an artificial entity and "presents a square figure on the map with nothing distinctive about it, nothing natural about it," as is the case with many of the English counties. "It is too large for the personal interest of the citizens: that goes to the township. It is too small to have traditions which command the respect or touch the affections of its inhabitants: these belong to the state."

However true that statement may be in general, some exception must be made in the case of New Haven County, for it has both variety of outline and a body of traditions. This county, as shown on a map today, is exceedingly irregular in its general contour,—an irregularity enhanced by smaller projections extending from the main outline in every direction, besides its general slant towards the northwest. The effect is that of a drawing by an unsteady hand, and immediately suggests that this peculiar leaf-shaped outline may form a pictorial representation of a history of changing boundaries. Additions of territory must have been made at different times, and accommodations of disputes, either with neighboring settlements, or with nature, in the shape of obstructing streams and hills. As to the latter, it has been said that the "original survey of New Haven colony contemplated a system of squares eighty by one hundred sixty rods with broad highways between," and an ignoring of possible rivers and mountains quite in keeping with the rigid character of its early settlers. Such a plan was in fact followed in laying out the town of New Haven.

To be strictly accurate, it should be added that this irregularity of outline is still further increased by the presence off the coast of several small islands which belong to the county, some of them with history and traditions of their own. Milford Island, and Money Island in the Thimbles, for instance, are said to have been hiding places for some of Captain Kidd's treasure. It is also a tradition that he sailed up the bay back of Meadow Street in New Haven, and buried treasure in the bank of the stream near Silver Street. Falcon Island, so named for the birds which frequented it, or Faulkner's Island to which the name was pop-

ularly changed, was bought by Andrew Leete in 1677, but was later claimed by the State of New York. About 1880 it was decided that it belonged to Connecticut. Shelter Island was sold by Stephen Goodyear in 1651 for "1,600 lbs. of good merchantable muscovado," (that is moist or unrefined sugar).

The first definition of the boundaries of the county is contained in a declaration of the Court of Election, May, 1666. Its vagueness and brevity show that the statement was made in the days of ignorance of exact geographical conditions and of their importance. "This court orders that from the east bounds of Guilford vnto ye west bounds of Milford shalbe for future one county wch shalbe called the County of N:Hauen." As three other counties were formed at the same time, ample opportunity was given for later discussions of boundary lines, when the "wilderness," as it was called for many years, should have become settled.

The first plantations in this territory in 1638, had naturally been made on the borders of Long Island Sound, with the advantage that one boundary at least was always visible and fairly unchanging. From these sea-side plantations men were soon tempted to push off into the wilderness in various directions. In the No Man's Land of uncertain ownership and no settlement, they encountered similar bands, not only from the other colonies within the present limits of this state, but of Dutch traders from New Netherlands as well. The result was, of course, frequent boundary disputes, with consequent shifting of lines. These disputes were particularly bitter with the Dutch, and led to a lively exchange of letters in English, Latin and Low Dutch, "whereof," complained Eaton, "I understand little, nor would your messenger though desired interpret anything in them." The dispute went beyond the exchange of letters, the Dutch seizing a ship in New Haven harbor, to which the authorities objected and "fownd it necessarie, & resolved by iust meanes, to asist and vindicate theyre right, in Newhauens lands and harbour, & theyre jurisdiction of both, that themselves & posteritie be not (through theyre neglect) inthralled & brought vnder a forreigne gouernment, by a ceisure made in theyre harbour vppon such an vnjust claime."

Governor Kieft, in 1646, denied the right of the English to any part of the coast of Connecticut, and especially New Haven, whose name he would not use, calling it instead by the Dutch name. "We protest," he wrote to the Commissioners of the United Colonies in session in New Haven, "against all your commissioners met at Red Mount, as against breakers of the common league, and also infringers of the rights of the lords, the states, our superiors, in that you have dared without our express and special consent, to hold your general meeting within the limits of New Netherlands."

In 1660, before the union of New Haven with Connecticut, and the reduction of the former from the position of an independent colony to that of a county, she had desired definition of the boundary towards Connecti-

cut "for the preuention of future differences that might otherwise arise betwixt us." Men were sent from New Haven to set the bounds, "with the help of Mantowees, an Indian ye late pprietor." Marks were put where Mantowees indicated the limits of his land, but in 1661 Connecticut protested formally. The authorities at Hartford wrote: "yor stretching yor bounds up towards us by markeing trees on this side Pilgroomes Harbour wch things as ye intrench upon or intrest soe they are not satisfying or contentful." They added the ominous words: "espetially in that we conceaue you cannot be ignorant of our real and true right to those parts of ye country where you are seated, both by conquest, purchase and possession." Connecticut also granted Jonathan Gilbert a farm there, and confirmed an Indian purchase by Edward Higbee in 1664.

When new centres of population of sufficient size were formed, new counties were created, until instead of the original four, there are now eight. This change was deprecated by Pres. Dwight, somewhat ungrammatically, but in the spirit of Mr. Bryce. "The distribution into eight [counties] was injudicious, as well as unnecessary. Great counties have a sense of importance, and dignity, which is eminently useful. It prompts to honourable and beneficial conduct; and prevents much of that, which is little, degrading, and of course mischievous."

When Litchfield County was formed in 1751, it took much territory from New Haven County, receiving New Milford, which, as its name suggests, had been bought and settled largely by people from Milford and annexed to New Haven County (1706). In 1780 it gained still more at the expense of New Haven County when the societies of Westbury and Northbury asked to be incorporated and annexed to Litchfield County as Watertown and Plymouth. On the other hand, Southbury in 1807 was changed from Litchfield to New Haven County, and there have been similar exchanges with other counties. Durham, which belonged to New Haven County from 1708 to 1799, then became part of Middlesex County.

Woodbury in 1675 was allowed to choose to which county it should belong. "This Court doth grant that Woodbury shall have liberty to choose what county they shall belong to, whether Hartford, New Haven, or Fayre-field." Meriden had a checkered career in this respect. Part of it was for many years in Hartford County, but in 1786 the parish of Meriden petitioned to be a town in the county of Middlesex, because the inhabitants would thereby be freed from great trouble, inconvenience and expense by going to a nearer courthouse. This petition was not granted, nor were similar ones made about ten years later. When Meriden was incorporated as a town in 1806, it was left in New Haven County. It had meanwhile lost part of its territory to the town of Berlin in Hartford County, on a similar petition from that region. This later change is represented by one of the irregularities of outline on the map of the county.

The old town of Guilford, with its history of an independent origin behind it, has made several efforts to become the head of a new county. At the following times bills to create such a county have passed the Lower

House:—1718, 1728, 1736, 1744, and 1753. In each case the Upper House failed to pass the measure. Even as late as 1824 a new project received some attention, when a committee was formed to petition the Legislature to set off the town to Middlesex County, if it could be made a half-shire town. Guilford was, however, made the seat of a probate district in 1719, one of the first of such districts separated from a county. It is interesting to note that the district was composed at that time of the towns named in the bill proposed in 1718, two of which have always been outside the limits of New Haven County, Saybrook and Killingworth.

Waterbury also has had an interesting history in this respect. In 1686 the General Court, changing the name of the young settlement from Indian "Mattatuck" to "Waterbury," descriptive of its abundant waters, annexed it to Hartford County. In 1710, for certain purposes it was put under the care of men from New Haven. Considering their remoteness, in this time of fear, from the county town of Hartford and its committee of war, men were appointed "in case of danger or the approach of the enemy, to raise and send men thither from the county of New Haven, for their relief, by scouting or lying in garrison there, as occasion may require." New Milford at about the same time was in a similar situation. Though belonging still to New Haven County, it was put under the care of the War Committee of Fairfield County. Waterbury in 1728 at its own request, on the grounds of convenience, was shifted to New Haven County, although it had been in 1719 put in the probate district of Woodbury. Like Guilford, Waterbury has tried at different times to form a new county. In 1752 a committee was appointed to "treat with the neighboring towns eastward and westward respecting a new county." In 1768 it received a suggestion from Woodbury that it should join in such a project, a proposal which was declined. In 1791 a similar suggestion was made, with a slightly different combination of towns, but no action was taken. Woodbury gave a favorable vote on condition that it became the county seat, and "that the courthouse and jail be erected without taxing the inhabitants of the new county." About 1870 another movement of this sort proposed a combination of towns from both New Haven and Litchfield counties, with Waterbury as the head town. Inducements were offered by the latter, an acre from the town farm for a jail, and the mayor was in favor of the project, but the natural opposition of the other counties, and the lack of general enthusiasm brought it to an end without result. Waterbury has, however, to a great extent, achieved this position, having been made a centre for the surrounding towns, (some of them outside the county), through the formation in 1881 of the District Court of Waterbury. It possesses a courthouse, one of the marks of a county seat.

Other towns have had the same ambition. In 1784 Cheshire voted to present a memorial to the General Assembly "for the purpose of having the town of Cheshire a half shire town with the privilege of holding the courts—Superior and the County courts—the half of their stated terms." The General Assembly did not act favorably on this memorial.



(Photograph by E. G. Wooster, New Haven)

NEW HAVEN HARBOR FROM THE PALISADES



WINTERGREEN FALLS, WEST ROCK

Other examples occur of towns having relationships with more than one county. During part of the time of its membership in New Haven County, Durham was in the Middlesex probate district; and Southbury is now in the probate district of Woodbury in Litchfield County. Wolcott in 1787 "Voted that we are willing and desirous to be incorporated into a town. * * * that it is our mind when made a town to be connected to New Haven County." When they were incorporated by the General Assembly in 1796, it was decided, although the dividing line of the counties of New Haven and Hartford ran from north to south through the centre of the society, "upon which line their Meeting-house was erected and stands; that their local situation is such, being obstructed in their travel eastwardly by a mountain, and other natural impediments," with great inconvenience in attending public meetings and services, that they should be assigned wholly to New Haven County.

It is interesting to note that there is a committee of the General Assembly today, "On New Counties and County Seats."

Even greater change and confusion exist concerning the boundaries of the settlements within the county, as may be inferred from the fact that it now contains nearly thirty towns instead of the four original settlements of Branford, Guilford, Milford and New Haven. These new towns have been formed by subdividing those already in existence. Thus Middlebury was incorporated, as its name records, from Waterbury, Woodbury, and Southbury, (the latter so called in turn because it had been taken from the southern part of Woodbury). Naugatuck was formed from Bethany, Oxford, and Waterbury; and Beacon Falls from Bethany, Oxford, Naugatuck and Seymour. Moreover, though the four original towns had been united for over twenty years in the Jurisdiction of New Haven, their lines did not all run in pleasant places. In October, 1667, soon after the formation of the county, the General Court was obliged to appoint a committee to view and consider the differences between New Haven and Milford respecting "theire bownds." It had previously, in May, recommended the inhabitants of the two towns to meet and agree about them, and "desired that ye towne of New Haven would so far condesend to there neighbours of Milford as to allow them a sufficiency of land for an outlett into the wilderness." These differences were settled soon after 1670, and the lines marked by such means as white oak trees with "stones cast at the roote," and "three chestnut trees growing from one roote." Bounds in another direction were settled at about the same time. "This court grants that the bownds of Milford shall extend northwarde into the country as farr as the bownds of New Haven doth." The first survey of New Haven's north boundary had just been made in 1672, "to run the Line for a tryall to see how farre twelve miles will reach from the sea northward into the woods." The first perambulation of the bounds was made in 1683, a ceremony occasionally performed afterwards.

In 1678, a new plantation having been made at Paugasset (Derby), it was necessary to view the lands between Milford and that place, and "to endeavour to make an accomodation between the people of those two

towns respecting the same." This line was fixed in 1680. The original area of Milford, which extended twenty miles north, was gradually reduced by the formation of successive towns within her borders, necessitating of course successive re-arrangements of boundaries. Her territory now is a little triangle of about six miles in length on either side. Seymour is another example of these changes. It has been at different times under four authorities:—at first it was part of Milford; as such it was also under the Jurisdiction of New Haven; from 1667 to 1850 it was part of Derby; and, finally, it was incorporated as a separate town. These cases of Milford and Seymour are typical of what went on throughout the county.

There was also some dispute between Branford and New Haven concerning their boundary. A committee was appointed in 1681 "to take some pains to examine the case and to endeavour an accomodation between them, and if they cannot attayn an issue," both parties must attend the next court "for an issue." Branford and Guilford had no settlement of bounds until 1670, when a line was drawn and a mark put at "the corner boundary of the four towns of Guilford, Branford, Wallingford and Durham." Even in the 19th century, however, certain men petitioned to be changed from one town to another, and as late as 1885 there was an exchange of territory between two towns.

The confusion made by little bands of settlers and traders in the unoccupied territory caused the General Court to make reservations in granting petitions for new plantations. Thus, among many examples, the men who went to Derby in 1665 were told they might make a settlement if they "do not prejudice Milford or N:Haven in their comons." Wallingford, (New Haven Village), in 1670 was similarly told that it could proceed "provided the bounds hereby granted doe not prejudice any bownds formerly granted to any plantation or perticuler person."

Grants of land to individuals also sometimes showed the same overlapping of bounds because of ignorance of the geography. Daniel Porter was given one hundred acres of land in 1668-9, and took it up near the northwest corner of Wallingford. Some time later this turned out not to be colony land, as was supposed, and in 1728 his grandsons, in answer to a petition, received one hundred acres of land west of the Housatonic or Stratford River.

There was a long process of settling the bounds of the new plantations in the county in the last half of the 17th century. Committees from the General Court and from the plantations met, and had to agree, though it was not always possible to do so unanimously. In the agreement made in 1673 between Wallingford and New Haven the following dissent occurs in the record: "The marke of John Cowper Senr, to the agreement excepting the memorandum added about ye meadow, wherein he dissents."

A picturesque way of looking at these changes of boundaries is through the history of a tree called the "Three Brothers," (sometimes the "Three Sisters"), which was frequently used to mark a point in boundary lines.

In 1718 it figured in a dispute between Waterbury and Wallingford, in which Waterbury claimed that Wallingford had infringed on its grant. In the frequent controversies with the bordering towns, sometimes carried to the assembly or the courts, one point that was fixed from the beginning was marked by this tree. It appears also in the permission of the General Court in 1773 for the incorporation of Salem society; and in the act making that society the town of Naugatuck. At different times this tree has been the boundary mark of nine towns,—Waterbury, Wallingford, Woodbridge, Milford, Cheshire, Prospect, New Haven, Bethany and Naugatuck. While Waterbury was in Hartford County it served also as the corner mark between the two counties of Hartford and New Haven.

To this confusion of shifting lines is added that of changing names. Many examples might be given. Seymour, for instance, has been known in its various phases as Naukotunk, Chusetown, (from an Indian), Humphreysville, (from General Humphreys), and Seymour, (from the governor at the time of its incorporation).

Many of these discarded names are exceedingly interesting as describing the original condition of a locality, or phases of its history. "Kettle-town" was a part of Southbury that was bought from the Indians for a brass kettle. "Great Pond" has been successively also "Furnace Pond," because of the early iron works near by, and "Lake Saltonstall" in compliment to Governor Saltonstall who, through his wife had a mansion in the vicinity. "Sabin's Pond" named from the miller, is now grown to a lake named from Eli Whitney who built his gun factory at its foot, and began the changes in the appearance of the surrounding landscape. Homely, descriptive designations such as Pine Hole, Sawmill Plain, Horse Pasture, World's End Swamp, Deer's Delight, have given way to more elegant but often less interesting names. Others have lost their significance and their use through changes brought about by the work of man; such were the "Steps," descriptive of the gorge at Mount Carmel, formerly much narrower and with rough terraces on one side, like stairs, by which people went over the ledge, and "Dog's Misery," in Meriden.

Much history is suggested by the names of towns in the county. Grouping them according to origin brings the surprising result, in a plantation whose design was religion, of only a single Biblical name, Bethany, and this given as late as 1762, when perhaps there was not so much enthusiasm for England as at an earlier time. Ten or twelve towns were named for persons or places in England; seven have names that are descriptive; and five were named for Americans prominent at the time of their founding,—one president, (Madison), two governors, (Wolcott and Seymour), and one adapted from part of the name of the manufacturer who founded the village, (Ansonia).

Equally great changes have occurred in the legal position of the settlements with reference to one another. Some started as trading posts of the older communities; others as small farming communities, or "villages," daughters of an older town; others, as plantations under a committee of

the General Court. As they grew they changed their status, asking first for "winter priveleges," then to become a full-fledged parish or society, and finally for the position of equality and independence as an incorporated town. It would obviously be a long and difficult matter to follow in detail all these changes of names, gains and losses of territory, and to trace the outlines either of the county or the towns within its borders at any given time in the earlier period.

New Haven County now has twenty-seven towns. Five of these are cities,—Ansonia, Derby, Meriden, New Haven and Waterbury. Six are boroughs,—Branford, Fair Haven East, Guilford, Naugatuck, Wallingford and Woodmont. New Haven is the oldest town, and West Haven the youngest (as a town), having been incorporated from Orange in 1921.

LIST OF TOWNS IN THE COUNTY

Ansonia, incorporated and named 1889.
Beacon Falls, incorporated 1871, named 1856.
Bethany, incorporated 1832, named 1762.
Branford, settled 1639, named 1653.
Cheshire, incorporated 1780, named 1724 New Cheshire.
Derby, settled 1654, named 1675.
Durham, now in Middlesex County.
East Haven, incorporated 1785, named 1707.
Guilford, settled 1639, named 1643.
Hamden, incorporated and named 1786.
Madison, incorporated and named 1826.
Meriden, incorporated 1806, named 1664.
Middlebury, incorporated 1807, named 1790.
Milford, settled 1639, named 1640.
Naugatuck, incorporated and named 1844.
New Haven, settled 1638, named 1640.
North Branford, incorporated 1831, named 1768.
North Haven, incorporated 1786, named 1739.
Orange, incorporated and named 1822.
Oxford, incorporated 1798, named 1741.
Prospect, incorporated and named 1827.
Seymour, incorporated and named 1850.
Southbury, incorporated 1787, named 1731.
Wallingford, settled 1670, named 1670.
Waterbury, settled 1674, named 1686.
West Haven, incorporated 1921, named 1720 (about).
Wolcott, incorporated and named 1796.
Woodbridge, incorporated and named 1784.
Woodbury, now in Litchfield County.

CHAPTER II

THE FIRST SETTLERS

Before proceeding to consider the administrative organization of the county and its history, it is desirable to review briefly the familiar events in this region in the period preceding the formation of the county. At the time of its creation in 1666, the four towns in the territory had already been in existence for a quarter of a century. Two of them, Guilford and Milford, settled as independent plantations, had soon (1643) joined the union already started by New Haven, Stamford and Southold. This union was formed against the Indians and the Dutch and was commonly called the Jurisdiction of New Haven. The following year (1644) the fourth town, Branford, became a member, (under certain conditions), on its settlement in territory which had originally been bought by New Haven. This union was really a colony on Long Island Sound, for not only were all its members on the borders of the Sound, but one, Southold, was across its waters. It is not necessary to go into the history of Stamford and Southold, since the latter is now outside the limits of the State, and the other has always belonged to another county. The Jurisdiction also made an unsuccessful and unfortunate attempt to form a commercial colony at Delaware Bay, and in a sense may claim Newark, New Jersey, as a daughter.

The region about Quinnipiac became known first to the Dutch, when Captain Adrian Block sailed up the Sound in 1614. He gave it the descriptive name Rodenberg, from the red palisades, features of the landscape even more obvious from the harbor then than now. The Dutch stopped here several times, intending apparently to establish trading posts. The poverty of the natives offered little inducement, though a trading house seems to have been built later in Branford, and the main result of these visits was to form a basis for subsequent claims to the territory.

The region, therefore, so far as the white man was concerned, remained an almost unknown wilderness until the time of the Pequot war in 1637. In pursuing the Indians from Saybrook to the scene of their defeat in the Sasco Swamp fight in Fairfield, June, 1637, the English soldiers, as they passed through were greatly impressed with its beauty and fertility. Finding it "too good for any but friends," they sent back enthusiastic reports. One of the leaders wrote a letter to Governor Winthrop describing the attractions of Quinnipiac; another, Captain Underhill, who became a prominent man in Stamford, mentioned specifically two things important to a new settlement * * * "it hath a fair river, fit for the harboring of

ships and abounds with rich and goodly meadows;" a third, Captain Turner, was directly influential in inducing a company to come here, himself becoming one of the first settlers, and one of the twelve men chosen to start the church. He was an especially valuable addition, as one fitted for military leader, which this group lacked, having expected to settle near Massachusetts.

These enthusiastic reports happened to reach Massachusetts about the time of the arrival of a fresh band of "those good men, who sought a peaceable secession in an American wilderness." This was a company of men who were unwilling to lose themselves in an establishment under other authority, for it contained wealthy and distinguished leaders of its own, and "many others of good character and fortunes." They were led by an excellent combination of the practical and spiritual, in the persons of the Rev. John Davenport, the minister and "so-big-study-man," and Theophilus Eaton, a London business man, a merchant of great credit and fashion, an executive accustomed to handling men and large enterprises. These two men were called in Biblical fashion the Moses and Aaron of the expedition, a favorite appellation of the time, and one destined to be applied sarcastically, nearly two hundred years later, to the outworn ecclesiastical government of Connecticut, as the "old firm of Moses and Aaron."

Both Eaton and Davenport were members and directors of the Massachusetts Bay Company, and Eaton owned one-sixteenth of the *Arbella* of its service. Davenport's name had not been openly included as patentee in the charter of the company, through fear that it might provoke the opposition of Archbishop Laud, whose enmity he had incurred in his London parish. Davenport was nevertheless one of its leading spirits, paid £50 towards the expense of getting the charter, was present at seven meetings of the company in London in 1629, and his name was first on the committee of directions for Captain Endicott.

Eaton and Davenport had known each other from boyhood, having come from the same town in England, Coventry, where Davenport's father had been mayor and alderman, and Eaton's the minister, perhaps the Richard Eaton who had baptized John Davenport. Their views were similar, yet diverse enough to be supplementary in managing the affairs of the new settlement, and that too without jealousy or friction. Davenport looked for a Utopia founded on Biblical lines, and Eaton designed also a great trade metropolis.

Such was the company whose arrival in Massachusetts coincided with that of the reports from Quinnipiac. While Davenport remained in Boston in the congenial occupation of sitting in a synod to help "dispel the fascinating mists" of the current theological heterodoxy, Eaton, as the experienced and practical business man, set forth on a tour of exploration to select a site for their colony. It was no vague expedition, for he had a destination in mind,—the region just discovered and enthusiastically described by the military men. If it came up to expectations, the company



REV. JOHN DAVENPORT

seem already to have had the intention to begin a plantation there, especially as it was out of the jurisdiction of the other colonies. Winthrop, with mixed feelings, reported that Eaton, in his turn, was "much taken with the opinion of the fruitfulness of that place, and more safety (as they conceived) from danger of a general governor, who was feared to be sent this summer." In order not to lose the chance of getting it, Eaton left a few of his twenty men, seven of the eight surviving until spring (a curious fore-shadowing of the famous seven pillars). These men were to hold the land through the winter, until the main company could hear the report, vote on it, and come, if they wished, with their possessions as soon as the weather made it practicable. Acting on his favorable report, letters were sent in March to the squatters to "come for a speedy transacting the purchase of the parts about Quillypiac from the natives which may pretend titles thereto."

The Massachusetts authorities, who had eagerly welcomed the famous Mr. Davenport and this company of very desirable folk, were equally loath to let them go. Besides the £36,000 in property which they had brought, there were personal reasons. Massachusetts could not expect soon to see another group of such remarkable men. Inducements of all kinds were offered in the hope of keeping them:—lands for the company, offices in the civil government for Eaton, and a place in the synod for Davenport. But their efforts were in vain, and Davenport and Eaton gathered together their scattered flock, wrote a courteous letter of farewell to Massachusetts, and set sail for the land of their hopes. Their stay had not been an idle one, for they had assisted in various councils, become familiar with the laws of the colony, observed its religious difficulties, and incidentally been taxed as an organized company. Perhaps this is referred to in their farewell letter, "our almost nine months' patient wayting * * * to our great charge and hindrance many waies."

At nearly the same time two other flocks, also with leaders belonging to "the great supply of godly ministers" came to this region. First were those under the Rev. Peter Prudden, who settled in Wepawaug (now called Milford). This group also declined to remain in Massachusetts, where the records of Dedham show that land had been appropriated to Mr. Prudden and fifteen of his followers. They likewise kept themselves apart during their stay in New Haven, and finally, with accessions from Wethersfield, where Mr. Prudden had been preaching, started a plantation of their own. The other band, under the leadership of the Rev. Henry Whitfield, one of the wealthiest clergymen who came to Connecticut, chose Menunkatuck (now Guilford), for its habitation. These three plantations were independent until 1643, when they united for protection against Indians and the Dutch. Totoket, the territory represented by Branford, was first given to Samuel Eaton, brother of Theophilus. When he left it was sold to another group of colonists from Wethersfield under certain conditions. They were soon joined by a company from Southampton, Long Island, who preferred these conditions to joining with the colony

of Connecticut. This latter band was led by the Rev. Abraham Pierson, a peculiarly active person, Branford being the second of three colonies in whose planting he assisted. This company too had its Moses and Aaron in Pierson and Samuel Swain.

The colonists at Quinnipiac had an opportunity in their turn to understand the feelings of Massachusetts over their departure. Besides the friendly independence of the planters at Wepawaug, they lost most of another group of intending settlers. A band from Yorkshire under the Rev. Ezekiel Rogers had been induced to take stock in the company, and started for Quinnipiac. Part of them arrived, but Rogers and the rest, feeling that conditions they had set would not be fulfilled, declined to come, and instead started a settlement in Massachusetts. In spite of remonstrances from Quinnipiac they were, perhaps not unwillingly, upheld in their refusal by the elders of Massachusetts before whom the case was laid.

ACQUISITION OF THE LAND

The intending settlers of the Eaton-Davenport Company had been told by friends already here to bring many necessary things in the way of supplies and equipment, and even food. Higginson wrote: "All that come must have victuals with them for a twelve month." Davenport and Eaton moreover had helped fit out preceding expeditions and knew what to take. Nathanael Rowe, son of one of the stockholders, said, "My father sent mee pvtiones enough for to serve mee a yeare or towe; as meale flower; buttar, beefe." The planters of Quinnipiac therefore were unusually well supplied with material outfit, and were never "straitened for bread as the other colonies had been."

One thing was lacking, which later proved their downfall, though at the moment it seemed an advantage. They were hampered by no charter or document of any kind from any authority, and intentionally chose a place considered outside the limits of the Massachusetts Bay Company. They wished above all to be free to carry out their own peculiar ideas. But, though they formed settlements in the wilderness, by what right could they hold the land, constitute a church, and establish a government? These were questions of immediate importance, especially that of the acquisition of land on which to build their houses and plant their crops.

Each of the two possible sources of ownership of the land contributed its own uncertainties and perplexities. Treaty-purchase from Indians at that time in possession of the soil rested merely on the assumption that these particular Indians were the rightful owners, the "natural proprietors." Grants from European Powers which might claim the region by right of discovery were uncertain, owing to the inevitable ignorance of the geography and consequent extent of the territory discovered and owned by each country.

The colonists proceeded at once to the most obvious course,—that of buying land from the Indians, thus beginning a long series of "purchases"

by which they acquired such title to the lands as the Indians could give. Their title rested only on occupancy, and in many places after the first purchase other Indians kept appearing with claims of ownership, and the same piece of land was often bought several times over. The record for the transfer of land is consequently confusing and complicated, and covers a long period of time. The words of Andros seem justified, that titles from the Indians had only the value of "the scratch of a bear's paw," and that the colonists were in effect squatters. Andros, at any rate, took advantage of this to get a little money, making some land-holders, even of many years possession, take out new patents at great cost.

The planters at Quinnipiac were the earliest on the scene in this region, and made two purchases at once. The deed for the first was given in November, 1638, by Momaguin and his sister Shaumpishuh to Davenport and Eaton, acting for the company. It was followed by a second deed, dated December of the same year, from Montowese. The territory of Milford was acquired by several purchases extending over a number of years, some of them made after the union with Connecticut. The first land, consisting of about two miles in the present center of the town, was bought February, 1639, from Ansantawae. In December, 1656, the tract west of this was bought, and three years later still more. In 1661 a reservation of twenty acres, which had been made by the Indians for planting, was sold by them, and Milford made a purchase of another small tract in 1685. Two others, known as the "two-bit" and "one-bit" purchases were made respectively in 1700 and 1702. The whole tract extended twenty miles north.

The planters at Menunkatuck (Guilford) also made a series of purchases, though poetic license made a native writer assign one definite date

"on contract fair, their rights they did assign,

September, sixteen hundred thirty-nine."

This first purchase might almost have been a family affair with their friends at Quinnipiac, for it was from the sister of Momaguin, Shaumpishuh. Two years later a second tract was bought, from Weekwash, east of the first purchase, extending to Tuxis Pond. Though Weekwash was called "the pious," the planters seem to have considered his title doubtful, for a few months later in the same year they bought it again from Uncas, together with more land extending to the north. In 1645 they received a gift of land extending from Tuxis Pond to Hammonasset River, from Fenwick, on condition that his friend Whitfield receive certain considerations. The same year another purchase was made from Uncas, by individuals, who later sold it to the town. This included some additional land to the north. Not being satisfied with the title of the first purchase, a deed was procured in 1686 from Nausup for the land bought in 1639 of Shaumpishuh, his mother. All these purchases had vague limits to the north.

The land on which a settlement was made at Totoket (Branford) was included in the first purchase made by Eaton and Davenport. Paugasset (Derby) was not one of the original towns, but its settlement was started

before the union of New Haven with Connecticut. Land was bought from the Indians by Stephen Goodyear and merchants of New Haven, and a trading post built in 1642. The first permanent settlers, who came in 1654, applied the next year to be admitted to the Jurisdiction as a village. The people of Milford objected, and the matter was postponed until 1657, when Milford consented. Derby then bought more land from the Indians, both in that year and in 1659.

In comparing the prices paid for the land with the enthusiastic reports of the English captains and the amount of territory received, the question naturally arises why the Indians should sell so desirable a region for so small a price. The simplest answer, that it was because of their ignorance, is not enough. At that time the Quinnipiac Indians were in a distressed condition, their numbers reduced by a plague, and their country under tribute to stronger tribes,—on the east to the Pequots, and on the west to the Mohawks. The deed with Momaguin gives this condition as a reason for the action of the Indians:—"remembering and acknowledging the heavy taxes and eminent dangers wch they lately felt and feared from ye Pequotts, Mohaucks and other Indians, in regard of which they durst not stay in their country, but were forced to flie, and seeke shelter under the English at Conecticut and observing ye safety and ease that other Indians enjoy neare the English of which benefitt they have had a comfortable tast already since the English began to build and plant at Quinni-piacke which with all thankfullness they now acknowledged * * * if at any time hereafter they be affrighted in their dwellings assigned by the English unto ym as before, they may repayre to the English plantation for shelter, and that the English will there in a just cause endeavor to defend ym from wronge." Higginson wrote that the Guilford Indians "expressed their desire to Mr. Whitfield and his company for the friendship of the English and their willingness that they should come and dwell among them." These purchases seem to represent an early example of the White Man's Burden.

The real return for the land was this alliance and protection afforded by the English, rather than the collection of coats, spoons and kettles which were given as "thankful retribution." It is doubtless true, however, that the Indians, in their ignorance of other ways of living, considered the English a few farmers busying themselves with tasks fit only for squaws and expected them to fish and hunt, cultivate and occupy only a little of the land, as they themselves did, and probably move on after a while. They had only hazy ideas of property rights, could have no idea of the permanent settlements that were to supplant their tents and wigwams, and probably thought they were selling hunting rights.

The coats and kettles were not the insignificant things they seem today with factories on every hand, but were necessities which could not easily be replaced in the wilderness, and, as the historian Trumbull practically observes, the knives and hatchets enabled the Indians to "perform more labor in one hour or day, than they could in many days without

them." An older civilization was trading with primitive people, bartering land or hunting rights for things commonplace enough now, but representing inventions which were its own inheritance of work and thought through the ages.

The following figures are of some interest in this connection. The land awarded Connecticut in settling the boundaries between it and Massachusetts was sold many years later in 1716 for a little more than a farthing an acre, by men whose ideas of value were not those of an Indian savage. An inventory filed in the New Haven probate court, of the estate of Henry Cole, who departed this life in 1676, contained the following items: "40 acres of land in Middletown bounds 20 lb; the farme by the road to Hartford 20 lb * * * A brass kettle 1 lb 2 s." The farm is said to have contained at least 800 acres.

The same local poet describes the result:

"Pleased with the site, they now enjoyed the purchase,
Cleared up the ground, built fences, houses, churches,
Soon did the savage howl and yelling cease,
Succeeded by religion, love and peace,
And 'tis among their heirs and their assigns
Now happiness resides and virtue shines."

DIVISION OF THE LAND

The method pursued in acquiring a place of settlement was for the leading men of the company to buy land for all the inhabitants, and hold it in trust until a permanent organization was effected. The land was then apportioned among the planters by a series of divisions, made in accordance with certain regulations. These depended on a combination of the amount of property put into the venture, that is, to pay for the land, expenses of surveying, etc., and the number of persons in the family (not including servants). Some attempt was made to equalize the quality of the land. Many divisions took place before all the land was in the hands of individuals, nine in New Haven, the last finished December, 1768.

A law was soon passed that no one could purchase land from the Indians for his "owne private use or advantage, but only in the name and for the use of the whole plantation." Later the provision was added that land could not be accepted from the Indians as a gift. Much care was taken in granting out land, and through control of this, guarding the character of the towns. Men were not allowed to buy and sell land from each other without leave of the town, and were punished for so doing. Records were soon begun of land transfers, a new thing started in America. There was no law for this in England. The various towns directed that books of records be kept, and a general order was issued to that effect October, 1644. "The towns shall each of them provide a ledger book with an index or alphabet unto the same. Also shall choose one who shall be town clerk or register, who shall before the General Court in April, next, record every



(Courtesy of Whitlock's Book Store, New Haven)

The three churches and Town Hall are in what was the right half of the area enclosed by the palisades. The Wepawaug River, rising in Woodbridge, running through the town, furnished a number of good mill sites

man's house and land already granted." Future changes were also to be recorded.

Home lots were granted at once, and from time to time other divisions were made. Some land was kept for common use for years. When the estate and family of a planter and the amount of land to be divided at the time had all been determined, allotments were made to individuals, drawing by lot, sometimes intentionally, and sometimes if agreement was impossible otherwise. Ministers and officials were usually given first choice and a larger share. In Guilford no one was permitted to put into the common stock more than £500, nor less than £50, but no such restriction was made in New Haven or Milford. The size of the home lots was great enough so that owners were kept busy with them for a year or two.

The date of the first division in Guilford is unknown, as the records of it are lost, perhaps burned, as certain other records of the beginning of the town are said to have been, in a house which was destroyed by fire. The home lots here varied in size from the one acre given to Abraham Cruttenden to the ten allotted to Mr. Desborough. The greatest number, seven, were two acres in extent. The second division was made in 1645, five acres of upland and six of meadow for every £100, and for every head three acres of upland and one-half of meadow. There were complaints of injustice in the allotment of land. In this division three thousand acres of upland, one hundred in the "neck," and about one hundred sixty of marsh were assigned. A third division was made in 1654, when special grants were made to officials, Desborough, Bushnell and Leete.

Procedure in the other plantations was similar. The first division in New Haven outside the nine squares and an area on the waterfront, was in January, 1640, in the two mile square (omitting the specially cultivated "Neck"). At this time a division was made of 5,601 acres into 123 shares. It was arranged so that each person had some of each kind of land. Some lands were kept undivided,—the Sequestered lands, the Cow Pasture and the Ox Pasture. In October of the same year a second division of land was made, still farther from the town, when 8,253 acres were allotted. In one division the ratio was five acres of upland and of meadow for each £100, and for each head two and a half acres of upland and one-half of meadow. In the second division twenty acres were given each £100, and two and one-half acres per person. After the second division was made, the rate of taxation was fixed. These lands were not all taken up, for various reasons, expenses for taxes and fences, trouble from wild animals.

In Milford the home lots were arranged in narrow parallel strips, some of them wider than others. The division was made on the same general principle as in the other towns, and houses must be built within three years or the lot was forfeited. The holdings varied from one of less than an acre to some of seven acres, the greatest number being of three acres. Outlands were arranged as in New Haven to adjoin the home lots as far as possible and there were common tracts in which each planter had a

share. Other divisions before the union with Connecticut were made in 1645, 1646, 1658, and 1660.

Special grants were made to elders and deacons as well as to ministers, and to men of various attainments necessary in the plantations, such as blacksmiths, millers, ferrymen, doctors, teachers, inn keepers, and the collier for the iron works.

SETTING UP A GOVERNMENT

LEGAL POSITION

One reason why the Davenport-Eaton company came to Quinnipiac was the fact that it was outside the authority of Massachusetts. Neither did their settlement have any connection with a trading company in England, and it paid nothing to any English authority for its territory. There was a general acknowledgment on their part of belonging to England, especially in time of trouble. "New Haven's Case Stated," the document drawn up setting forth New Haven's rights as an independent colony, contains, according to Dr. Bacon, "the only allusion to the king which I find before the restoration of the monarchy in 1660." This is worth quoting. "That when the Dutch claimed a right to New Haven, and all along the coast by the sea-side, it being reported they would set up the Prince of Orange's arms, the governor of New Haven, to prevent that caused the king of England's arms to be fairly cut in wood, and set upon a post in the high way by the sea-side, to vindicate the right of England." Eaton in a letter to Stuyvesant in 1649 spoke of his two responsibilities,—“discharge of my duty to the crowne of England, my ingagement to this jurisdiction.”

The people of Quinnipiac intended to obtain a proper charter as soon as possible, but their Freeman's oath pledged allegiance only to the Jurisdiction. It is noticeable, by the way, that one of the articles of misdemeanor charged against Connecticut in 1685 was that "They enforce an oath of fidelity upon the inhabitants without administering the oath of supremacy and allegiance, as in their charter is directed." At the moment of the settlement of Quinnipiac, this lack of a charter was of little importance, partly because of the political situation in England, and still more, because a few settlers in a far-off wilderness were unimportant enough to be left to the happy fate of doing as they pleased.

These people however were led by men who were looking to the future, some of them with sufficient training in the law to make them wish to establish their colony on a better legal basis, though it might be a step in giving up absolute independence. Governor Eaton's step-son-in-law, Edward Hopkins, was first commissioned to discuss the matter with the authorities in Hartford, but this came to nothing. In 1646 one of the leading men, Thomas Gregson, was especially appointed to go to England

with George Fenwick from Connecticut, to try to get a charter. The record says,—“Whereas the Genrll Court for this jurisdictiō did see cause to putt forth their best endeouors to procure a Pattent frō the Parliament, as judging it a fitt season now for thatt end, and therefore desired Mr. Gregson to undertake the voyage and business and agreed to furnish him with 200^l in this jurisdictiō, of wch, in proportiō to the other plantations, Newhaven is to pay 110^l in good merchantable beaver.”

Fenwick did not go, and the “Greate Shippe,” whose name even has been lost, in which Gregson went, was never seen after it sailed from New Haven harbor. Its loss left the colony impoverished and discouraged, and nothing further was done concerning a charter until after the Restoration. The thought remained, however, and there were suggestions from Governor Leete, as for instance in a letter to Governor Winthrop, that New Haven should be included in the proposed patent of Connecticut with the stipulation that it should be as “a covert, but no control over our jurisdiction until we accorded with mutual satisfaction to become one.” The reason for this particular suggestion was Leete’s anxiety over the consequences of the presence in New Haven of those embarrassing visitors, the Regicides. On Leete’s refusal to give them up to the king’s “poursuivants,” the question came up directly, “Will you own his Majesty or no?” Leete replied, “We would first know whether his Majesty would own us.” His fear was that the king would not recognize his standing as a governor and magistrate; and that he, on his part, in giving up the Regicides, would be betraying his trust as governor of New Haven by recognizing the authority of a governor-general over New England, since the writs for their arrest seemed to be addressed to such an official.

The whole question was settled, and the legal status of this group of settlements completely and rudely changed by the grant of the Royal Charter to Connecticut in 1662. Up to this time they had been independent colonies in effect, whether or not they had any basis in law except that furnished by the deeds for the purchase of their lands from the Indians. Their government had been set up by their own compacts, and neither had permission been asked from the home government in forming the union of the colonies. The Royal Charter summarily included them, without mention, in the territory defined by the bounds of Connecticut. For various reasons they were finally obliged to submit to the exercise of the royal power.

The change of status brought about by the charter left some doubt as to the legal value of early land titles both in New Haven and Connecticut. When Judge Jeffries began attacking borough charters in England, the General Court of Connecticut ordered, (October, 1684), the separate plantations to safeguard themselves by taking out individual patents under the charter. Thus New Haven was finally included in the Warwick grants.

This Royal Charter, saved later from the king, became the Constitution of Connecticut at the time of the separation from England, by making a

few changes substituting the authority of the state for that of the king. Towards the beginning of the nineteenth century, the question arose whether the state had a legal constitution, since these changes had been made merely by declaration of the General Assembly, without ratification by the freemen. There were of course different opinions on that point, but in a sense, Connecticut possessed no constitution adopted by the people until the constitution of 1818 was ratified by them. Thus New Haven completed the circle, from the first Fundamental Agreements resting only on the consent of those who made them, through submission to the outside authority of Connecticut backed by royal power, around again to a constitution created by the people.

ORGANIZATION OF THE GOVERNMENT

In the extraordinary situation in which the settlers found themselves, in possession of lands bought from the Indians, and with no charter or permanent organization, but with a desire to work out their ideas of church and state to suit themselves, there was only one way of establishing the necessary civil and ecclesiastical government. They must form by voluntary compact a government based on the consent of the governed, with no authority other than their own will. The temporary agreement or Plantation Covenant under which the settlers at Quinnipiac had acted hitherto is unknown, though there seems to have been something of that nature. Indeed, a company of their size would have found it difficult, without some kind of an agreement, to have arranged for their departure from England; to have kept together during their sojourn in Massachusetts (where they were taxed as an organized company); to have transferred themselves to Quinnipiac, purchased the land and attended to other necessary matters. There is a statement that such a covenant was made, and an example of one is preserved in the Plantation Covenant of Guilford. The ecclesiastical situation was similar. No organized church was in existence during this period, and, though public worship was held, no sacraments could be administered.

The idea that it was possible to take action such as forming a civil government and setting up a church, without charter or authority, seemed more revolutionary at that time than it would today. In fact, Laud had objected to Davenport on a similar, though smaller, matter while he was in his London parish of St. Stephen. Laud wrote that Davenport "is reported to favor the people and to draw after him great congregations and assemblies of common and meane people. * * * I found that he is chosen by a popular election to this living in Coleman Street." The election of their own minister by the parishioners was peculiar to this parish, and it is incidentally of interest that in the list of voters who elected Davenport to the living are one or two who came to the new world with him.

In June, 1639, nearly two years after they had landed in New England, the Quinnipiac planters "assembled together in a general meetinge

to consult about settling ciuill gouernmt according to God." During the time they had spent in clearing away the forests and raising their first crops, they had been considering the kind of church and commonwealth they should form. Remarks made during the discussion of the Quaeries" presented by Davenport that there had been "some former passages" between him and Samuel Eaton, suggest that already meetings had been held to consider the matter. Some men said they had doubted and wavered in their opinions of the proposals before coming to this meeting, and one man had become convinced at home that very morning while reading the Bible.

This formal meeting of organization was held in Robert Newman's "mighty barn," after the fasting and humiliation which preceded all such occasions. A discourse further prepared the minds of the planters for thoughtful and deliberate action. In the morning Davenport preached the famous sermon on the text, "Wisdom hath builded her house, she hath hewn her seven pillars." He presented a carefully prepared paper of six Quaeries which were discussed point by point, and read over a second time before it was voted, in order that every one might be sure of the action he was taking. Then Mr. Davenport, who wished them "nott to be rash or sleight in giving their votes to things they understood nott, but to digest fully and thoroughly whatt should be propounded to them * * * prayed the company that nothing might be concluded by them in this weighty question but what themselves were persuaded to be agreeing with the minde of God, and they had heard what had been sayd since the vote, intreated them agayne to consider it and agayne to put it to vote as before."

Objection was made to the points concerning the Bible as a code of laws, and the limitation of the right of suffrage. Davenport proposed that the franchise should be limited to church members, though all should pay taxes. The only opponent at the meeting was the Rev. Samuel Eaton, his assistant in preaching before the organization of the church, though never in office as pastor or teacher. Samuel Eaton was the one who had brought over a copy of More's Utopia among his theological books, and was the leader of the Separatist group. He said he "stuck at giving up this power." His reason for sticking at the limitation of the suffrage is significant in view of arguments brought forth at the time of the separation of the colonies from England,—“all free planters ought to resume this power into their own hands againe if things were nott orderly carried.” His brother, Theophilus, said that it was like choosing committees, or the liveries of the London companies, by whom public magistrates are chosen, and that all expect in time to be themselves of the livery and have the same power. Samuel Eaton had not made this objection until after a vote had been taken, and refused to press the point. The proposed Quaeries were passed, including this fundamental one:—“Church members only shall chuse magistrates and officers among themselves and have the power of transacting in all publique and civil affayres of this plantation.”

The meeting, having accepted the Quaeries which formed the constitution for the plantation, then proceeded to the choice of twelve men, who in turn were to choose seven of their number, (the pillars), to build the house of wisdom, that is, form the church and organize the government. It is to be remarked that in selecting the seven pillars, all orders and ranks of men represented. Two were men of small estates, and one was not married. The church was organized in August, tradition says under the oak tree where the first sermon had been preached. The government, historically the daughter of the church, was organized in October. Officers were chosen at this time and "Mr. Davenport expounded several scriptures to them, describing the character of civil magistrates given in the sacred oracles." He gave Mr. Eaton a solemn charge, and it might be said ordained him as magistrate. This might well have been a precedent for the later custom of Election Sermons.

The people who formed Milford, "a neighbor plantation to the westward," apparently had some agreement with the Davenport company before leaving England, and were still in Quinnipiac and present at the meeting in August, though taking no part in it. At first they had expected to settle here, and house lots had actually been assigned them, but, like the planters of Quinnipiac, "they intended their own peculiar government." On finding that they could expect additions from Wethersfield they decided to form their own plantation. They organized their church at the same time and place, Newman's barn, August, 1639, and by the same method of the seven pillars, but by separate action. Though Milford also limited the suffrage to church members, it soon gave up this requirement. Land having been bought in the preceding February the people moved in November.

The Guilford company, independent in its origin, intended nevertheless "by God's gracious permission to plant ourselves in New England, and if it may be, in the southerly part, about Quinnipiack." Their arrival was eagerly awaited, for this ship bearing friends, including the little son of Mr. Davenport, the "deare child" of his father's letter, was the "first that ever cast anchor in this place." The people set apart a day of fasting and prayer when it was expected, and sent a "pinnis to pilot them to our harbor. * * * But our pilott having watched for them a fortnight, grew weary and returned home. And the very night after, the ship came in guided by God's own hand to our town."

In September this company too held a meeting in Newman's barn, at which they agreed to buy lands of the Indians for a plantation. They were as deliberate as the people of Quinnipiac had been, in organizing their church and government. In the Plantation Covenant signed on ship-board they said, "As for our gathering together in a church way, and the choice of officers and members to be joined together in that way, we do refer ourselves until such time as it shall please God to settle us in our plantation." The church was not gathered until June, 1643, and at the same time regulations were laid down for the civil government, under rules

similar to those of Quinnipiac. There were seven pillars, but a slight difference in church membership. It is interesting to notice that seven pillars also organized the churches at Waterbury and East Haven. The seven men thus selected to form the church admitted to it such persons as they considered worthy of membership, and the church in turn organized the government. All the existing offices held under the Plantation Covenant were abolished, and magistrates were immediately elected to serve under the new agreement.

About this time the question arose of the entrance of Milford and Guilford into the New Haven colony, at the time consisting of that plantation together with Stamford and Southold. No difficulty was raised with regard to Guilford, but the franchise regulations of Milford were an obstacle. This was compromised by its agreement to give up that provision for the future, while keeping certain rights for the six non-church members already admitted as free burgesses. Thereupon the General Court made the following declaration of its principles, the Fundamental Agreement. "Whereas this plantation att first with general and full consent laid their foundations thatt none butt members of approved churches should be counted free burgesses, nor should any else have any vote in any election or power or trust in ordering of civill affayres in wch way we have constantly proceded hitherto in our whole court with much comfortable fruite with God's blessing. * * * But not foreseeing any danger in yielding to Milford with the forementioned cautions, it was by general consent and vote ordered that the consociation proceed in all things according to the premises."

When the planters of Totoket (Branford) were sold land by New Haven it was on condition that they join the Jurisdiction, and submit to the regulation concerning the franchise. This they were quite willing to do, and in 1647 received an addition under Abraham Pierson, the first regular minister, who while still in Southampton had wished to join New Haven because of this very regulation.

This limitation was regarded in outside matters. Leete in 1653 received these instructions:—"you will warily consider the quality and disposition of the men with whom you treat, and their company they are like to bring, that they be such as with whom we may join in the same way, both of church administration and civil government; we would be loath to bring Rhode Island or any of that stamp or frame nearer to us."

The historian Hubbard remarked that the limitation of the right of suffrage was thought by some to have been "too shortly tethered up in the foundation of the government." It meant that many of the planters could not vote, except in Milford where forty-four of the fifty-four planters were freemen. Perhaps the small number of non-church members here was the reason for removing the restriction on the franchise. Planters who were not church members were notified of town meetings, required to attend, probably were allowed to speak, and perhaps to vote on questions other than election of officers. Men were continually being changed

from one list to the other, for the authorities wished "that all planters would make it their serious endeavour to come in by the doors to enjoy all priviledges and beare all burdens." In New Haven, where the disproportion between the two classes was great, there were seventy church members by 1645, as against sixteen who signed the "Quaeries." Fifty-five were added in 1646, and while still under the ministry of Davenport the membership had increased to at least two hundred thirty.

Church discipline was strict, and the purity of the church was maintained as a safeguard to the state. Davenport would have no "neglecting the imadge of God in his magistrates," and was earnest in wielding the golden snuffers of the golden candle-stick, the sanctuary, but it was difficult to keep this up. A case occurring in 1661 showed Mr. Davenport's vigilance in discipline, and objections to the exercise of such authority on his part. Three men were seen on the street proceeding in a suspicious manner. Mr. Davenport's servant in court witnessed that he called her and bade her take notice of them. The men were drunk and she saw one of them fall down. The marshal went after them and "told them yt Mr Davenport seeing their uncivill carriage, sent him to see who they were, vpon wch John Browne asked if Mr Davenport was a magistrate; if it had been his son (sd hee) hees a deputy." John Browne had been in court before and shown himself a "prophaine scorner." This remark makes him a kind of spiritual ancestor of Abraham Bishop and the men of the early nineteenth century who objected to the exercise of civil power by the clergy. The severity of discipline meant the loss in 1650 of the colony's famous schoolmaster, Ezekiel Cheever. He was tried for criticisms of the church in the matter of the discipline of Mrs. Eaton. "Br. Cheever answered, the church had more need to give her satisfaction for the wrong they did her in not letting her come to the church;" and speaking about the elders' preparing business for the church, he said, "We have nothing to do now but to say Amen, we are all clerks now." Position brought with it no exemption from punishment. In Milford a church member and sergeant of the military company was punished for an offense by being put in the stock, and threatened with whipping. In New Haven Mrs. Eaton, though wife of the governor and daughter of an English bishop, was excommunicated, not allowed to enter the meeting-house, and threatened with banishment.

Laws regulated the admission of strangers. No man might settle in New Haven, no matter how wealthy, without special permission, newcomers were required to procure a license if they staid longer than one month. Towns, however, very soon became careless in admitting inhabitants, and by 1660 there were many residents who were undesirable.

It is fair to notice in this connection that the limitation of the franchise was the deliberate choice of the people themselves; that it was agreed on by all the free planters without reference to church membership; and that it therefore implied the revolutionary idea that people could create the kind of government they wished. As to their sincerity, it is to be observed

that the freemen were not chosen for wealth or position. William Peck, in New Haven, a husbandman, worth only £12 and "having butt halfe a small lott to his hous lott" was a freeman, as well as Theophilus Eaton, the merchant worth £3,000, when he came, who even after his losses "maintained a port in some measure answerable to his place." That William Peck was much respected is shown by his election as deacon of the church. In the allotment of land made in 1643, William Preston worth £42 received twelve acres more of arable land than David Yale, worth £300 and stepson to the governor. In Guilford, as has been mentioned, no man was allowed to put more than £500 into the common stock, for purchasing and settling the town. Similarly, any one might become a church member, with all that it implied, without reference to money or position.

The obligations of the church and state were mutual, and the Articles of Confederation drawn up October, 1643, declared: "The court shall with all care and diligence provide for the maintenance of the purity of Religion and surpress the contrary; according to their best light from the word of God, and by the advice of the Elders and Churches in the Jurisdiction, so farr as it might concern the civill power." On the other hand church members were supposed to feel particular responsibility for good behavior. In 1647 a church member in New Haven "went on board a Dutch ship, and drank so that he had not the use of his reason, nor of his tongue, hands, or feete." The church excommunicated him, and he was then tried in the Monthly Court and sentenced to pay the town fifty shillings. "The Governour further declared to him how greatly his sinne was agravated wth many circumstances, but espetially that he, being a member of the church wth whom the Lord hath dealt so kindly with, and he so to requite the Lord was a sinfull and foolish thinge."

The union of church and state was not direct, for no church officers as such, had any civil power; in fact certain men in New Haven were not elected to office because they were deacons. The church was supported by voluntary contribution, not by state tax, though in some places the offering was collected by men elected in town meeting for the purpose. Early church and town records were kept together, separate records beginning in general about 1716.

The danger of hypocrisy in becoming a church member for the sake of the franchise is obvious. This, and the discontent of those who were not freemen, were the weak points of the government under the Fundamental Agreement. It was found also that the best men for office, military men for example, were not always members of the church, and it became necessary to relax the rule. In 1654 Thomas Stevens was made corporal of the New Haven troops, "but onely for this present service, and that he Pccede no higher in any other office because he is not a freeman." In 1665 it was agreed in the General Court that if in any plantation of the Jurisdiction "there be none among the freeman fit for a chief military officer, it shall be in the power of the General Court to choose some other man, as they shall judge fit, in whom they may confide."

This difficulty, and other reasons brought the situation to an issue before 1660 by the advancement of the doctrine known as the Half-Way Covenant, according to which the children of non-church members were to be given certain privileges. Though supported by Prudden, the minister of the Milford church, it was opposed by the New Haven colony as a whole, and especially by Davenport and Pierson. Davenport went to Boston to fight it at its source, and Pierson left Branford rather than obey an order to observe it.

Certain provisions peculiar to New Haven must be noticed. The Fundamental Agreement, adopted for the Jurisdiction in October, 1643, was unalterable. They "professed themselves carefull and resolved not to shake the said Groundworks by any change for any respect." A second peculiarity was the decision not to use juries in the courts. Hubbard remarked disapprovingly of this also, "their declining that prudent and equal temperament of all interests in their administration of justice with them managed by the sole authority of the rulers without the concurrence of a jury." They declared further that the Bible was to be their book of laws. As a matter of fact there were few books of law, or of any kind, in the colony other than the Bible, with which every one was familiar. There was no code of laws except those regulations published by word of mouth for several years. One manuscript statute book served for the town, in which new laws were copied after every session of the General Court, and read once a year by the constable at a gathering of the citizens. By 1655 it was impossible to continue this method, and Governor Eaton was appointed to draw up a code of laws. He was requested to examine for the purpose the laws of Massachusetts and Cotton's Discourse. In the code he prepared were many marginal references to the Scriptures, but such references were not peculiar to this code, for they occurred in Coke's Institutes and Blackstone, who, by the way, cites in a note some of the texts cited by New Haven.

The Court approved Eaton's compilation and ordered five hundred copies to be printed. Edward Hopkins had this done in England, at the Crown in Pope's Head alley, a grouping of names strange for a Puritan colony. The cost of printing and paper was £10 10s. The distribution of these laws is interesting. New Haven had two hundred copies, Milford eighty, Guilford sixty, Branford forty, Stamford seventy, Southhold fifty. Each book sold for twelve pence in good country pay, wheat or pease. Every family must procure a copy within two weeks, and pay for it under penalty of the price of the book and "halfe so much more." At the same time the court ordered a seal for the colony, which was made in England and given it by Eaton as a token of his love. Unfortunately even the description of this seal has been lost.

FORM OF THE CIVIL GOVERNMENT

The four towns, after 1643, were described by Governor Eaton as "united in Nation, Religion and affection, yet otherwise severall and distinct

jurisdictions free from any expresse engagement to one another." They were each under three sets of institutions,—their own local organizations, those of the union in the Jurisdiction of New Haven, and that of the "United Colonies" of Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut and New Haven. Much confusion would be avoided in describing these institutions if each had had a distinctive set of functions and names, instead of all being called promiscuously courts, magistrates, and deputies, and exercising similar powers, and if the same men had not held so many offices.

The local government of each plantation consisted of a General Court or town meeting of all the planters, and a smaller body, called indifferently the Monthly, Particular or Plantation Court. This was made up of an elected magistrate, and two, three or four deputies or assistant magistrates, with a clerk and marshal. The distinction between these two courts was not always clear, except that the smaller one could not act as a court of election. Gradually other officers were added, such as surveyors, fence viewers, a town ferryman before there were bridges, and in New Haven for a time, even a town brewer, an office held as a monopoly for a few years by Stephen Goodyear.

Until the completion of the process of forming the union under New Haven, that colony also appointed constables or magistrates for its dependent settlements, or assisted in some way in setting up their governments. Thus in 1641 she appointed officers for Rippowams (Stamford, bought for her from the Indians); in 1642 she acted similarly for Yennickock (Southold). In 1644 the General Court of New Haven "ordered that, for the more comfortable carrying on of the affayres at Guilford, till they have a magistrate their, the free burgesses may chuse among themselves fower Deputies and form a Courte."

It is historically proper to describe first the government of the separate plantations. In New Haven town, (to use the word which gradually superseded the term plantation), the General Court of all the planters met in October as a court of election for deputies, to attend both its own plantation court and the court of the Jurisdiction. All the planters attended, but only freemen or enfranchised church members could vote for officers. The court was also summoned at need, and met perhaps as often as ten times a year. The meetings apparently became burdensome, for many excuses were offered or fines laid for absences. It was even necessary to make the rule that men should not leave the meeting immediately after the rollcall, and much of the time of the Particular Court was taken up in settling these absences.

The smaller Plantation Court was composed of the governor and four magistrates or deputies, placed under oath. Great power was left in the hands of Governor Eaton. In dealing out justice he was like Solomon; or to use a comparison from his own time and country, like an English country squire; or in the words of Pierson's elegy, "In our courts of justice hee sate as King." His judgments often became moral discourses. In 1641 the business of the court had increased so much that it was necessary

to have two magistrates and Goodyear became deputy governor. After the formation of the Jurisdiction this smaller local court was called the Particular Court, the magistrates were called judges, and were all given equal power. Its duties were both legislative and judicial, and its jurisdiction indefinable. At first it had practically unlimited influence, because, except at the time of the town meeting, it was also the executive of the town.

The desire of some of the freemen to limit this power of the magistrates, and in order "that these meetings wch spends the Towne much time may not be so often," caused it to be voted in 1651 to choose annually as a sort of standing committee of the town meeting a number of "Townsmen." These men, whose number came to be usually seven, were to look after affairs, except extraordinary charges, elections, and disposal of land. The new officials were in general of a different class socially from the magistrates. Of the first ten chosen, only two were entitled to the prefix Mr., and among them were Jarvis Boykin (formerly town drummer), and John Cooper (town crier), who probably could not write. The Townsmen increased their powers at the expense of the magistrates, even opposing Mr. Davenport in the matter of the sale of Winthrop's house, and in the question of giving parish privileges to the outlying farmers.

Milford in November, 1639, voted "that five men should be chosen for judges in all civil affairs, and to try all causes between man and man; and as a court to punish any offence and misdemeanour." This, like the one in New Haven, was called the Particular Court. Its meetings were held every six weeks, but the magistrates could call an extra General Court or town meeting whenever they thought necessary. Guilford had similar bodies. The first recorded town meeting was held in October, 1646; a court of election. This General Court, like those in New Haven and Milford, was made up of the freemen and planters. Here also it was necessary to make the rule that they must stay until the close of the meeting "under suitable but severe penalties." Fines were laid as follows:—a freeman, for being over an hour late twelve pence, for absence two shillings and six pence; a planter six pence for lateness, and twelve pence for absence. Guilford chose Townsmen shortly before similar action in New Haven. The Particular Court, as in the other plantations, was formed of two, three or four deputies, and a magistrate, elected annually in the spring, the latter acting as one of the magistrates of the Jurisdiction. The court met quarterly, unless extra meetings were called "out of course," and dealt with civil matters, lower felonies, and, until 1643, with the probate of wills.

The government of the union of the four plantations,—the Jurisdiction,—was about five years in forming. This also had two bodies, the General Court and the court of magistrates. The distinction between the General Court of the plantation or town of New Haven and that of the Jurisdiction or colony of New Haven was not always clear, especially at first. Sometimes the former acted for the latter, in cases such as an anticipated Indian raid. The General Court of the town took action on

the admission of Milford into the union. When Humphrey Norton, the Quaker, was sent to New Haven for trial, the case came before the New Haven court, with the help of Leete from Guilford and Fenn from Milford. The proceedings were later read to the other court and approved. The records of the two kinds of general courts held in New Haven were for a time kept in the same book and by the same secretary. The New Haven town marshal was invariably chosen marshal of the Jurisdiction, and the chief magistrate of the town was also the governor of the Jurisdiction and presided over all the courts meeting in New Haven. An amusing example of minor complications of the situation was the discussion over providing for the maintenance of the magistrates and deputies at the time of the meetings in New Haven. The Jurisdiction Court suggested that on election day a dinner should be provided at common charge, a foreshadowing of the later election day celebrations. The General Court of the town of New Haven debated the matter in different meetings, and finally concluded that the deputies should be maintained by their respective towns, but that the magistrates should be provided for at the public charge, showing that the Connecticut compromise in the Federal Convention was not the first from this region. Much of this confusion between the two courts ended with the adoption of the Fundamental Agreement. The members of the General Court of the Jurisdiction were the governor, deputy governor, the magistrates of all the towns, and two deputies selected in the town meetings or General Courts of the several plantations, annually or semi-annually.

The Jurisdiction, like its members, had also a smaller body, the court of magistrates, sometimes called assistants. This was composed of the governor, the deputy governor, and the magistrates of the towns. It was at the same time the superior branch of the Legislature, and the judicial body, for it must concur in a measure before it could become a law; and it was both a court of appeal for all important cases from the various Particular Courts, and a court of probate for wills and the settlement of estates. Appeal could be made from its decisions to the General Court of the Jurisdiction.

The magistrates were nominated by the freemen and elected in the General Court of the Jurisdiction by the following method. Lists of names were made up in the various town meetings in the spring, and sent by the governor to all the towns, where they were voted on in town meetings. The results of these votes were taken by the deputies to the General Court of the Jurisdiction, where the election was made. Thus the General Court of New Haven in 1654 recommended a certain man for "magistrate in this Jurisdiction, for this Towne, at the next Election, whereof notice was to be speedily sent to the severall plantations, according to a law in ye Jurisdiction in that case."

This series of elections may be illustrated by those occurring in the fall of 1646. On October seventh Guilford in town meeting elected two deputies for the Jurisdiction Court and three for her own Particular Court,

besides local officers. On October twenty-seventh the town of New Haven held its town meeting or General Court, at which the following elections were held, among others:—four “deputies to the New Haven Monthly courts this yeare ensewinge,” and two deputies for the Jurisdiction General Court. On the following day the Jurisdiction held a General Court of election at which “The worpl Theophilus Eaton Esqr.” was chosen governor, and Mr. Stephen Goodyear deputy-governor “for the year ensewinge.” Two magistrates were then chosen for New Haven and Milford, one for Guilford, one for Stamford, two commissioners to the United Colonies, and a treasurer, secretary and marshal for the Jurisdiction. Examples of nominations for magistrates from the plantations occur. In 1643 Stamford sent in the names of two men, one of whom was chosen. In 1654 Milford wanted Mr. Fenn elected magistrate, and wrote to that effect both to Guilford and to New Haven, and in 1659 sent in the name of Mr. Treat. In 1658 Branford nominated or “propounded” Mr. Crane.

Lambert, speaking of these various courts in terms of those of a later time grouped them thus:—the plantation courts correspond to justice courts; the court of the magistrates to the Superior Court; and the General Court to the Legislature.

The historian, Trumbull, calls attention to the remarkable “steadiness” in the election of civil officers in New Haven. Eaton was governor eighteen times, or during the remainder of his life; Goodyear was generally deputy governor. The same steadiness was true of the deputies. William Chittenden was fourteen times deputy to the Jurisdiction from Guilford. He was also deputy to the Particular Court from 1646 until his death in 1660. These examples might be multiplied.

The New Haven Jurisdiction was also a member of the Confederation of the United Colonies. Meetings were held in the different colonies in turn, to which each member sent two commissioners. The first session in New Haven was in 1646, held in the meeting-house. The powers of the confederation extended to the making of war and peace, general defence, treatment of Indians, and the support and encouragement of religion. In view of later events one provision of the articles of union is of particular interest to New Haven: “that without the consent of all, no two members shall be united in one.” Members were chosen at the court of election in New Haven by methods similar to the election of magistrates. In 1644 it was ordered “thatt the Secretary shall write to all the plantations in this jurisdictiō to lett them know thatt att the Court of Elections consideratiō will be had of chuseing the commissioners for the collonyes att the said Court by the vote of all the freemen, thatt accordingly their deputies may come prepared.”

The last meeting of the United Colonies was in 1684, with Robert Treat of Milford as presiding officer. The last annual meeting in which New Haven was represented as an independent colony was in Hartford in 1664, with William Leete and William Jones as commissioners. The former, as

representative of Connecticut, was in the meeting in 1667, at which the congress of the colonies was reorganized.

A fourth form of government, that of the Quarters, might be added in New Haven, for these sub-divisions of the town held meetings and transacted business. Eight of the nine squares into which Quinnipiac had immediately been divided were assigned to planters in groups, depending partly on previous relationships. These squares were called quarters, and were designated by the names of the group, as the Hertfordshire quarter, or of prominent persons living in them, as Mr. Davenport's quarter. Two irregularly shaped outlying regions, the suburbs, formed the suburbs quarter. When the land outside the town plot was divided a portion of the first tract, called the Two mile square, (i. e. within two miles of the original layout), was allotted to each quarter, and so far as possible directly beside the one to which it was given. At first fences were built only around the quarters, with gates leading out, leaving the larger task of building inside fences until later. Thus each quarter formed a little unit, a subgroup of the plantation, and perhaps because of this preliminary arrangement came to have a kind of organization. Specific occasions for action by such a group came first through allotting the land inside the quarter, and soon through neighborhood happenings, such as settling damages from "harmful hogs" which "haunt the quarters" finding their way through gaps in the "crazie fences."

Perhaps the quarters are referred to in "the several private meetings" held in the town during the period of discussion before the church and civil government were established. The town "was cast into several private meetings, wherein they that dwelt most together gave their accounts to one another of God's gracious work upon them, and prayed together, and conferred to mutual edification." Something like action by the quarters is also suggested by an entry in the General Court records as early as 1639. Four men were appointed to "treate with the Hertfordshire men aboute their lotts, to see if they will part with them and upon what terms." A little later men were asked to find out "the mindes of their severall quarters, how many are contented to exchang their land in the neck for land in the ox pasture." In 1650 a planter who preferred to give up a piece of land rather than keep up the fence, "was told ye Court cannot alter his Agreement wth ye quarter, hee must seeke to ye quarter for that, but ye Court must see order be attended." Instead of letting him off, the court accordingly fined him two shillings for "his length of rayles twice defective." This action seems to represent the relative spheres of the court and the quarters. Another man was told he must "gitt free if he can, for if he be complained of the court cannot pass it by." In case the quarter could not settle a difficulty, the court would do so, on fuller information from the quarters. Doubtless they would prefer to settle the matter themselves, for in another instance the decision was that if the case came before the court again, "that will be chargeable to those that are found to be the offenders." Even if there were no dispute, and a man

wished to give up a lot, the court must first hear the opinion of those who held land there.

The quarters were required to take various kinds of action to try to remedy the condition of defective fences:—surveying by committees or individual officials appointed by themselves, and sometimes paid by them; marking the fences to show ownership and responsibility; and paying fines when the quarter neglected to follow out these recommendations. Another matter was left for them to settle, “the putting in cattle into ye severall quarters is left to themselves to order.” In 1652 three quarters got into a dispute concerning the second division of land. Each was “desired to appoint a man to speake wth the Townesmen, and that the land be viewed, and the matter issued as the Townesmen shall determine.”

The quarters offered a convenient way for the General Court to get information, such as the quantity of corn sown or planted, or lists of estates liable to rates. Meetings of the quarters were evidently as much of a burden as those of the town. In 1647 it was suggested in the General Court that haywards might be chosen to deal with the ever present fence-and-stray-cattle problem, “to which the court inclined. And whereas it is found and complained of, that when meetings of that nature are warned severall doe not attend them, therefore it is ordered that when a meeting is appointed and all they in the quarters haue seasonable warning, if any come not, yett the maior pt may agree any course for the goode of the quarter, provided it crosses no order of courte allreadie made.” In 1649 further rules for the meetings of the quarters were made.

CHAPTER IV

CHURCH ORGANIZATION AND CUSTOMS

The question of the ministers in the newly formed churches had to be settled. They had only preached to the people at first, administering no sacraments. Soon after the church was formed in New Haven Davenport was chosen pastor, two deacons were elected and somewhat later (1644) a teacher and a ruling elder were ordained. This was the only church with a complete equipment of officers, (though the first churches usually had two able experienced ministers), and the custom was not continued in this church. Both Mr. Davenport and Mr. Prudden were set apart to work in these particular churches by a special service, though they had been ordained in England by a bishop. The services were similar, and both were held in New Haven. Mr. Hooker and Mr. Stone of Hartford were both present at the ceremony inducting Mr. Davenport, and one of them offered prayer. Mr. Davenport and another minister seem to have been present at the induction of Mr. Prudden into the pastorate of his church. Mr. Prudden's account of this is preserved. "At Milford, I Peter Prudden was called to ye office of a Pastour in this Church, and ordained at New Haven, by Zachariah Whitman, William Fowler, Edmund Tapp, designed by ye church for that work: Zach Whitman being ye moderator for that meeting in a day of solemn humiliation, upon ye 3d Saturday in April, being I remember ye 18th day of ye month, 1640." The church at Guilford pursued a different course. It declined to have a ruling elder, and considered that as Mr. Whitfield came over in orders, he was continuing his English ministry. Consequently there is no record or tradition of any ceremony. There was no need of such action in the case of Mr. Pierson of Branford, for he had already organized a church in Southampton. The historian Trumbull, himself a minister, said that ordination of ministers was not held to be as essential as qualifications for office and election by the church. As to the ceremony itself, the general opinion was that elders ought to lay on hands in ordination, but if there were no elders, the church might appoint someone to perform this part of the ceremony.

The ministers were supported at first, as has been said, not from the town treasury, but by voluntary contributions made in the church every Sunday, and placed in the care of deacons or men specially appointed. In Guilford, from the beginning, three men were chosen in town meeting to collect the contributions for the minister's maintenance. These soon fell off, both in amount and in value. There were different grades of

wampum, some of it made of small soft stones or inferior shells dyed, and this occasionally found its way into the Sunday collection. In 1645 Stephen Goodyear was appointed to judge the value of wampum. It was also noticed that some people gave nothing. The suggestion of the United Colonies was adopted that each man should be required to set down what he would voluntarily give for this purpose, and if he refused, that he should be rated. This provision was embodied in Eaton's code. In case of refusal to pay a man was sometimes ordered by the court to do so. Records remain of meetings when men told what they could contribute. Thus at a meeting held in Guilford in 1650 to try to keep Mr. Whitfield with them, "enquiry was made of every man in particular, concerning his ability in paying to the ministers for ye present and in probability to continue according to ordinary providence. John Sheder professed he was willing and hoped he should be able to continue to do what at present was laid upon him, but not further. * * * John Johnson professeth the like, and hoped he should be able to continue the same and add 6s more * * * Alexander Chauker said he doubted how he should." * * *

This was the method until after the union with Connecticut.

Further provision was made for the support of the minister. Sometimes land was set aside to the church for this purpose. This was done in Milford for instance, and large grants were given the first three ministers. In the division of land the minister was often given his choice, or an extra or better portion. This was his personal estate, and in the case of succeeding ministers, it was necessary to make a "settlement." An interesting example of a settlement, with conditions such as were often attached, though belonging to a later period, is the offer made to "Mr. Whittelsey, Sur" in 1709 in Wallingford. The committee "doe propose to make such grants of lands and other encouragements following," (naming various pieces of land) to be an "estate in fee simple: Likewise the committee do agree to build a house," (giving the proportions), and "a Sallery of Seaventy pound a year for the tow first years and the thurd yeare eighty pound and One hundred pound a yeare ever after, soe long as he carrieth on the work of the ministry." He was also to be provided with fire wood, "but if the providence of God should so order that the said Mr. Sam'll Whittlesey dye leaving no male Hare that is a natural issue of his bodye. then the six acer lott by the meeting house and the meadow lott called the parsonage to returne to the towne againe."

The colony of New Haven was plentifully supplied with ministers even at the beginning, having already, up to the time of the union with Connecticut, nearly a score of ministers in the four plantations. The most famous were Davenport, Samuel Eaton, Hooke and Street in New Haven, with Ezekiel Cheever preaching occasionally; Peter Prudden and Roger Newton in Milford; Whitfield, Higginson and Eliot in Guilford; and Pier-son in Branford.

According to theory a completely equipped church should have not only a pastor but a teacher, ruling elder, and deacons, each with his own

sphere of duty. The business of the preacher was to exhort, "to work upon the will and the affections" by his oratory and fire; to inculcate the duties and present the consolations of religion. His was to be "the sinewy athletic strength that could make effective use of the fire and hammer to break the flinty heart." The first ministers seem to have fulfilled these requirements. Mr. Whitfield was described as having a delivery of marvellous majesty and sanctity; Mr. Davenport as a princely preacher; Mr. Prudden as having fervor and power; while Mr. Sherman, also of Milford, "with an easy fluency bespangled his discourses with such glittering figures of oratory."

The function of the teacher was to explain and defend the doctrines, to expound and counsel privately, to unravel knotty doctrinal problems and to give the benefit of calm judgment. He "prepared the feeble reason and illuminated the darkened understanding for the school of the church fellowship." The ruling elder need not be educated for the ministry, or devote all his time to it, as did the pastor and teacher. He assisted in the government of the church, watched over the members, visited the sick, prepared matters of business, and presented and conducted cases of discipline. When Mr. Davenport brought the case of Mrs. Eaton to trial, he said, "The elder will now read the particulars to you." After he had done this, the elder asked Mrs. Eaton if she had anything to object to in the charges. The deacons, usually two or four in number, provided for the poor of the church, looked out for the place of meeting, and received the contributions. New Haven town meeting in 1658 was informed by Deacon Miles that the preacher "was like to want corn and other provisions within a short time, which he desired might be considered, how he may be supplied." In 1691 aid was asked for the relief of soldiers and war victims. Collections were to be taken up in the congregations "and what shall be rayseed this way, is by the deacons, in each towne where there be deacons, and by the constables where there be no deacons" sent to the appointed place. All these officers were formally ordained and held office for life. In the meeting-house they sat facing the congregation, the deacons on a seat somewhat lower than the others, below the pulpit.

The New Haven church was the only one equipped with officers according to this plan, and that only for a short time. Davenport was the preacher, Hooke the teacher from 1644 to 1656, and then Nicholas Street until the departure of Mr. Davenport, when he became the preacher, with no teacher, and none was ever appointed again. Samuel Eaton was teacher before the church was organized, but he was not ordained. Robert Newman, owner of the great barn, was apparently elder for a time, and the office was gradually discontinued. Milford went so far as to appoint a teacher, Mr. Sherman, but the appointment was declined. An elder was ordained in 1645, with Davenport and Hooke present to assist in the ceremony. In Guilford Mr. Higginson was teacher, officiating half the time each Sunday, and having charge of the public school during the week. Apparently he had the fire and oratory necessary to a preacher, for John

Bishop told the court that "Mr. Higginson, in his sermon, did so teare at ye young men that, if he had been there, he would have gone out of the meeting-house and not have endured them." Guilford would not have an elder, and the first appearance of deacons there was in 1665 with the duty "to prepare Mr. Eliot's hows one the Townes charge, that is to say the glas, seeling and flowers."

Not every one regarded these offices with the reverence considered their due. A Mrs. Moore in New Haven was brought to trial for blaspheming and reviling the holy ordinances. She had said that those to whom Christ gave gifts as pastors and teachers "are gon through the world and are now assended to heaun. * * * that now pastours and teachers are but the invention of men * * * that this people are like the people of Sinaj vnder bondage." To one who was conferring with her over "her error in poynt of church officers" she said "I warrt you take the angells to be men and church officers * * * a sperit hath not flesh and bones * * * she conceived those angells of the seven churches to bee sperits, and not teaching officers." Governor Eaton, in one of the discourses such as he often gave on these occasions, said she was in error, that though the apostles travelled far yet they could not go into every part of the world and "probably they were never in this lardge tract or part of the world called America." The promise was of a different kind when Christ said he would be with the apostles.

One of the objects of the United Colonies was "the preserving and propagating the truth and liberties of the Gospel." In 1648 nearly all the churches of the colonies, including New Haven, united in a synod, held in Cambridge, to consider religious questions and determine the principles of church discipline. The platform drawn up at this synod made certain declarations concerning the power of the magistrates over the churches, and the rule that the church should be maintained by every one whether a church member or not. Questions naturally arose as to the rights of non-church members in the election of a minister they were required to support; and over the baptism of children of persons, themselves baptized in infancy, but not church members. What was the position of strangers who, though moral and respectable, had not taken this step, either through indifference, or because they thought that, as members in good standing of the Established Church of England, they should thereby be accepted by the churches of her colonies?

A controversy in Hartford led to the summoning of another convention in Boston in 1657, which decreed the famous Half Way Covenant, that is, baptism of children of baptized persons who at maturity had not publicly united in full church membership, though "owning the covenant," and putting themselves under the care of the church, without communion privileges. As each church was controlled by its own membership in its practices, the synods had only advisory authority. Nothing could compel a church to accept their decisions except the opinion of a majority of the members. Such a state of affairs naturally led to church quarrels. The

Half Way Covenant was accepted by most ministers in Connecticut, but New Haven would not send representatives to this synod, and strenuously opposed the covenant it drew up. Mr. Prudden of Milford accepted it, but Davenport and Pierson fought it bitterly, and ultimately left their churches rather than accept it, Davenport continuing the fight in Boston.

New Haven's attitude on the subject, and fears for her peculiar provision concerning the franchise are well set forth in the letter declining to attend the synod. "We hear the petitioners * * * are very confident they shall obtain great alterations both in civil government and in church discipline, and that some of them have procured and hired one as their agent, to maintain in writing (as is conceived), that parishes in England, consenting to and continuing their meetings to worship God, are true churches, and such persons coming over hither (without holding forth any work of faith &c have right to all church priveleges. And probably they expect their deputy should employ himself and improve his interests, to spread and press such paradoxes in the Massachusetts, yea at the synod or meeting."

The first meetings for public worship were held whenever convenient; under the oak tree and in Newman's barn in New Haven, in Whitfield's house in Guilford. The first meeting-houses were square buildings, two stories high, with a sharp roof, coming to a point in the centre, and a turret for the watchman and drummer. Guilford had a stone meeting-house, the stones put together with clay, and with unplastered walls and a thatched roof. The meeting-houses in the other plantations were of wood. The smallest was the one in Guilford, twenty-four or -five feet square, and the largest the one in New Haven, fifty feet square. This was badly built, and soon in great need of repairs. In 1659 it was necessary to take down the turret on the tower and prop the building. There were no pews but plain seats, and in winter the glass was taken out of the windows and boards put on. The darkness, with the lack of heat and uncomfortable seats must have made a cheerless place, but for the oratory and fire of the preachers. The buildings were put up by the proprietors of the plantations. That in New Haven cost £500, the money raised by a tax of thirty shillings on the £100. For this reason, and since the only voters were church members, it is not surprising that the meeting-houses were used for other than religious purposes. Town meetings were held there, and, making it the church militant as well as political, the town's supply of weapons were kept there in a chest, protected "from warping or other hurt or decays." Guilford, at the time of the intercolonial wars even kept the town stock of powder in the church attic for a time (1744). Sometimes creditors were notified by writings placed on the doors of the meeting-house, or notice of a contract of marriage was put there. Seats were free in the sense of not being paid for, but people were not free, either to sit where they wished or not to occupy their seats. They were fined, and in 1647 a man was publicly whipped for not going to church, the authorities not accepting as legitimate his excuse that his only clothes had been

wet through the day before, and he had been obliged to stay in bed on Sunday while they dried. It was easy to notice absences when seats were assigned. Committees attended to this difficult task, and located people in the meeting-house by some method of rating their position in the community, usually with consideration to age, public service and amount of property. Of course it was necessary because of changes among the people, to re-seat the church at intervals, three seatings occurring in New Haven in this period, 1647, 1655, 1662. Seats were not assigned to persons below the rank of Goodman. Men and women sat on opposite sides of the house, with one unfortunate result, that of leaving the young people away from their parents. Naturally there was disorder, and it became necessary to appoint men to act as understudies for the parents in this matter, these men later developing into regular officials, the tithing men. Boys under fourteen sat where the deacons could keep a watchful eye upon them from their seats in front of the pulpit. The other young people were in the gallery, but older boys who created a disturbance had to come down with their younger brothers and sit near the deacons "till they larne to behave themselves orderly."

Some court cases show that youth is youth in any age. Stephen Pearson was called before the court for lying along the seat in an uncomely manner and striving with John Clark about a hat. John Brown was observed by the children to laugh in church, "to wch his father replied that he could wish ye children did not so gaze abroad as they doe wch speech of his ye Court reprobued, as no way tending to his sonnes conviction and good, but ye contrary." Jeremiah Johnson showed a "notorious prophane spirit" because he "did one Saboth day in ye meeting-house steale a pare of gloues from a Scotch-man." Jeremiah had stolen gloves and a neck cloth from some one else, and had made mocking remarks about the Scriptures, such as, when a cow was lifted out of the swamp, saying "to ye cow, goe thy way and sinn no more, lest a worse thing come unto thee." Jeremiah was sentenced to be whipped and to make double restitution, and the Scotch-man was doubtless not an unwilling gainer.

Neither were children all perfect in behavior in those days. Henry Monell and his wife were called before the court for the disorderly walking of their children. During meeting on the Sabbath they had gone to Goodman Perkin's house several times, and stolen eggs and apples or beat them down from the trees. Widow Hitchcock said that Sergeant Beckley's children were playing and picking blackberries on Sunday. The parents replied that the children could not always go to church, but that they had been told to keep the house. The worst of these young offenders was Sam Ford, sixteen years old. He went to a neighbor's house one Sunday and nearly strangled his six year old child by casting a rope with a noose about his neck. The court discovered other things to the disadvantage of Sam. He kindled fire in the woods on a Fast Day, and was saucy to his mother. A neighbor testified that he said "Now you are got a gossiping together, is my dinner ready." "You get a gossiping together and when my father

and I come to dinner, wee cannot haue it," and other impertinent remarks. Sam was sentenced to be "severely whipped publicuely," both for his own good and as an example to others.

The court records are full of these human documents. Caleb Horton heard that Jacob Murline had been fined for stealing kisses, and said, "What doth the Court doe wth the fines, and that hee would kisse a mayde before the Gouvernor's face." He was promptly told "then there needs no other witness." There were wrathful wives who called their husbands devils, and one of them "up with a stick and hit him on the head;" and a pathetic wife who sat by the ferry two hours crying because her husband would not leave the ordinary.

Services in the churches were not unlike those today, consisting of prayers, reading of the Scriptures, sermon, singing of Psalms, and a blessing at the close. The singing was done without the accompaniment of instruments, and New Haven had the peculiar custom of rising when the Bible was read or the text given out. At the time for taking the contribution one of the deacons rose from his seat in front of the pulpit, and called for the offering, sometimes with the addition of a few words from the preacher. No box was passed, but the people brought their contributions to the deacon's seat. This was an excellent post of observation, and the deacons could take notice that "diuers giue not in the Treasury at all upon the Lord's day." The deacons also kept an account book. "Deacon Miles informed that their are many that stand debtors to the Church Treasury in Mr. Gilbert's booke (lately deacon); hee desired that some course might be thought of for ye issuing those accots, who are now engaged to attend at home ye 5th and 6th day next, for the cleareing of those accounts wth such as shall repaire to him," a notice suggestive of those given out on a day of our supposedly modern every member canvass.

People came up with their contributions in an orderly way, first the magistrates and chief gentlemen, then the elders, and all the men of the congregation, including those who were not church members, for unenfranchised men took precedence of women, even though the latter were church members. Women whose husbands were away, or who were widows or spinsters, then followed in due order. Not every one was allowed to come up to the deacon's table. Elizabeth Codman, released from prison because of her health, was told she must not "come to ye contribution, as she hath formerly done." It is not stated whether her money was considered tainted, or whether it was carried up by another person. At the deacon's table was a box for contributions of money or promises to pay, but other articles were placed on the table. Mrs. Brewster, who was said to be full of speech and to have "a notable patte," was charged with describing this custom "as going to masse or going vp to the high altar, & being asked by Mrs. Moore why then she went to them, she answered because her husband had commanded her." Mrs. Brewster denied this and turned the tables on Mrs. Moore by saying "Mrs. Moore asked what rule there was for going to the high altar in the contributions, but Mrs. Eaton defended the practice of the church."

Public discipline took place after the contribution was taken up. The elder arose and asked the brethren to stay after the assembly had departed. It was forbidden to eat or drink with an excommunicated person, though sometimes difficult to decide the scholastic question as to what constituted the act of drinking. The same Mrs. Brewster was accused of associating with a woman who had been excommunicated. "Mrs. Brewster said she drank not though she put the cup to her mouth, she asked whether any of the sack went downe, widow Potter said, from her carriage and outward appearance she apprehended she drunk, but could not say what quantity went downe." Another case of discipline was that of Mrs. Eaton, wife of the governor. She incurred the disapproval of the church by leaving the assembly whenever baptism was to be administered, or else staying away altogether. The course of procedure was first that Mr. Davenport tried to show the error of her beliefs by arguments and sermons. Mr. Hooke and Mr. Gregson also labored with her privately, and all this having no effect, she was brought up for discipline. She was admonished and after an unsatisfactory series of letters to the elders was brought before the church and publicly questioned. At this meeting elders from some of the other churches were present, and she was finally "cast out of the church with much grief of heart and many tears."

There was a law against Quakers which spoke of the "cursed sect of heretics lately risen up in the world which are commonly called Quakers," and of their "blasphemous opinions," and that they "despise governments and the order of God, in church and commonwealth." Little was done against them here, however. An inhabitant of Greenwich was fined, one from Southold was whipped, and a seaman was detained on shipboard until he left the Jurisdiction. The most important case was that of Humphrey Norton, brought to New Haven for trial from Southold, to which he had come six months before on being banished from Plymouth. Letters were sent telling of his acts, and papers of his own, setting forth his beliefs. His papers were read in court, and his "Horrible Errours and Reproaches" refuted by Mr. Davenport. He was fined £10, whipped, branded on the hand with the letter H as a heretic, and banished again.

Witchcraft figured in New Haven in three cases, but happily there were no executions. This was perhaps because of no trial by jury, and the sense and moderation of Governor Eaton and Stephen Goodyear as judges. In 1665 two undesirable citizens, Nicholas Bayley and his wife, were brought before the court for several offences. Mrs. Bayley was told that she was "very suspitious in point of withcraft," but that the court would not proceed with that at present. Charged with making discord among her neighbors, and with the use of very Elizabethan language, she was fined for lying, and the two were told that they must give good satisfaction for their good behavior, or leave the plantation, with the impression that their departure would be a most welcome event. They were obliged to report to the court from time to time, always under the suspicion of witchcraft, and with the continued recommendation to remove.

At the same time the case of Elizabeth Codman, who lived in the family of Mr. Goodyear, was being passed on from court to court, started by her bringing suit for slander. She was also under suspicion of witchcraft, with the familiar charges about sick cows, pigs, calves, and chickens, of trouble over churning, and of strange happenings at night. Mrs. Codman was, most unreasonably, it seems to us, not allowed to go to religious meetings, though "she said she had great need of it." She was sent to prison for a while. She was let out on account of her health but was required to give a security of £50, and was under certain restrictions. Thomas Johnson was willing to receive her into his family, and there she died in 1660, when he charged her estate for house room and firing at eight pence a week. She seems to have harbored no hard feelings to the church which she could not attend, for by her will she gave her three cows to the two elders without any conditions, and the authorities "doubt not but that by the Two Elders is meant Mr. Davenport and Mr. Street."

In the third witchcraft case William Meaker sued Thomas Mulliner for slander in laying the suspicion of witchcraft on him, that he, William, had bewitched the pigs of Thomas. He was cleared of the suspicion.

With all the goodly supply of ministers, marriages were performed by magistrates. Thus the first marriage in Guilford was not performed by Mr. Whitfield, though it was in his house, but by Mr. Desborough. No public religious service was held when a person died. In New Haven and Guilford the dead were buried on the Green, in Milford in Mr. Prudden's garden. Governor Newman as early as 1658 thought this custom was not healthful, and propounded that some other place be thought of for that purpose. The practice was opposed the next year as prejudicial to health, but more than a century and a half passed before a change was made. Fasts were frequently held, at irregular intervals, and on special occasions. On Fast Days public worship was held as on Sundays, with the same obligations as to behavior.

CHAPTER V

MILITARY AFFAIRS

The settlers at Quinnipiac apparently had a military organization from the beginning, at first provisionally under Captain Turner, with regulations concerning arms and ammunition and their inspection. In September, 1640, he was appointed formally, and continued in command of all martial affairs until his departure and loss in the "Greate Shippe." By 1642 other officers were added, lieutenant, corporal, sergeant, and ensign or "ancient," the standard bearer. Every man between the ages of sixteen and sixty was subject to military duty, serving in one of the four squadrons which trained each successive week for four weeks. On the fifth a general training was held, later reduced to six times a year.

The town had a public supply of arms, gunpowder and shot, furniture for horses, some "great guns at the water side, and three more of the greater Cise in the markit place vpon feild carriages," and other warlike property. The Townsmen made as complete an "inuoice" as they could in 1640. The trial of Robert Clarke (1656) explains partly why the town did not always know where its property was. Robert, servant to Allen Ball, stole one of the town pikes one training day just before winter. Against all "deswasion" he took it home and kept it even after being told by his master to return it. Instead he hid it until spring, when he cut it and took part to the smith to be made into a fork, still denying to all that it was a town pike. He was brought to court, which reproved him for stealing, lying and disobeying his master. He was fined, required to bring two half pikes to the company, (according to the usual provision of making double restitution), and also had to make a public acknowledgment at that time of his fault.

The town had a supply of soldiers' coats. In 1643 "Itt is ordered thatt every famyly within this plantation shall have a coate of cotton woole, well and substantially made, so as itt may be fitt for service, and that in convenient time the taylours see itt done." These coats were quilted as a defence against Indian arrows, and any one failing to be thus provided was fined. Guilford bought a quantity of cotton wool for this purpose, and distributed it, though not to every one's satisfaction. William Stone, a tailor and signer of the Plantation Covenant, who complained of unjust allotment of land, "peremptory affirmed, wth heat and passion in open Court, yt he thought & did verily believe, he had wrong in the quantity of his cotton wool." These coats became useless when the Indians were supplied with muskets, and were sold.

Watches were established in New Haven in 1640, somewhat after the idea of a police force. Thirty-one groups of six men and a master of the watch served in turn, ordinarily from November to March. Cases of extraordinary necessity were left to the magistrates, and the watch might be increased in numbers at a time such as an Indian alarm. The master of the watch was appointed by the captain, subject to the approval of the magistrates. His duties were to divide the night from sunset to daylight into three watches, during which men were to go through the town in pairs to see that everything was kept safe and orderly through the night. The charge for the watch in Guilford describes these duties:—"for discovering of any danger, either from enemies, or by fyre." If persons were seen walking at unseasonable hours the watch was "to require of them an account of their way," and to apprehend any Indians walking about. Prowlers without satisfactory explanation were taken to the watch-house and kept until morning. One man was always to be there as sentinel. Watch during public worship was kept by the trained band, to whom seats in the meeting-house were assigned on each side of the front door, with way left open for their quick departure in case of an alarm. A sentinel was also stationed in the turret of the meeting-house.

There was naturally much trouble over men of the watch falling asleep, spending their time with congenial friends along their way, or staying at home on the slightest excuse instead of patrolling the streets on cold, dark and stormy nights. Both watching and training were regarded as burdensome, and it was finally necessary to pass a law about exemptions. Since certain men were excused from serving in either duty others were always trying to get their names on this list. Advice on this troublesome matter was asked of Massachusetts Bay, and the result was a long list of exemptions drawn up in 1648. Those excused were magistrates, deputies, elders, deacons, school-masters, the treasurer, surveyor, auditor, public notaries, physicians, surgeons, masters of vessels over fifteen tons, millers, one servant to each magistrate and teaching elder, and those excused because of bodily weakness, or reasonable cause. Mr. Wakeman, for instance, must keep watch, but was excused from training, since he broke his arm with the fall of a cart.

Wood in the watch-house for the "use and succour of the watch in cold weather" was supplied from clearing the market place. To prevent broken shins and strong language "it was propounded of that men would clear wood and stones from their pale-sides, that the watchman in dark nights might the more safely walk the rounds without hurt thereby."

After the Jurisdiction was formed it took the matter in charge and ordered all men of the prescribed age (sixteen to sixty), to arm themselves, appointed training days for each plantation, decreed that each should have its great guns loaded, and keep a stated supply of ammunition on hand, provide watches during the night, and armed men in attendance at public worship. Each plantation was to provide itself with a "partison for its lieutenant, cullars for its ensigne, and halberds for its serjants."

In 1652 a general training day was proposed for the Jurisdiction, but Guilford voted against it. The higher life of the soldiers was not neglected. "The deputies of each plantation must speak to the teaching elders there to take some fitt opportunities to speak to the souldiers something by way of exhortation to quicken them to a consciencious attendanc to their duty." In lighter vein they were to see that "the souldiours have a good pair of hilts to play at cudgels with, that they exercise themselves in playing at backswords, that they learne how to handle their weapons for the defence of themselves and the offenc of their enemies; and that, in time of their vacancy, they doe exercise themselves in running, wrestling, leaping, and the like manly exercise." Seven acres in the Oyster shell field were left for a shooting place for the train band. The soldiers were to shoot at a mark three times a year, for some small prize provided by each town, the prize to be not more than five shilling in value, nor less than half that amount.

A troop of horse was formed for the Jurisdiction in 1656 which lasted a few years. It was made up of sixteen men,—six from New Haven, four from Guilford and Branford, four from Milford, and two from Stamford. These men were exempt from rates for themselves and for their horses, and from training with the foot companies. The Jurisdiction also directed that dogs be provided. Twelve was the quota for New Haven, which "were thought to be in ye Towne allready till better could prouided, and were in the hands of several men now named in ye margent, and Edwa. Parker was desired to doe the best he can to get some mastive whelpes from Stratford or Long Island, where they here is some."

The colony was prepared for defence from the beginning, but aside from almost constant anxiety, had no serious actual trouble in this early period. Relations with the Indians in the immediate neighborhood were peaceable and friendly in general, and treaties were well observed on both sides. Perhaps it was as Winthrop observed, because "They wanted peace, all their men and money to prosecute the design of planting the country." In pursuance of this policy Eaton in 1639 persuaded Connecticut to adjust trouble with the sachem Sowheag at Wethersfield, rather than fight as Connecticut had wished. The first official act of the Jurisdiction, however, was to hang an Indian for murder, under somewhat questionable conditions. The Jurisdiction had been in existence only a day.

Relations with the Indians were not always of this unpleasant nature. Some Indians in New Haven, for instance, wished help in fencing their land. Men were appointed at the town's charge to show them how to do this, and helped them with three score day's work. Justice was done Indians against the English in the courts, as in the case of a seaman who tried to pay an Indian guide less than the price agreed on, and of a man who stole venison from an Indian. Mr. Pierson, the energetic minister at Branford, labored for their conversion, knew their language, and began a catchecism for their instruction. Mr. Higginson and Mr. Eliot of Guilford also knew their language. Indians worked for the planters. Gover-

nor Leete had two Indians and their wives as servants, who were loyal and contented, for he said they "had kept here not meddling with the quarrels of Uncas." This seems to have been the usual attitude of the Indians around Guilford. Of course the Indians were harmed by the "strong waters" to which the white men introduced them.

At various times special alarm was felt and fear of harm from the Indians. In 1643 and again a year later, New Haven sent men to Stamford, where trouble had arisen, and in 1648 fifty men were sent there to avenge the murder of a settler. A feeling of anxiety persisted until the end of the Dutch power in America in 1664. It was felt that the Dutch furnished arms to the Indians and stirred them up to cut off the English. Though the Long Island Indians in general were less troublesome than the others, there were alarms in Southold in 1649 and again in 1657, when the people appealed to New Haven for help. In Guilford watch was kept against the Indians. Many houses were palisaded, and the stone house is said to have been built partly as a fortification, but no accounts exist of conflicts with them in this vicinity. Indians were numerous around Milford. A law was passed forbidding the sale of firearms to them, and a strong palisade was built around the town. In 1645 the Indians set fire to the adjacent country, but the planters were able to stop it in the swamps, and save the palisades and the town. Great damage was done the crops, some natural meadows were ruined and timber destroyed. In 1648 the Milford Indians and the Mohawks had a great battle nearby. The English were not involved, except individually through kindness shown an Indian warrior. In 1653 the Indians were again troublesome, there as elsewhere; and in 1656 strict regulations were made over allowing them in the town.

The greater danger was that the more distant tribes might form a general combination against all the English plantations. The enmity of the Dutch increased this danger, except for a short time in 1643 when they were themselves involved in troubles with the Indians. They then proposed joint action, the English to furnish one hundred men for which the Dutch would pay. The General Court of the Jurisdiction refused to act without the other members of the Confederation, partly because of the uncertain justice of the war, but it promised to lay the matter before the next meeting of the United Commissioners, and to supply provisions in case of need. The Dutch were soon free to carry on their objections to the presence of the English in this region.

In view of the dangers from the Dutch and the Indians, with whom the Dutch had great influence, and since no great additions to their own numbers by new arrivals from England could be expected after the triumph of the Puritan party, a union was formed. First the seaside plantations united "that peace within these four collonyes may be better secured, without any impeachment of sperituall priveledges," and soon the union thus formed joined with three other English colonies.

The first need for action outside the Jurisdiction was caused by an attack on Uncas by a Narragansett sachem, Miantinomah, in spite of the latter's treaties with the English. The United Colonies felt "there is need of sending forth some souldiers to strengthen Uncus," and the first tax levied by the Jurisdiction was to pay the expenses of six soldiers sent at this time to join eight from Hartford. Two years later assistance was again sent Uncas, against the Narragansetts, these men staying several months. The United Colonies then declared war, and requested New Haven to send thirty men as her quota. Before they started, the Indians made peace, seeing the arrival of a preliminary band of forty men from Massachusetts, sent to relieve the New Haven men who were still there in garrison, and the vigorous preparations being made for sending an army against them.

Alarms of this nature were continually occurring. In 1649 the colonies were greatly aroused by the plotting of the Niantics and Mohawks. In 1653 there was another general alarm and expectation of war with the Indians and the Dutch, and fear that the two would unite. In 1654 a land force was sent by the United Colonies, (fifty men from New Haven), against Ninigret, which accomplished nothing. Ninigret was a sachem of the Niantics who was carrying on a desultory war with the Long Island Indians, tributaries and friends of the English. In 1656 Connecticut and the Jurisdiction had an armed bark cruising in the Sound against Ninigret. Guilford and Branford furnished two of the four men who formed the crew, and New Haven furnished the guns. In August of this year another Jurisdiction tax was laid. Ninigret finally made a humiliating peace.

Relations with the Dutch were never very amicable, and the colonists described them as "likely to prove injurious and dangerous neighbors." Trumbull presents a formidable list of grievances of the Colonists against the Dutch, of a kind which were doubtless not without reciprocation,—reception of fugitives, persuasion of servants to leave their masters, purchase of stolen goods, and assistance to criminals in breaking jail. Trouble was caused principally by disputes over territory, and purchase by New Haven of lands claimed by the Dutch. Conflicts began early. In 1640 New Haven bought Greenwich and sent settlers, who were led to revolt by the intrigues of the Dutch. Governor Stuyvesant incorporated them as a town, but in 1656 their neighbors of Stamford complained of them as a drunken and lawless lot, who caused much annoyance. Thereupon New Haven asserted its right to the settlement, and ordered Greenwich to submit to its jurisdiction, which was done only after some time and trouble.

Commercial ambition led New Haven to make an unfortunate purchase of land for a trading post at Delaware Bay, bringing them into conflict with the Dutch in that region. In 1641 Captain Turner as agent for a company containing Eaton and Davenport among others, bought nearly the whole southwest coast of New Jersey and a tract on the present site of Philadelphia. This land was so situated as to promise lucrative fur trade with the Indians, such as could not be enjoyed around New Haven.

Nearly fifty families were sent to establish a settlement and trading post. The Dutch, claiming this territory, objected to such "audacity," and sent an armed force which seized the goods and vessel of the settlers, burned the trading house, and made some of them prisoners. The Swedes, who claimed lands on the west side of the bay, joined forces with the Dutch. Mr. Lamberton, one of the principal men of New Haven, was at the Bay in 1643 with his ship *The Cock*. He was seized and tried for inciting the Indians against the Swedes, and when they could find no evidence for the charge of treason, even by giving his men strong drink, he was fined for unlawful trading in their territory. Sickness and pestilence also fell upon the would-be settlers. Some of them submitted to the Dutch, and the rest returned to New Haven. The enterprise is estimated to have cost over £1,000.

New Haven, however, did not give up her claims, and presented her case against the Dutch at the meeting of the United Colonies, which came to an agreement to refer the question to England and Holland, but that meanwhile both might trade there. Not only was there a long correspondence, but New Haven voted in town meeting (1650) to renew the attempt at a trading post and settlement. In the next spring a new band set forth, furnished with a Fundamental Agreement, a commission from Governor Eaton, and letters from him and the governor of Massachusetts stating that they were going to settle on their own lands. In spite of the array of documents, Governor Stuyvesant stopped the company at Manhattan, put the messengers under guard, arrested the master of the vessel, refused to give up the commission of the company which he had got hold of, and forced them to abandon the expedition, having signed a paper that they would return to New Haven. He followed this with dire threats of what would happen if they should make further attempts.

New Haven tried to get sufficient help from the United Colonies to renew the enterprise, asking the Federation, Plymouth, and Captain Mason to join. Mason accepted, but Connecticut would not allow him to go. During this time war was declared between England and Holland and the dispute with New Netherlands continued. The Confederation declared war with that colony, and asked help from Cromwell. Massachusetts, although a member of the Confederation, refused to concur in this, just as she had refused help against Ninigret. This was naturally regarded by the others as "such ill fruit." Just as a force was ready to start, with the energetic Pierson as chaplain, and plans were prepared to unite with the fleet sent by Cromwell, England and Holland made peace. Even this did not stop the attempts of New Haven to start a settlement at Delaware Bay. In 1654 another band was ready. A general unwillingness to go was noticeable on the part of the principal men of the town, who made various excuses of ill health, etc., though they thought it an admirable enterprise, and would lend some of the town's guns, and assist in other ways. A series of events kept the band from actually setting out. No trading posts were started after 1643 but the claims to the territory were maintained until 1664.

While the Jurisdiction and the Dutch were coming into conflict at Delaware Bay, other causes of trouble appeared,—boundary disputes, the trading post at Paugasset (Derby), and unlawful trading by ships. The Dutch governor made such restrictions on trade, by way of high duties, that his traders preferred to buy and sell their goods in the harbor of the Jurisdiction, since the English ports were free. In 1648 the Dutch governor seized a ship in New Haven harbor, on the ground that this territory properly belonged to New Netherlands, and that the owner of the ship had been carrying on unlawful trade. Protest over this was taken to the meeting of commissioners of the United Colonies, which at the time was trying to settle the boundary question. Arbitrators were finally appointed to settle the various disputes, and drew up the Treaty of 1650, a preliminary settlement, the final settlement to be made by England and Holland. The owner of the ship, a merchant and planter of New Haven, received nothing since he was trading without a license. The seizure of the vessel in New Haven harbor was diplomatically laid to an error on the part of the governor's secretary, and New Haven also received no damages.

CHAPTER VI

FORMATION OF NEW SETTLEMENTS

Settlers were soon going out from the original towns,—to North Haven, on land belonging to Governor Eaton, and from Guilford toward what is now Madison where, apparently, a settlement was started across the river by 1645. Offers, such as freedom from rates for two years, were made to those who would go from Guilford to this land “intended and proposed for a village.” Even earlier men had been going in another direction away from New Haven and the older plantations, up the Naugatuck Valley, nine miles to Paugasset, where Mr. Goodyear, Mr. Gilbert and Mr. Wakeman had established a trading post. In 1642 a court decision said “Two of bro: Wakeman’s men is excused frō watching for the present, because of their imploymt att Pawgasset.” These men had been sent to build a house for trade with the Indians around the Housatonic and Naugatuck rivers, at the point to which vessels could sail. In 1646 Governor Kieft protested to their presence there, as trespassers on land belonging to New Netherlands. Prompt action was taken on this by New Haven. “A protest from the Dutch Governour was read in court, and an answer to the same sent, and directions given to them that keep the trading house. And it was fully and satisfyingly voted that the court would mak good their titles here, and at the trading howse, and leave the issue of the things to God, whatever they may bee.”

In 1654 these lands were sold to Richard Baldwin and a company of ten others from Milford. Perhaps one or two men were there already, other families arrived soon, and the next year the little group was accepted as a settlement in the Jurisdiction, their houses the only ones between New Haven and Massachusetts. The court released them from taxes for three years, appointed Richard Baldwin to call meetings and conduct the affairs of the plantation, and gave them permission to buy enough land from the Indians for a township. The process of acquiring land began with the purchases from two chiefs, Wetanamów and Raskenute, in 1657 and 1659. Fears that Milford might object to such a plantation were realized at the next court. Milford and Mr. Prudden made such strong objection that the court “saw that there was not like to be a comfortable closing betwixt them if the planting of Paugasset went on as had been intended,” and withdrew these privileges until the two places could reach some agreement. Milford did not claim the land, and would not buy it, but opposed the establishment of a village for twenty years, until

after the union with Connecticut, since "it would straiten their plantation." Under the circumstances the Jurisdiction could not incorporate a village, nor could New Haven buy the land until Milford decided what it wished to do. Matters were "delayed from court to court and held in a dallying way for four or five years together," but the little settlement of a few families held on. The court at various times warned them that they might be ordered to leave, and not "suffered to live in such an unsatisfying way as now they do," for the court "saw not how they could attend their duty in reference to the Sabbath, being at such a distance from the means." The uncertainty of their position was not allowed to interfere with the payment of rates. They had to pay their share for the preaching at Milford, and some taxes to the Jurisdiction.

Thomas Langden, one of the first settlers, also found for himself that an undivided did not escape the attention of the authorities because he was in the wilderness. When he stole some hogs belonging to Mr. Prudden, the court not only tried that case, but incidentally inquired into his activities in trading powder with the Indians. It came out in the course of the trial that "one time in ye meddow at Paugaset Goodman Langden beate his wife, because she did not goe to weede corne," a lucky beating for her. For one day Goodman Langden and a friend "being at Paugaset * * * were talking what a deale of corne might be gotten at Paugaset; Langden said that Mr. Prudden's hogs would eat it up." Whereupon the two discussed whether in such a case it would be lawful to shoot the hogs, that method being preferable to putting them in the pound, for on the one hand Mr. Prudden might decline to pay, and on the other shooting them would insure a plentiful supply of fat pork. Langden told the court a tale to account for his possession of the pork that he and his wife were found eating,—that his dog had killed the hogs. The court did not accept the story, and he was heavily fined, made to pay Mr. Prudden for the hogs, and whipped for lying and beating his wife. The court felt that she deserved punishment also, for not revealing the theft instead of partaking of the spoils, but accepted the excuse that her silence was due to fear of another beating by her husband.

Another first settler had a different kind of bad luck, due to this dallying way in which they were held. Edward Wooster went from Milford to raise hops on the meadow land around Paugasset, and killed seven wolves, an achievement for which a bounty was usually paid. The Jurisdiction Court sent a recommendation to both Milford and New Haven to pay this bounty, since both were benefited by the service. New Haven "saw not cause to give anything for the killing of wolves at Paugasset, it being not in the limits of New-haven." Milford seems to have taken the same view, and Wooster was given the cold comfort of advice to remove to another village.

Indians as well as wolves were around this distant settlement, and another settler of 1654, Edward Riggs, fortified his house on top of Derby Hill, to which they all repaired in time of danger. Edward Riggs had

been distinguished in the Pequot war, was one of the ten men from Milford who bought Goodyear's claim in 1653, and chose his farm before there was any division of land. He was said to have entertained the Regicides Whalley and Goffe, and went to Newark in 1666.

By 1640 the planters of New Haven were ready to divide the land outside the immediate vicinity of their town. Davenport received six hundred acres on the east side of the Quinnipiac River, and Eaton was given a large tract on the west side to the north of East Rock. Beginnings of subduing the wilderness must be made by such men, who could hire some one to go to these outlying lands to work through the day. In 1644 Thomas Gregson asked for his land at Solitary (Morris) Cove. He received one hundred thirty-three acres and perhaps lived there part of the time, but he was too busy in the commercial enterprises of the town to properly develop this region. This side of the river developed first, partly because of the presence of an Indian village on Fort Hill. In 1645 a ferry was established on the river, kept by Francis Browne, one of the band that was in Quinnipiac during the first winter. In 1650 Allen Ball, Mr. Davenport's farmer, went to live on the farm, and in 1655 growth was hastened by the establishment of the Iron Work in East Haven, at the outlet of Lake Saltonstall, by Stephen Goodyear and others. John Cooper, his overseer and agent, received a grant of twelve acres for himself "if the Iron Workes go on, and he stay three yeares in the worke." Governor Eaton also had another farm here.

These settlements were part of New Haven of course, and the people must come there to church, town meeting, training, and other occasions. During Indian alarms the women and children were collected in one house on Sundays under the protection of a guard, while the men went to meeting. By 1659 the people felt the need for a different arrangement if they were to stay on the farms, and appeared at the New Haven Court, asking to be formed into subordinate villages, with definite boundaries, churches and officers of their own, and the right to tax all land holders in their bounds whether residents or not. Mr. Davenport, though minister of the church from which they wished to separate, and a large absentee land holder in one of the proposed villages, was public spirited enough to approve this petition, as tending to promote civil order, education of the children, and the "sanctification of the Saboth." He also showed some of the wisdom of the serpent in suggesting a more worldly reason, that if the town fell into the way of trade, villages might help by producing commodities. Governor Newman also approved the proposal. It was opposed by others who did not wish to increase their taxes and weaken the town through loss of rates, even perhaps endangering the minister's support, (a suggestion which did not move Mr. Davenport,) and as being "very prjudiciall to ye Towne in point of feede for dry cattell." Others said they were neither willing to sell their land there, nor remove thither to live. The meeting finally drifted into a discussion of the general problem of Sunday observance, since it was remarked that others besides farmers from a

distance either left before the meeting was over, or did not come at all, but amused themselves by walking about the streets. Having made recommendations concerning this matter, and provided for their execution by the marshals, the meeting turned its attention to questions of health,—the bad location of the burying place, and the proposed departure of the physician, Mr. Augur. The question of the villages was finally referred to a committee, which reported that it was impossible to grant all the desires of the farmers, and that the farmers would not accept the terms the committee offered. The matter was dropped during the excitement over the union with Connecticut.

CHAPTER VII

NEW HAVEN A COMMERCIAL SETTLEMENT

The planters of Quinnipiac were described by Davenport as "Londoners and not so well fitted for an agricultural as a commercial settlement;" and by an outsider, Hubbard, as "very desirous to fall into a way of traffic in which they were better skilled than in matters of husbandry." They had come with dreams of founding a great commercial center, and efforts were soon begun to make these dreams a reality. The site chosen for the settlement was admirably fitted for the purpose, for the streets which bounded two sides of the square ran along the banks of navigable creeks which met at the harbor. New Haven took the lead in these efforts, for Milford had only a few merchants, and Guilford, with a poor harbor, and almost entirely an agricultural population, had not a single merchant among its planters. Trade was begun with New Netherlands and Boston nearby; and with Virginia, the Barbadoes and the West Indies to the south. Through Boston the colonists traded indirectly with England, and New Haven made one great attempt at direct trade with the mother country.

Milford, though less conspicuously a commercial settlement than New Haven, had one of the first traders. In 1640 Alexander Bryan sent a vessel to Boston, carrying furs and bringing back articles necessary for the settlers themselves, and useful for trade with the Indians. In 1650 the town granted him land for a warehouse, and the same year he built a wharf, the second one in Milford, Mr. Fowler already having a small one near his mill. Bryan also had interests in the trading post at Paugasset; and was selected by the court in 1655 to send the laws of the colony to England to be printed, and as a merchant, to ship the provisions to Barbadoes to get money to pay the printing bill. New Haven had a group of merchants who sometimes made their ventures together as a company. They were among the leading men,—Eaton, Gregson, Lamberton, Malbon, Goodyear, Evance, and later Isaac Allerton. Evance, like Eaton, had been a member of Davenport's London church. To George Lamberton, mariner as well as merchant, belonged the first vessel recorded as owned in New Haven, a "pinace," the *Cock*. As early as 1639 he was trading with the older colony of Virginia; in 1643 with the Indies, and asking the General Court for land by the creek for a warehouse and a wharf. Even Davenport, whose London church, Saint Stephen, is today near the Bank of England, was interested in commerce, and was a member of the Delaware Company.

Malbon and his son owned a vessel, the *Phoenix*, that came to New Haven in 1646 from the Barbadoes. Incidentally, to their great perturbation, its master, Stephen Reekes, got into trouble over "some miscarriages of his," that he did "halle vp his shipp to or towards the necke bridge vpon the Sabothe, which is a laboure proper for the six dayes, and not to be vndertaken on the Lord's day." He and one of the seamen were called before the court and told that they should have provided for any danger before the Sabbath, but they were excused because they were strangers and "did not do it out of contempt, but ignorantly." In the same year a syndicate of New Haven men, called the "ship Fellowship," had a vessel for inter-colonial and foreign trade, which was chartered by a company of merchants to go to London directly. It is not certain whether or not this vessel was built in New Haven, but it is certain that in August the same company was building one there which was launched in October; and two years later another was built there. Laws were passed protecting timber suitable for ship building, and (1649) "Mr. Evance made a motion to the court that Sariant Andrewes might have libbertie to keepe a timber yard, to provide timber for shipping and repairing of vessells, and that he might have libbertie to cut timber vpon the towne common for that purpose."

Necessarily connected with ship building were various projects for wharves. In 1644 Mr. Evance, one of the earliest settlers, and a most energetic planter and trader, owner of several vessels, contracted with the town to "digg a chanell wch shall bring boates (att least) to the end of the streete beside Will Preston's house, att any time of the tyde, except they meete wth some invincible difficulty wch may hinder their digging the channell so deepe." Will Preston's house was at the corner of State and Chapel streets. In 1648 he was asking liberty to make a wharf at the creek's mouth, and do other work "so as they might come to vnload a boate at halfe tide." When Lieutenant Seeley was given land running from his house down to the creek, a highway was left "from the Creeke to the streete for carts to come to fetch goods if ther be occasion."

The Court fostered trade in other ways. To insure the quality of exports sealers, packers, viewers and inspectors were appointed. Men asked permission "to depart ye court to goe to doe a litle worke to a vessel wch laye loaden and was ready to goe awaye; and they had libbertie." Fairs were held twice a year in May and September for several years.

Stephen Goodyear was another man with many interests. He opened a successful trade with the Barbadoes and the West Indies, buying for this purpose a large vessel from the Dutch, the *Zwoll*. This was to be delivered in New Haven, and the Dutch took the opportunity to send along some soldiers to seize a Dutch ship in the harbor and carry it to New Netherlands, on the ground that its owner had not paid certain duties. Goodyear apparently furnished the New Netherlands government with supplies, and therefore through his acquaintance with the governor was in a position to give good advice in the boundary disputes. Besides his trading venture at Paugasset, and monopoly of the town brewing for a time, he was associated with John Winthrop in the Iron Works in East Haven.

The Jurisdiction encouraged this enterprise also. It exempted the workers from rate paying, and the town of New Haven helped by contributing 140 days work in building the dam, and giving "a full libertie for * * * wood, water, * * * shells for lime * * * or what else is necessary for that works upon the town lands upon that side of the great river, called East river." Branford was to give the same privileges. There were other traders,—Mr. Carman, who had an exciting adventure with Turkish pirates, with whom he fought for three hours; Captain Trowbridge, trading with the West Indies, Fayal and other ports; and two Dutch merchants who became inhabitants, Samuel van Goodenhausen and Will Westerhausen.

Trade with Virginia was in tobacco and beaver, the latter carried on through the planters, and not directly with the Indians. For these they exchanged supplies brought from England and the Barbadoes, as well as goods from New Haven. The first mention of the Barbadoes trade was in 1647. From there they got sugar, hides and rum, and to the Barbadoes and Virginia took beef and biscuit, agricultural products, leather, shoes, packed meat and ship bread, clap-boards and shingles. Sugar was used as a means of exchange. Lieutenant Budd sold his house and lot in New Haven for a hogshead of sugar. New Haven's contribution for the saints in want in England was sent to the Barbadoes, converted into sugar and sent from there to England to Mr. Hooke, the former teacher of the church. Beaver and hides were sent to England.

There was difficulty in keeping up the quality of both the biscuit and the shoes. John Meigs, the tanner, and Goodman Gregory, the shoemaker, turned out poor work "upon a motive that the shoes were to go far enough, as if rules of righteousness reached not to other places and countries." Instead of being "putt in prisson for cousening the cuntry" as one wrathful customer recommended, he was fined and made to give satisfaction to the buyers, which after all seemed a more sensible punishment. "And further the court ordered that none of the faulty shoes be carried out of the jurisdiction to deceive men, the shoes deserving rather to be burnt than sold." He was allowed to sell them in the Jurisdiction "but only as deceitful ware," an excellent label many times for a bargain table.

According to Winthrop, the Great Ship of about one hundred tons, Mr. Lamberton, master, which was to go directly to England in 1646, had a miscellaneous cargo,—peas, wheat, West India hides, thousands of feet of plank, beaver and plate, in all worth about £5,000. She had on board "far more rich treasure of passengers,"—among others, Gregson on the business of the charter, Mrs. Goodyear, and Captain Turner, the military head of the colony, not to mention the children of Davenport's brain, a stock of manuscript which he was sending to be printed. The ship sailed in January, when it was necessary to cut the ice in the harbor for three miles. Mr. Davenport and doubtless most of the people of New Haven saw it sail "with many fears as well as prayers and tears." The ship, none too sea-worthy, and poorly loaded, with the lighter goods at the bottom, was never heard of again,—

“That fatal and perfidious bark,
Built in the eclipse, and rigg’d with curses dark.”

A curious case came up in court afterwards, interesting also as showing the smaller as well as larger hopes connected with the voyage. Francis Austin of Guilford borrowed £2 10s. to get a handsome coat and sword to wear when he went to see his father, promising the lender that he would buy for him such things in England as he should appoint by way of returning the money. The estate was sued for the amount, but the court said it was a difficult case and referred it to the next court of magistrates.

Greater calamities than this occurred. “With the loss of it, their hope of trade gave up the ghost, which was gasping for life before * * * besides * * * sundry precious Christians lost * * * who * * * went to heaven in a chariot of water, as Elijah long before in a chariot of fire.” The effect on the colony was to end their ambitions for commerce, so that their posterity “made respectable farmers and flourished, with respect to worldly circumstances no less than their neighbors.”

Two years afterwards, just before sunset on a June day, after a great thunder storm, a phantom ship appeared on the horizon “for the quieting their afflicted spirits.” She was visible for about a quarter of an hour, complete with masts, tackling, colors, and sails, and a solitary man upon the poop. He was seen to wave his sword, then a great smoke arose, in which she vanished, symbol of their vanished dreams. One pleasant sequel was that Mr. Goodyear married Mrs. Lamberton, thus uniting two families left bereaved. Mrs. Turner married the Dutch merchant Westerhousen.

Cases in court show the course and method of trade, and its uncertainties. Two men sent goods to the Barbadoes, each bearing half the adventure, half the profit, and half the freight, till the return either to England or New Haven. A little more than half the goods were sold by the one who made the voyage, and paid for in cotton wool. He died and the other, in dissatisfaction, sought further return from his estate, but the court could do nothing for want of sufficient information. Money was owed Mr. Evance which had been spent to enable the ship *Swallow* to go on a voyage. This debt was to be paid at Barbadoes in cotton wool. But the ship was out thirteen months, “God, by an afflicting prouidence keeping her at sea and from her port at Barbadoes, till marriners wages have eatton out her vallew.” The ship put in at Virginia, where she was seized for various debts, the mariners having first claim for their wages. They sold the ship to Mr. Westerhousen. Mr. Evance wished his money, but who was to pay the debt? The court felt that neither the sailors nor Mr. Westerhousen should be made liable. Doubtless Mr. Evance put it down to profit and loss. He had had other losses through a shallop sent to take on pease at Guilford and Madeira wine at Saybrook. After a long trial he was awarded damages from the master, on the ground that he had not “improved his skill as seaman.” The governor and deputy governor were interested in the wine, but left the court during the trial.



(Courtesy of the New Haven Colony Historical Society)

THE PHANTOM SHIP

Besides the traders there were local dealers in a small way. Mrs. Stolion, a widow, was one of three retail merchants in New Haven. She seems to have been something of a profiteer, for according to her customers, she both overcharged for her wares, and underpaid when she was doing the buying. Captain Turner got into a disagreement with her over trading a cow for six yards of cloth, and in the course of the trial presented the court with a list of ten complaints. Charges three and four show how she made profit both ways and the method of carrying on trade. "3. That she would not take wampum for commodities at six a penny, though it were the same she had paid to others at six, but she would have seven a penny. Thomas Robinson testified that his wife gave her 8 pence in wampum at seven a penny, though she had but newly received the same wampum of Mrs. Stolyon at six. 4. That she sold primers at 9 pence apiece which cost but 4 pence here in New England." Captain Turner showed that her profits on cloth reached 150%. Complaint was also made in court that "ye Duchmen lately admitted doe sell things excessive deare * * * small silke buttons at 18 d a dosson, wch was looked at as a most exceeding deare price."

No supply of furs for the export trade was found here, and the failure of the project for a trading station at Delaware Bay, followed by the loss of the Great Ship brought an end to the first period of hope. That there had been gains is shown by the estate of Lamberton. In the list of planters he was rated at £1,000, in 1647 he had £1,218.12.4, less a small debt. After their misfortunes "they sank apace, and their stock wasted, so that in five or six years they were very near the bottom." Whitfield's estate was reported as very much wasted. The following figures show some of the losses:

Eaton in 1643 had	£3,000, in 1658	£1,440
Goodyear in 1643 had	£1,000, in 1658	£ 804
F. Brewster in 1643 had	£1,000, in 1658	£ 605

At this time of discouragement Cromwell made two attempts to get the New England colonies to move to other places. He first tried to induce them to go to Ireland, and five years later he offered part of the island of Jamaica, with special privileges to New Haven.

Other causes for the hard times New Haven had fallen upon were the political changes in England, resulting in losses which the colony was too young to meet. There was both return of colonists to England, and falling off of immigration. To mention a few of those who returned, there went from Guilford Whitfield, Desborough, Jordan and Hoadley, all prominent men; and fourteen from Milford, some of whom went to England and some to other settlements here. The result of the commercial failure was to make the colonists turn from dreams of wide and profitable trade to agricultural pursuits. Guilford suffered less than New Haven, for it had always been an agricultural community and was settled on land which had been cleared and enriched by the Indians. All, however soon had a comfortable subsistence.

CHAPTER VIII

THE REGICIDES

To the period before 1665 belongs the picturesque episode of the Regicides, with its halo of traditions. It is of considerable political importance, for the "colonels" by their presence here unintentionally acted again in a regicidal capacity, and helped hasten the end of the independence of the Jurisdiction which befriended them.

Edward Whalley and William Goffe, Puritans, "Phanatickes," major-generals, and judges who voted for the death of Charles I, succeeded in escaping from England just before the seizure of the Regicides. It was thought safe to receive them in Massachusetts, as their escape had been made before the passage of an act of indemnity in which the king excluded the men directly responsible for the death of his father. They came under assumed names, appropriately enough in a boat called the *Prudent Mary*, but it was known who they were. Elegant manners and a dignified appearance, as well as their piety, insured a cordial welcome, until officials of the colony became alarmed at learning, not only that they were by name excluded from the Act of Indemnity, but that a royalist had recognized them. Feeling themselves no longer safe in Cambridge, since a warrant for their arrest would soon arrive, Whalley and Goffe left for Connecticut. They were received in Hartford by Winthrop, but it would be easier to make their escape from New Haven into New Netherlands, and other reasons influenced them to come here. Though he probably had no personal acquaintance with them, Davenport had written that he intended to invite them to become his guests as soon as his guest room should be free. They had various close ties with several persons in New Haven. William Hooke, who had been the teacher of the church, perhaps himself related to the wife of Pym, was at all events through his own wife the brother-in-law of Judge Whalley. Goffe was also related to the Hookes, since he had married the daughter of Whalley. Guilford too was interested through Goffe, for when he was a major-general in the army, with headquarters at Winchester, he had lived in the family of Whitfield. Samuel Desborough, one of the leading men, had a brother who married a cousin of Whalley's. The colony had other connections with the Regicides. Owen Rowe, one of the subscribers to the company, who sent his son, Nathanael, though he did not finally come personally, and the son was left in Massachusetts to study with Eaton's brother, was himself one of the judges. So too was the father of one of the planters,

William Jones, who had happened to be also a passenger on the *Prudent Mary*. William Jones was a person of some consequence in the town, for he was a "godly man, who hath two children and £200 per annum," son-in-law of the late Governor Eaton, and now living in his house.

With all these connections drawing them to New Haven and insuring them a welcome, the Regicides arrived on March 7, 1661, going to Davenport's house. They had been entertained in Hartford, and perhaps stopped on their way at Pilgrim's Harbor Brook in Meriden. They were treated with great respect in New Haven, though the words of President Stiles, "the enamour'd town," poetically exaggerates its feelings. News came that the king had issued a proclamation, on information furnished by a Royalist returned from Boston, that they should be taken wherever found, and that Massachusetts had issued warrants for their arrest. It was no longer safe for them to be seen in public. On March 27th they went to Milford as if on their way to New Netherlands, and showed themselves openly, but returned at night to Davenport's house, where they remained hidden until April 30th. Another royal warrant came, addressed blunderingly and tactlessly to the Governor of the Plantations of New England, an official who was non-existent, but much dreaded.

Massachusetts, after giving time for news of this to reach New Haven, commissioned two Royalists recently arrived from England, named Kirk and Kellond, both Thomas, and gave them in addition letters to the governors of the other colonies. Winthrop "nobly entertained" the "poursuivants" in Hartford, where the Regicides had not dared to stay, gave them warrants in his turn, allowed a search to be made, and sped them on their way, saying that the Regicides were in New Haven.

On May 11th the pursuers arrived in Guilford, doubtless expecting the same treatment. They immediately went to Deputy-Governor Leete, now acting as Governor because of the recent death of Newman. Leete had not been bred a lawyer for nothing, and began a series of Fabian tactics, saying first that he had not seen the Judges for nine weeks, when they passed through on their way to New Haven. He read over their instructions in a very loud voice, though others were in the room, and then said he could not act alone in the matter. He promised them horses, which were procured only after some delay. While these preparations were going on, the pursuers went to the tavern, and on the way encountered one Dennis Crampton. He was ready to make trouble, for, having "beene found tardy in several pilferings," and having no estate to pay fines, he had been whipped in accordance with a sentence of Leete's, once in 1654 for "cousening a man of flax," and again in 1656. He told the pursuers that the Regicides were, as Leete knew, at the house of Mr. Davenport, who had moreover just put in £10 worth of fresh provisions.

By the time the horses were ready, and a letter from Leete to Magistrate Gilbert of New Haven advising him to call a town meeting, it was too late to reach New Haven before sundown,—and it was Saturday when nothing in the way of business could be done after that hour. The pur-

suers remained in Guilford over Sunday, lest their arrival in New Haven should give notice of the search. Dennis Crampton was ready with further information, that an Indian runner was missing, who had doubtless been sent to New Haven by some one who had overheard Leete read the instructions in a loud voice. This is the Sunday on which Davenport is supposed to have delivered the sermon on harboring the Regicides, perhaps one of a series he had been preaching to prepare the minds of his people for such a contingency. His text was very pointed, "hide the outcasts, betray not him that wandereth. Let mine outcasts dwell with thee; Moab, be thou a covert to them that flee from the spoiler."

The pursuers wished to be first of the many that set forth from Guilford for New Haven on Monday, but, early as they started, there was suspicion that John Meigs had preceded them. Leete, as befitted a magistrate, traveled more slowly, arriving two hours after the men who could do nothing without him. With him came Magistrate Crane of Branford, and Mr. Fenn was summoned, perhaps not without further delay, from Milford. In New Haven they found that Magistrate Gilbert was away from home, but the three, with the New Haven deputies, held a conference. After five or six hours deliberation, it was announced that nothing final could be done without consulting all the freemen, who would be summoned for a meeting on Friday. The pursuers protested at such additional delay, and said that none of the other governors had manifested such scruples. Their accusation that his Majesty was not being honored received the reply, "We honor his Majesty, but we have tender consciences." Leete would not give them right to search and arrest, "he could not and would not make them magistrates," he said. On a hint that they might search the houses at their own risk, the pursuers went through the house of Mr. Davenport and some others and tradition says that the judges had one or two narrow escapes. After a day or two Kirk and Kellond went on to New Netherlands, and ultimately returned to Boston by sea, although told that the General Court would have an answer for them on their return from New Netherlands.

Meanwhile Goffe and Whalley had been moving since April 30th, when they left Mr. Davenport's house for that of Mr. Jones. On Saturday, May 11th, perhaps warned by the Indian runner from Guilford, they went to a mill two miles out of town on the edge of the wilderness, to which they might escape if necessary. On Monday, when the two pursuers were expected, Mr. Jones and two friends led them into the wilderness, where they spent two nights. Beside a ledge of rocks twenty feet high a lodge was built, covered with limbs of trees. This was at a spring between two trees, and tradition is that just as one of them exclaimed, "Would God we had a hatchet," to build a shelter, their eyes fell upon one left by an Indian hunter. Poetic logic demands that it was one of the hatchets given the Indians in pay for this region. The place of course was called Hatchet Harbor. On Wednesday, after the pursuers left town, the judges came nearer, and Richard Sperry, one of the friends

of Mr. Jones, took them to West Rock, which they called Providence Hill. Here was a cave in which they stayed until June 11th. The nearest house, Sperry's, was a mile distant, and possibly they slept there always, though tradition is that they did so only in stormy weather. Sperry brought food to a designated spot in the woods.

On June 11th the Regicides left West Rock and appeared publicly in order to clear Davenport. It is not known where they were until June 22nd, when they came to New Haven and offered to surrender themselves, in order to save their friends trouble. But being advised by some not to do this, they disappeared while the magistrates were holding a meeting. Apparently going in the direction of Branford, as if starting towards Connecticut, they returned instead to West Rock. Tradition is that they hid under Neck Bridge while those seeking their arrest rode over it. This is the time of the unwarranted story that Mrs. Evers said they had just left her house, having let the pursuers in at one door while the judges went out at another, as she truly said, but only to come in again and hide. As she was only eight at the time, and hardly able to divert attention "by her polite and artful address" this incident must be given up. Perhaps the basis for the story is that they had been hidden in the house in which she lived. Other stories tell of their escaping from a marshal by their skill in fencing, and of leaving their cave in West Rock in fright at the blazing eyes of a panther or catamount. Perhaps also this is the period when they are said to have been hidden three days and nights in Leete's cellar in Guilford, when the Governor was afraid to see them.

From August, 1661, to 1664 they were in Milford, living in the lower part of a small house, built as if for a store house. The upper part was used for work such as spinning, and they are said to have been entertained by the girls singing a ballad of the Regicides while at their work. Such a lost ballad may account for some of the legends.

Meanwhile Massachusetts was writing letters of reproach. "How ill this will be taken, is not difficult to imagine; to be sure not well." New Haven was said to be getting all the colonies into trouble over this, and over her failure to publicly acknowledge the restoration of the Stuarts. Whereupon the General Court wrote an address to the king making their excuses and proclaimed his accession formally, but in a grudging and perfunctory manner. "Although we have not received any form of proclamation, by order from his Majesty, or Council of State," they said, yet they "ventured" to follow the example of the other colonies.

By this time Leete and a party in New Haven were probably ready to give up the Regicides, and perhaps did not know where they were. The General Court wrote to Massachusetts, but the other party who still wished to protect the Regicides and knew of their whereabouts, kept this information to themselves and allowed the letter to be sent. The minority were displeased with Leete's attitude, and some friends in England at the time wrote sharply about "W. L. and his pitiful letter." Mr.



CELLAR AT GUILFORD IN WHICH GOV. WILLIAM LEETE
CONCEALED THE REGICIDES GOFFE AND WHALLEY, IN 1661



(Courtesy of E. G. Wooster, New Haven)

JUDGES CAVE, WEST ROCK

Hooke who had returned to England to become Cromwell's chaplain was naturally interested in the fate of his relatives. He wrote, "I am almost amazed sometimes to see what cross capers some of you do make. I should break my shins should I do the like." It was at this time that Leete wrote to Winthrop about the charter as a covert.

It is said that the Regicides were occasionally at Paugasset. In 1664, hearing of the arrival of commissioners from England, sent, among other things, after persons accused of high treason, they left Milford for the cave on West Rock. After eight or ten days their bed was discovered and reported by Indians, and another temporary retreat, of unknown location, was found. In October they were sent to Hadley, Massachusetts, recently established in the remotest frontier, where they lived in the house of the minister ten years, until the death of Whalley. Similar stories are told of their stay in Hadley.

An amusing aftermath of the affair is the controversy over their burial place. A gravestone marked E. W., on the New Haven Green was, until 1849, said to be that of Edward Whalley, though he died in Hadley. Later it was thought to be that of Edward Wigglesworth, and finally that of Elizabeth Wakeman. Another stone marked M. G., possibly that of Matthew Gilbert, was said to have been meant for William Goffe, who was supposed to have died in Hartford. This was on the "principle of designed deception," a small mark under the M being supposed to signify that the letter was reversed. Both stones were left standing on the removal of the cemetery from the Green in 1821, in the belief that they marked the graves of the Regicides.

Some years later, 1672, a third Regicide, John Dixwell, came to New Haven and lived about seventeen years until his death. Appearing as James Davids he lived on the corner of College and Wall streets in a house marked "Old Dixwell's" on the map of 1714. He was not obliged to remain in hiding as were the others, and was twice married and had several children. He carried on no business and the great solace of his exile seems to have been reading, especially books of history, and the friendship with the Rev. James Pierpont, his neighbor on Elm Street, who had a large library. The two wore a path across their yards, and enjoyed the interchange of visits so much as to arouse the curiosity of Mrs. Pierpont who was not in the secret. Just before he died James Davids revealed his identity. On one occasion Dixwell found it expedient not to attend afternoon service in the meeting-house. Governor Andros happened to spend a Sunday in New Haven and showed great interest in the identity of the distinguished looking old gentleman he saw at the morning service. This is said to have been the day when the hymn chosen began, "Why dost thou, tyrant, walk abroad," and it was no time to reveal the identity of a Regicide.

Judge Dixwell wished no monument "lest his enemies dishonor his ashes," a wish that lends some justification for the supposed use of the principle of designed deception on the stone marked M. G. That there

was some danger from this is shown by quotations given in Barber, and by the treatment of the remains of Puritans in England. A Royalist historian in speaking of Goffe thus remarks, * * * "He afterwards lived several years in vagabondage but where he died or where his carcase is buried, is as yet unknown to me." British officers declared in 1760 "with rancorous and malicious vengeance, that if the British ministry knew it, they would even then cause their bodies to be dug up and vilified." "Some so late as 1775 visited and treated the graves with marks of indignity too indecent to be mentioned."

President Stiles of Yale who was fascinated with the story of the Regicides, composed a long poem on their experiences, of which the following lines are a sample. He used the occasion to call attention to the college of which he was the head.

"Shall simple prowess Alexander raise
Above a Whaley's, Goffe or Dixwell's fame;
Whose head, and heart, and hand demand the bays,
Though in oblivion's almost lost their name?

* * *

Itinerant next, the western wilds they trac'd
Till reach'd Connecticut's extended strand,
Where freeborn spirits had explored the waste
And Providence decreed that Yale should stand.

* * *

Awhile the reverend Davenport secretes;
Now Jones provides a subterranean grot
With generous gladness charitably treats
And oft admits them to his humble cot.

* * *

But Dixwell felt the force of human ties—
Him to Quinnipiak led the social flame;
A borrowed appellation gave disguise;
He rear'd a family and rose to fame."

CHAPTER IX

SOCIAL CONDITIONS

A series of letters written by Mr. Davenport to his friend Mr. Winthrop tell something of conditions of living among the best class of people in the colony. Mr. Winthrop lived in New Haven for a time, where his presence was much desired because of his medical skill. When he was expected in New Haven (1655), Mr. Davenport wrote, "how careful and active my wife hath been to procure hands to prepare your house, whereby your well is cleaned, and a new pump set up, and the rooms are made warm, and tables, with some chairs are provided." Wood, wheat, and fifty pounds of candles were put in and the apples secured from the frost. A clean, thrifty maid-servant had been kept for Mrs. Winthrop from service in Connecticut. The Winthrops, at another time, were invited to come for a visit, to be "refreshed by the sea air;" presents were exchanged of a sugar loaf, raisins and liquorice, and various errands done,—“Your curtaines would have bene with you before now if my wife could have procured him or John Thomas to have carried them.”

In lower circles were roisterers who went to the farms and feasted on venison, with pastry and plum cake; and those who stole venison from a powdering tub where it was being salted or pickled; or "trucked for deareskins" and venison from the Indians with liquor; or brought oysters from the bank on Sunday. Mischief of children and servants reveals incidentally that there were "watermyllions," blackberries, apples and peaches. Poor old Elizabeth Codman, the witch, had cherries, and some grapes which she feared the mice would eat in the night, causing her to get up, which she said explained some of her prowling. Transfers of land included "orchyards" and fruit trees, hen-house and garden. Ducks are mentioned. One man offered cabbages to pay for the peas and parsnips his swine had destroyed. The baker's loaves were complained of as too small, and people raised wheat, corn, oats, rye, barley, flax and hops. Edward Wooster of Milford was granted certain land free of rates "while improved for hopps." Cider, sack and beer were as necessary as the butter and cheese the farmers were told to keep for supply in time of war.

For animals there were sheep, horses, hogs, cattle, and goats, the latter straying into the records because they damaged the bark of the trees, and because Mr. Winthrop paid for his house in New Haven in goats at

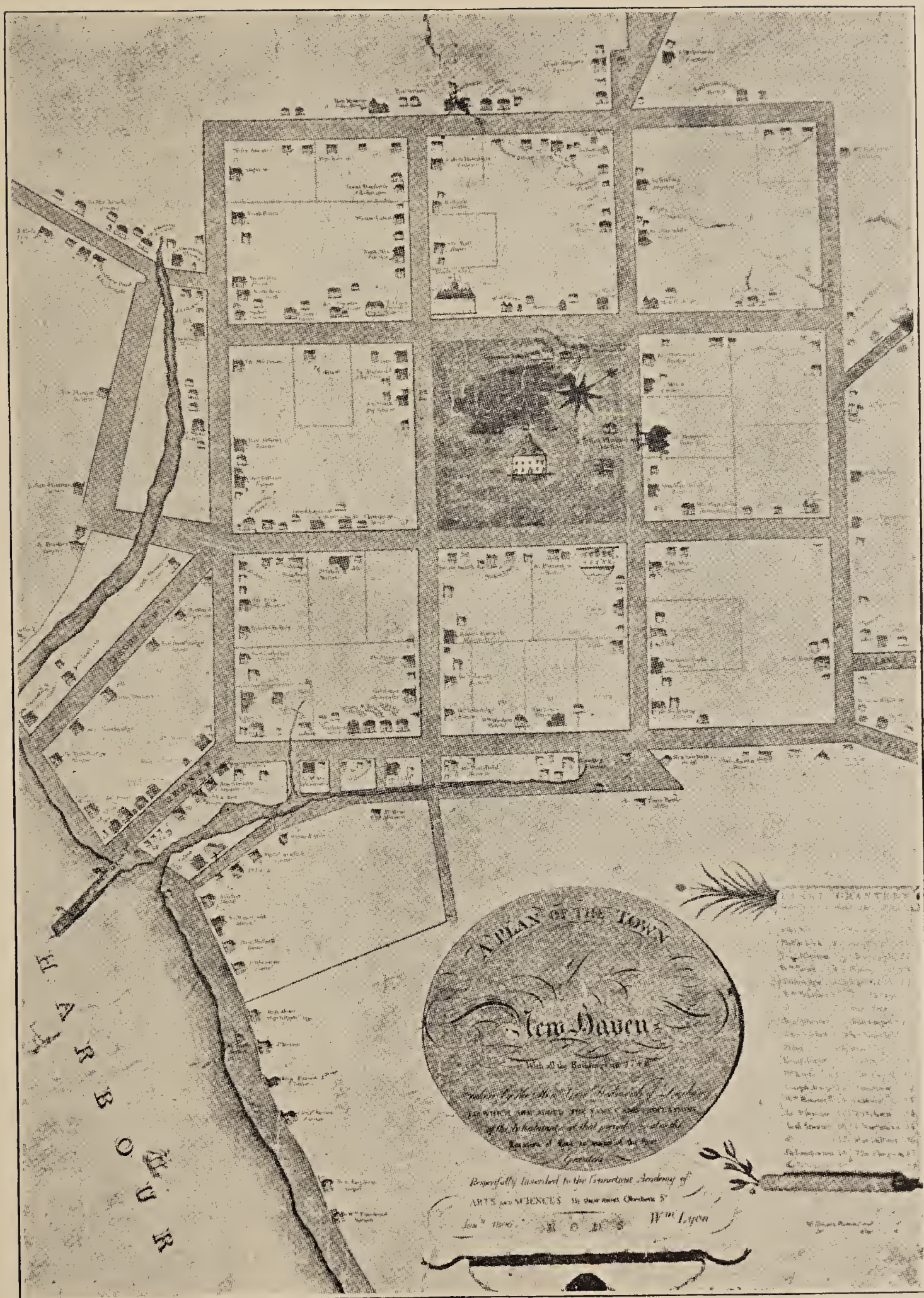
his farm on Fisher's Island. The cows and oxen wore bells, and were kept in herds, with men to look out for them. They were sent to pasture from May to October. In 1647 there were two herds in Guilford, in 1657 and four in New Haven with more than sixty in each. Calves were kept separately. Besides those belonging to the troop of horse, seems to have had a plentiful supply of "unruly dogs." They hurt the cattle at night, harmed the sheep, and bit the horses as they passed in the streets, to the endangering of their riders. Perhaps because of these offenses they were forbidden to come to the meeting-house, or be abroad in meeting time.

Land at first was cleared by digging up trees by the roots, until a man tried cutting them down. The first of March the fields were burned. Noisome hurtful weeds in the streets, which harmed the children, were to be destroyed. The town did this in some places and each man cleared them out near his lot, with fines for leaving the roots around. These weeds were night shade, Jimson weed, hen-bane and poke-weed with large red berries. Bounties were offered for killing foxes and wolves.

Materials for clothing were woolen, cotton and linen. A widow presented the inventory of her husband's estate except "a piece of serge intended for a coat for herself." One man left a Holland shirt, cloth for a suit and coat, and a "demy castor hat" (a kind of inferior fur). Another woman had a "tammy coat" or tammy for a coat, and Mrs. Codman had silk gowns and two lace handkerchiefs. Other references to lace are in the present of lace to the maid Susan by the French mariner because he loved her, (but in spite of that she married another); and that given by some man to Rebecka Turner at the fair, to the displeasure of her step-father, for Rebecka was not a model daughter.

Besides the fair training day furnished excitement. Good soldiers might have powder given them to shoot at a mark with, and have liberty the first part of the day, but the others must furnish their own powder and train all day. Disorderly shooting at night was forbidden. After training was over the men might play "stoole bale, nine pins, and quaites," and were encouraged to exercise with cudgels and broad swords. Playing at cards or "shouell board" was not considered quite the best way of spending time. By 1659 it was apparently the custom to have some kind of public Thanksgiving, for in that year it was postponed because of serious sickness in the town. Huskings were held under the supervision of master, parent or some fit person.

The first comers to New Haven lived temporarily in cellars or excavations on the banks of West Creek, protected by sticks and turf. It was necessary later to forbid young men to live in them, except in families whose masters might report concerning them and their conversation. The common houses at first were small, with one story, a sharp roof, heavy stone chimney, and diamond shaped window panes. The projecting second story used a little later was copied from houses in England, and was found useful against the Indians. The houses were covered with clapboards or shingles. Some roofs were thatched at first with



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sedge grass. Ceilings were unplastered and when there were parlors the chimneys were usually wainscoted. The poorest houses were of logs, but New Haven possessed four elegant houses, belonging to Mr. Davenport, Mr. Eaton, Mr. Gregson and Mr. Allerton. These were almost manor houses, in fact Eaton's was built in the E shape which was the common form for such houses and larger cottages in England, an old form coming down from the twelfth or thirteenth century. Davenport's house was in the form of a cross, and Allerton's was known as the house with the four porticoes because of the porches on four sides. It had fourteen large fireplaces, a large hall running through it, and was magnificently furnished for the time. Madame Knight, heroine of the famous horse-back trip from Boston to New York, wrote of this house as the finest one she had seen on her journey. Guilford had several stone houses, belonging to Mr. Whitfield, Desborough and Higginson.

Furniture was comparatively rude and scanty, except in the case of a house like Eaton's. This had a blue and a green chamber, hall, parlor and study, and contained tapestry hangings, Turkey carpets, £140 worth of plate, chairs of various kinds, with needle work on them, and cushions. Some other families in the colony had a little silver. There was naturally not a great supply of books. The town had some left by Samuel Eaton, among them a general history by Sir Walter Raleigh.

Fears of fire led to regulations that fire must be carried in covered vessels; that chimneys must be swept once a month during the summer and twice a month in the winter, and that every one must have a ladder. There was difficulty in getting a man to sweep the chimneys. One man thought he might do it if the town supplied him with a canvas frock and hood. The town consented if it could find the canvas, and on condition that the garments be returned to the town when he gave up the office.

Towns were immediately, by the form of organization, divided into two classes, freemen (enfranchised church members) and admitted inhabitants or planters. New Haven because of its commercial life had many temporary residents, such as soldiers, merchants, traders, and artisans of all kinds, besides servants, indented servants, some "neagers," two of whom appear personally in the records, Governor Eaton's Anthony and Lucretia, and Indian servants, one of whom, Mr. Malbon's, was called "Captive." A curious regulation at one time was that only planters could keep swine, except at the discretion and leave of the Townsmen. The number to be kept depended also on the amount of land owned. There was much wealth in New Haven and consequent social differences. When the farmers of East Haven were trying to become a village, one of them said in the course of the discussion, "it is well known that at the first they were many of them looked upon as mean men to live by their labor; and therefore they had at first small lots given them; but they finding by experience that they could not in that way maintain their families they were put upon looking out," that is, to go out to the farms. The first planters of Milford were mostly farmers, with one carpenter,

one cooper, and one tailor, and in 1660 one tanner. In 1643 they got a blacksmith from Boston and two weavers came between 1650 and 1660. Guilford's first settlers also were farmers, with few or no servants, no poor, and few who were wealthy. There were two classes of farmers here, gentlemen and yeomen.

A man's position in the community was indicated by his title. When Mr. Eaton was elected Governor he was called "Worshipful Theophilus Eaton Esq." Men like him, of the class of gentlemen, were called Mr. This included ministers, who did not have the title Reverend at this time. About twenty men in New Haven had this title, whether they became freemen or not. Those above the class of servants were called Goodman, that is men such as were masters in their trades, and their wives were called Goodwife or Goody. Office holders were sometimes called "Brother." A few poor persons had to be helped by the towns for some reason.

Public works began early, for the settlers must have roads, bridges, fences and mills to grind their corn. Early roads, little better than forest paths were of two kinds, those which followed the Indian trails, and those which went over the path made by the first carts going through the thinnest places among the trees on the way to mill and to meeting. The Indian paths were only two or three feet wide, and in many places were kept clear by burning underbrush. Trees were marked to show the best way. Over one of these Indian trails the settlers of Wepawaug were guided by Sergeant Thomas Tibballs to their new home, driving their cattle before them, while heavy building materials were transported by water. Laying out a road or path in early days often meant simply blazing or cutting out a few trees and bushes, the marks or blazes being frequently renewed. In swamps long logs were laid down or brush was used temporarily. Road surveyors were chosen in New Haven in 1644 for three years.

There was much discussion of a "way to Connecticut," whether to make a bridge over the East River or find some other way. This question was brought up from time to time in the town meeting, and men were sent to find a safer way or to find a place for a bridge. When Mr. Goodyear went to Connecticut in 1655 he was asked to go the new way and report on it, and then if desirable it would be marked. Difficulties of this journey to Connecticut are shown in a letter Mr. Davenport wrote Mr. Winthrop as late as 1660. "I received a former letter from you by Mr. Bishop who, in his return from your parts hitherward, took a wrong path twice and was so bewildered that he lost his way from Wethersfield and lay in the woods in a very cold night and came not to us til the last day of the weeke towards noone."

Streams were crossed at first by fords or ferries, but New Haven, built on a peninsula between two creeks, needed bridges, as of course did all the seaside plantations. Bridges were built over West and Mill rivers at an early date, for in 1641 orders were issued for repairing the Neck bridge, (in Neck Lane over Mill River), and for making cart

bridges there and over West and East rivers. By 1649 there was a bridge on the way to Milford. A bridge over East River was especially important, as leading to Branford, Guilford, the farms at East Haven and to Connecticut. William Andrews, contractor for the first meeting-house, seemed to be the chief carpenter of the plantation, and built some of these bridges. Like the meeting-house the bridges needed frequent repairs. There were also bridges in Guilford, the earliest one a rude foot bridge, later replaced by those over which carts could pass. One of these was to be made according to the following directions, voted in town meetings. It was to be built of "trees hewed long enough to reach over thwart the river, twelve foot wide with a bearer in the middle * * * substantial * * * with a double rail on each side * * *" and on the trees was to be laid brush or split timber. Milford had four bridges by the time of the union with Connecticut.

Ferries were also used. In 1645 Francis Browne proposed to start one near the later Tomlinson Bridge, if he "may have a little house or shade made at the watter side to worke in and competent allowance for his paines, and if itt may be, some land in the oyster shell field to plant." He was given two or three acres of land, a shed, an abatement of rent, consideration in the matter of training and permission to charge for carrying people across. He was to provide a large and serviceable canoe or boat. Competition was not allowed, though any one might use his own boat or canoe for himself and family. Francis Browne kept the ferry for five years and then at his own wish turned it over to George Pardee who was willing to go down there to live. In five years he too wished to give it up "by reason of some bodily weaknesse." In 1655 William Andrews went a step further and propounded having some land near by to build a house and live there "wch might be convenient for strangers, wch come to goe over the ferry and are now many times forced to stand long in the cold wth out shelter."

Keeping an inn or ordinary was considered a public employment. The innkeeper was excused from training while he was caring for strangers and it was an acceptable excuse for not serving as townsman. Land was granted for the use of the inn, to put strangers' horses in.

Mills too were semi-public and received help from the town. The first one in the colony was William Fowler's in Milford. He agreed with the town in March, 1640, to "build a mill and have her going by the last of September." The first mill in New Haven, at Whitneyville, giving the name to Mill River and to Mill Lane, the road leading to it, now Orange Street, was run by an individual. When it did not pay the miller wanted the town to take it, instead he was given a monopoly "while this serves the town's occasion." It lasted about fifty years. The mill was burned in 1665 and the town gave certain privileges to the new millers. The first mill in Guilford was a tide-mill finished in 1645. It was not a success and was given up in 1658, by which time another mill had been built on West River. Guilford had three successive millers, given help by the town and certain privileges, but later the town chose a committee of three men to run the mill on two days a week.

CHAPTER X

UNION WITH CONNECTICUT

If New Haven did wrong in settling at Quinnipiac without a charter, and without definitely owning the royal authority,—wrongs enhanced by her refusal to assist in the search for the Regicides, and by her delay in proclaiming the Restoration,—she was now to pay the extreme penalty of losing her independent existence. In 1662 John Winthrop went to England on a revival of the old plan of securing a charter, taking lodgings, curiously enough, in Coleman Street, near St. Stephen's. New Haven's attempts to get this sanction have been noticed, but she could not hope for success for any endeavor in this direction under the present government in England. Connecticut was in a better position, and as to New Haven, there were two sets of opinion there; the one represented by Winthrop, that she should be left to join Connecticut or not, as she chose; and the other by those who thought she should be made to join in any case.

Advantages, such as New Haven no longer had,—friends at court, possession of a ring given Winthrop's grandfather by Charles I., now tactfully presented to Charles II., and Winthrop's charm and skill in diplomacy, not to mention £500 for the business,—brought success. Connecticut received a "large and ample patent" and "jurisdiction right goeth with patent." Before Winthrop left on this mission, Davenport had obtained, or thought he did, a promise that New Haven should not lose her independence, by being included in any charter without her consent. Suspicion that there was danger in this direction had been aroused by statements in Connecticut's objection to the survey of New Haven's northern bounds by John Brockett and his committee in 1660. Connecticut had added these ominous words to her protest: "It is further desired and requested by us that if there be anything extant on record with you that may further the deciding the matter, it may be produced," words certainly unwelcome to the ears of a patentless colony.

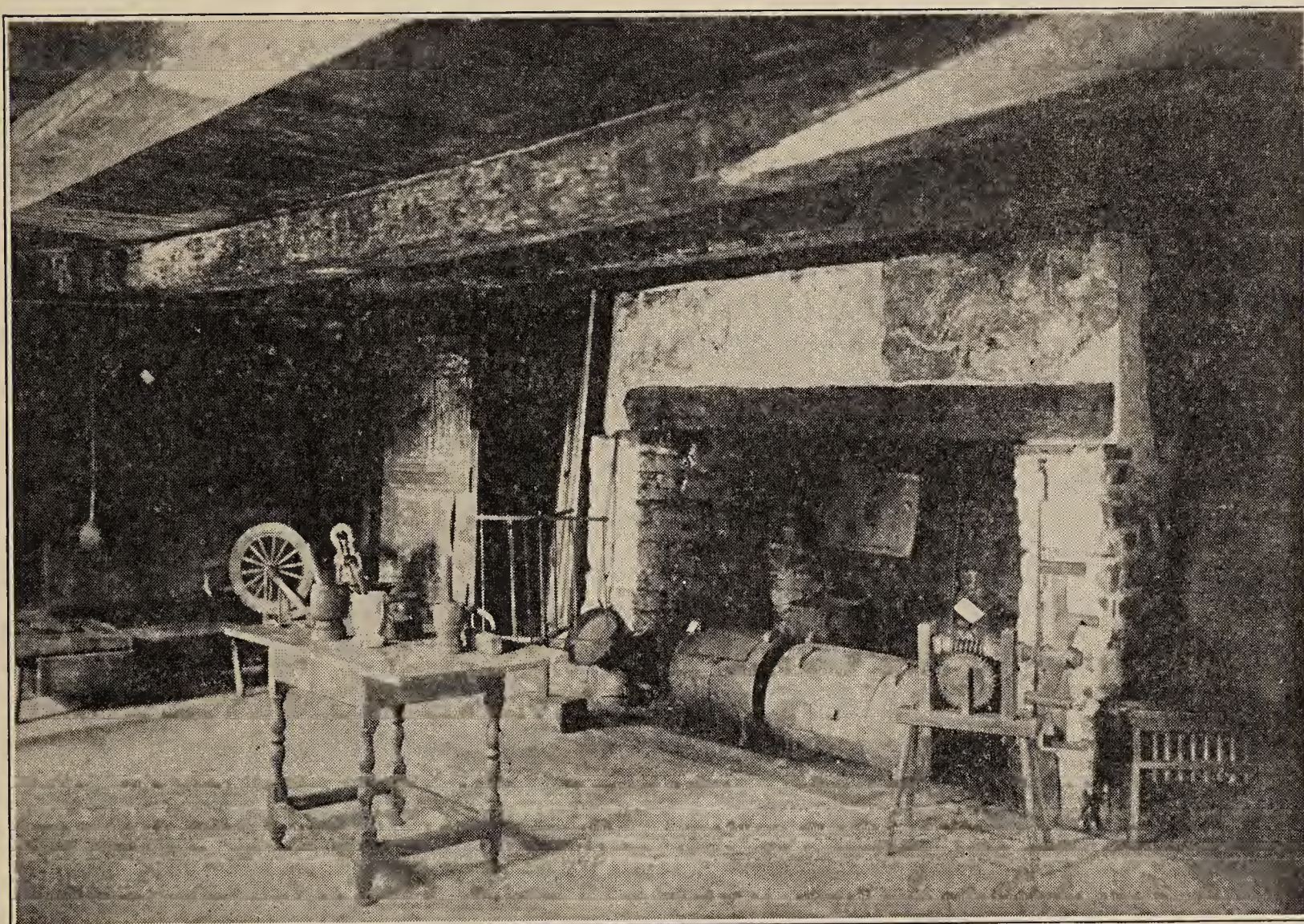
New Haven also had two parties on the subject of union. Leete more than once during the recent difficulties over the Regicides, had expressed himself to Winthrop in favor of some kind of union between the two colonies. He feared some special animosity from England, for no longer had New Haven a favored position at court as in the days of Cromwell. Hooke, for instance, their former teacher and the correspondent of Crom-

well, had returned to England in 1655 to become the personal chaplain of the Protector, but was now himself in tribulation, silenced for non-conformity, accused of sedition and described shortly as "one Hooke, a minister." The change is shown by the label put by Sir Thomas Temple on a letter Davenport wrote saying that he knew nothing of the Regicides, "An apollogy from Mr. Davenport, a minister to me altogether unknowne." Nor were Leete and Davenport alone in their fears. In May, 1662, the General Court provided for action in emergency by the governor and magistrates, "not knowing what important affairs may happen respecting this colony between the session of this and the next general Court."

On the first meeting of that body after definite news of the arrival of the "scooping" charter, which ignored their colony, a day of fasting and prayer was appointed for "guidance of the colony in this weighty business about joining with Connecticut colony." The charter arrived on a ship with the strangely appropriate name *Society*, which got in the day before a meeting of the commissioners of the United Colonies. Connecticut lost no time in asserting her powers, and immediately sent a committee to New Haven to treat with her "loving friends." A copy of the charter and "another writing" were left, in which was expressed an "earnest desire that there may be a comfortable and happy union between yourselves and us, according to the tenor of the charter, that inconveniences and dangers may be prevented, and peace and truth strengthened and established."

Long negotiations followed, both by correspondence and by meetings of committees, covering a period of more than three years. The communications stating New Haven's position at this time show the influence of Davenport, just as he had guided its formation. His two papers, the "Quaeries" and "New Haven's Case Stated," mark her rise and fall as an independent plantation. Connecticut appointed five separate committees to treat with New Haven, one in 1662, three in 1663, and a final one in 1664, to settle the details of the submission. The first committee described the charter, not as having been artfully procured, but as having come to their hand. One of the later committees was to treat with Milford, Branford and Guilford as well as New Haven. An appeal to the king from New Haven was stopped in London by Winthrop, who engaged personally that Connecticut should cease her injuries to New Haven. The letter from Winthrop with this assurance seems to have been kept by Leete instead of reaching its destination in Connecticut, Leete, to whom it was first sent, understanding that it was merely a copy for him.

The case was carried to the meetings of the United Colonies. In September, 1663, the New Haven commissioners were received as members, and she was supported in her attitude as a separate and independent colony. Soon after the arrival of the charter, certain things had been done which brought about a deadlock. Disaffected individuals, and



LEAN-TO KITCHEN, HYLAND HOUSE, GUILFORD
Built 1660-1720

whole plantations belonging to the Jurisdiction of New Haven, applied to be joined to Connecticut under the charter. Perhaps Connecticut would not have thought of taking away the independence of New Haven but for this. At any rate Connecticut yielded to the temptation of receiving them without action of the Jurisdiction to which they were bound by oath. Thus Connecticut, the stronger of the two at the beginning was continually growing still stronger at the expense of her smaller rival. Davenport described this action bitterly and with some justice in "New Haven's Case Stated." "You took a preposterous course, in first dismembering this colony, and after that treating with it about union; which is as if one man proposing to treat with another about union, should first cut off from him an arm, and a leg, and an ear, and then treat with him about union."

During the course of the negotiations proposals were made by Connecticut offering certain judicial and church privileges. No settlement could be reached, because, on the one hand Connecticut refused either to admit that New Haven was a distinct colony or to restore the revolted members; and on the other, New Haven would not submit otherwise. Connecticut felt that it was impossible to yield to New Haven's pride and acknowledge that an independent colony was joining her, for on receiving such acknowledgment New Haven might continue to remain independent. New Haven might have the facts, but Connecticut had the charter, and once having it, her attitude was expressed in one of her communications to New Haven, "We do expect their submission to our government according to our charter, and his Majesty's pleasure therein expressed."

Great hopes had been held from the arrival of Winthrop. In May, 1663, Davenport wrote congratulations for his safe arrival from court snares and perils of the seas, and "in the persuasion that you are come with an olive-branch in your mouth." Winthrop however was without this ornament and repudiated his engagements,—perhaps he could not do otherwise, though some of the communications from New Haven where he had lived for two years, could not have been pleasant reading.

New Haven continued holding elections, her officials taking oath "for the year ensuing, or until our foundation settlement be made null." She even, in June, 1663, received a letter from the king (sent to all the New England colonies) "under his own princely hand, and sign manual in red wax annexed." A proclamation was thereupon posted in the various plantations requiring all the members and inhabitants of the colony to return to their due obedience and pay their arrears of taxes within six days. For financial difficulties, debt and inability to pay salaries had faced them. The proclamation was pulled down in Stamford; and disaffected individuals in Guilford, instead of obeying, claimed protection from Hartford.

The leader in Guilford, where there was the greatest trouble in any of the four towns, was Dr. Brian Rossiter. The difficulty was increased

in this case apparently by some personal quarrel between him and Governor Leete. There had been a suit for slander over Governor Leete's salary, and jealousy that Leete patronized Winthrop's medicines. Rossiter also thought he should not be obliged to pay taxes, on the ground that as a physician he was exempt. A marshal had been sent to collect them and the affair was taken to the court, and mixed up with offensive writings, probably of grievances over the limited suffrage. In answer to Rossiter's complaint of "threatening expressions" because of New Haven's proclamation, Connecticut sent a committee to Guilford. The committee, with Rossiter, a marshal and "sundry horses" came to Guilford and caused a disturbance at an unseasonable hour, about ten o'clock at night. Guns were fired by both sides, six troopers came from New Haven and some from Branford in response to a call for help, the New Haven militia was warned to be ready, and there was general excitement. Leete would not formally receive the delegation from Hartford, but an agreement was made informally to suspend the execution of the king's proclamation until further conferences had been held. The result was the preparation of the paper "New Haven's Case Stated."

John Meigs, in defiance of the Jurisdiction, accepted the office of constable for Guilford from the Connecticut authorities. Like Dr. Rossiter, he had a personal grudge. He was the tanner and currier in New Haven who had been reprimanded for the poor quality of the shoes he made, and had gone to Guilford about 1658. Connecticut was ready to revoke the commissions issued to such persons, but would go no further in acknowledging the independence of New Haven. On the other hand Robert Treat declined to keep office under the New Haven government which seemed about to fall.

Negotiations might have gone on indefinitely, but the Gordian knot was cut from the outside by an event equally alarming and unpleasant to both. In 1664 the king granted the duke of York a patent, which, with large impartiality, included New Haven. That colony, from having been in the awkward position of having no charter, was now in the still worse one of being included in two, neither of which was agreeable to her. There is always at least the choice of evils, and of the two, that of subjection to Connecticut was the lesser. For Connecticut was Protestant, and the duke of York was Catholic. That this represented no distant evil was proved by the arrival of royal commissioners, which also showed the futility of any appeal from New Haven to the sovereign. Connecticut for her part now had a taste of being on the wrong side of a charter, for this patent took much of her territory. A common danger brought the two together, as their living negotiations for three years had not been able to do. Connecticut urged New Haven to join forces with her, and the United Colonies advised submission, though taking pains to state that they did not approve of the manner in which Connecticut had proceeded. The danger in the situation was that the royal commissioners had instructions to take advantage of such disputes



OLD STONE HOUSE, GUILFORD
Erected in 1639
Used as a place of defense



COMFORT STARR HOUSE, GUILFORD
Built about 1665

between colonies to bring all New England under the immediate rule of the king. New Haven sent word that if Connecticut would come and assert her claim in the name of the king's authority "we did not know but we might bow before it."

Another exercise of Winthrop's diplomacy, together with another timely present, 400 bushels of corn to Colonel Nichols and the rest of the commissioners, ended the difficulty over the boundaries for Connecticut and made her still stronger against New Haven. Men were sent from Hartford to require submission in all four plantations. All the householders of Milford were summoned to meet them, and a vote of submission was taken. "No one person voted against it." On December 13, 1664, the General Court of the Jurisdiction of New Haven, now reduced to New Haven, Branford, and Guilford, held its last meeting, thinly attended. It was voted to "submit, as from necessity brought upon us by their means of Connecticut aforesaid, but with a *salvo jure* of our former right and claim as a people who have not yet been heard in point of plea." On January 6th the New Haven town meeting voted to submit, confirmed the choice of magistrates made by Connecticut, and ratified the action of the Jurisdiction.

Committees were appointed to carry out the details, New Haven asking for loving treaty, since Connecticut was "debtor to our silence * * * whereas before them you thus by simple application and audience issued that matter." Connecticut desired "such reflections may be buried in perpetual silence, which only your selves necessitating thereunto shall revive them." Davenport had the melancholy duty of serving on this last committee of the colony-state formed by him. In March came the summons to a General Court of Connecticut, but New Haven was not received with any particular graciousness, or generosity, other than "that all former actings * * * are hereby buried in perpetual oblivion, never to be called to account." Following the policy of not recognizing New Haven as an independent colony, Connecticut refused to receive the New Haven freemen who went to the next Court of Election at Hartford as freemen without taking a new freeman's oath. About twenty went to Hartford and only nine were willing to take this oath when Connecticut sent someone down to tender it. Otherwise the meeting was harmonious. One demand must have seemed particularly hard. A vote in the New Haven town records is, "The Towne was acquainted that Connecticut expects we should beare our part of the charges of the Pattent. It was debated, and concluded that we judge it not righteous nor reasonable that we should beare patent charges."

There were naturally some after results. The affair of Dr. Rossiter continued to require attention in the courts in an action by him against Leete for "unjust molestation, manadged in an hostil manner." The case was appealed to the General Court which referred to the matter as difficulties "ariseing principally from the exerting of authority by or friends at N: Hauen, Guilford, Branford and Milford since ye publication

of our charter." The decision was that Rossiter received £100, but that the suit was included in the act of oblivion and Mr. Leete by that act indemnified.

New Haven's leader, Davenport, soon accepted an invitation to become the pastor of a church in Boston. He left, probably in April, 1668, just thirty years after his arrival with high hopes in Quinnipiac. Besides his disappointment over the fate of his plantation, he was led to go because the great question of the Half Way Covenant, to which he was a bitter opponent, was to be settled in Massachusetts. He thought he would have greater influence in its decision if he were on the spot. The result was merely the division of the church to which he went at the invitation of only a minority. Cotton Mather wrote the melancholy epitaph of Davenport's dream: "Yet, after all, the Lord gave him to see that, in this world, a Church-State was impossible, whereinto there enters nothing which defiles."

One large group, made up principally of persons from Branford, under the unyielding and untiring Pierson, refused to join Connecticut, preferring to start still another settlement based on their own ideas. Turning their thoughts to the old plans for Delaware Bay, they sent committees of inspection, tried to negotiate with Governor Stuyvesant for land there, and with Connecticut for a patent. A vain appeal was made to Colonel Nichols for help. Offers from Berkeley and Cartaret in New Jersey, with every civil and religious privilege, were finally accepted. Thither in the spring of 1666 a company went, twenty-three from Branford, forty-one from the other three towns, led by Treat of Milford, Gilbert of New Haven, both of whom returned, and Swain of Branford (formerly like Pierson from Wethersfield). The settlement, temporarily known as Milford, soon received the name of Newark in honor of Pierson's English home. Its Fundamental Agreement was the final resting place of the New Haven ideas of church and state.

SECTION II—THE COUNTY

CHAPTER I

GENERAL DESCRIPTION AND HISTORY

In 1665 County Courts for four counties, including New Haven County, were created by the General Court of the colony, with five (or three at least), judges, "for the trial of all cases except life, limb or banishment," and with appeal to the Court of Assistants. In 1680, when the authorities of the colony sent answers to queries from officials in England, they reported four counties in the colony, with "two courts annually, consisting of magistrates with a jury, to determine all actions of slander, and of the case, and criminall matters of a lesser nature." Soon after 1800, President Dwight, of Yale, whose enthusiasm for the institutions of his country was very great, presented the facts in such a way as to give the impression of a more sovereign organization. He described the county, somewhat grandiloquently, as an "inferior republic," with a county meeting which was a "Legislature empowered and required to lay taxes," with county collectors, county treasurer, and county judges. After remarking on objections to the accuracy of this description, since these officials were appointed by the state, and not elected in the county, (except the Assistants), he affirmed that they really represented the people, as they were men of the locality.

About one hundred years later, Mr. James Bryce described the county in New England in general, as originally and "still in the main a judicial district," with certain administrative officers, limited to well-defined functions, and possessing nothing in the nature of a legislative assembly. He concluded that the functions of the county "are of small consequence: it is a judicial district and a highway district and little more." He added that the people seem jealous of their county officials, electing them for short terms, and restricting each to a special range of duties. Carrying out his general thesis that party politics should not enter into local affairs, he lamented that one of the main uses of the county was to reward party loyalty through bestowal of its offices. Judge Mathewson of New Haven, writing in 1917 of the "county system" in Connecticut, suggested doing away with the county to a great extent. "For many years the state has taken over all that income and expense and today we have no county courts. All the judges and clerks are state officials and the state pays a regular specified amount for the board of all prisoners, and certainly in the work of the courts and jails county lines should be disregarded

and the courts and jails located in those parts of the state which are convenient for the people." Similar recommendations were made in the report of the Civic Federation in connection with its investigation of conditions in the county jail in 1910.

Though the four plantations which were kept together as New Haven County had had a previous existence as parts of New Haven Colony, yet the submission to Connecticut was made without assurance of peculiar privilege. At one time during the negotiations Connecticut would apparently have offered terms: first, such modifications of the suffrage to suit New Haven laws as the home government would allow; and second, a New Haven court in which magistrates might try cases without a jury. Neither did New Haven Colony bring any of her laws to add to those of the new government, although she had had a printed code since 1656, and Connecticut was without one. In fact, New Haven was obliged to discard her two special characteristics, in taking on jury trial and giving up suffrage limited to church members. The only privilege, accepted years later in 1701, was that her county town, New Haven, was made the semi-capital of the state, a distinction which was taken away in 1874. New Haven's final submission to Connecticut has been well described as unconditional surrender.

The history of New Haven County, therefore, is that of one of the administrative units of the state, with no desire to develop this particular county, preserve any of its institutions, or propitiate the feelings of a formerly independent jurisdiction. Starting, as the others did, with simple organization as a judicial division of the colony, its powers were gradually defined. As work increased with the increase of population, or as new questions arose, specific duties were given it, especially when situations appeared in which it was convenient to have a way of reaching throughout the state, or getting action by larger units than the towns. During its existence of more than 260 years, the county has been found a convenient unit for many uses, official and unofficial, some merely occasional and temporary. In the course of this history the organization has increased from the single county court, county treasurer and marshal, until today there are, counting deputy officers, over one hundred officials in each county, and Courts of Common Pleas, whose jurisdiction covers the county, or part of it. The Superior Court holds sessions in New Haven and Waterbury, with jurisdiction over cases arising in the county. Valuable material equipment and buildings belong to it. There is also a large body of unofficial organizations, such as agricultural and medical societies, based on county lines.

One interruption in the course of events must be noticed. In October, 1687, twenty-five years after Connecticut had received the Royal Charter, which took away the independence of the plantations along the seaside, she was forced to see this very instrument set aside, and in her turn, submit to the same royal authority under the rule of Governor Andros. Andros arrived in Boston in December, 1686, authorized to take the gov-

ernment of all the settlements in New England into his own hands. He notified Governor Treat that he was coming to take command of affairs and to get the charter. Treat, by negotiations, put him off until October, 1687, and pursued the same methods at this time and in the famous meeting at Hartford over the charter, that had been employed by Leete at the time of the Regicides.

The account in Gershom Bulkeley's *Will and Doom*, says that Andros was "greeted and caressed by the governor and assistants," and from Hartford "his Excellency passed through all the rest of the countys of New Haven, New London and Fairfield, settling the Government, was everywhere chearfully and gratefully received and erected the King's Courts," etc. But perhaps some of the "chearful and grateful" inhabitants of New Haven County reflected with pious resignation on the coincidence that this visitation of the royal pleasure came upon Connecticut, as it had through her on New Haven, after an existence under the charter of about the same length of time,—twenty-five years. However that may be, the tradition is that Andros was greeted with song, but not with praise, in the New Haven church.

The government of Andros was annoying in many ways. Records were taken to Boston, which meant a journey and fees; in some cases, not many in Connecticut, land owners must take out new titles at considerable cost; and though wills could still be probated at the county courts and sent on to Boston, the final court in case of trial, was at Boston. Patents had just been issued to all the Connecticut towns, and no attempt was made to collect quit-rents. The law was that towns should meet but once annually, but examples may be found of those which held several meetings during the year. The interruption was brief and had little permanent effect on the government of the colony. Andros established justices of the peace, and after him commissioners were sometimes thus designated, the office being formally recognized in 1697, several years after his departure. He also commissioned the first colonel for New Haven County, singularly enough the Major Robert Treat, who had left New Haven for Newark with the irreconcilables from Branford at the time of the union with Connecticut. Treat did not give up his property in Milford and he had returned, to hold many offices, including, as Andros observed with admiration at the skill of his Fabian arguments, that of governor when the charter was successfully concealed. Andros was so impressed that he made him also a member of his council and judge for this territory. Treat's presence in the council is considered one reason why Connecticut suffered fewer difficulties at this time than Massachusetts.

The secretary of the colony closed the records of the last meeting of the General Court dramatically with the word "Finis," perhaps under dictation, but in less than two years the same officials of the colony summoned another General Court, Governor Treat saying "that he had ventured all he had above his shoulders." Government could thus be

resumed because the charter had not been given up, and the order for its surrender had never been enrolled. King William would doubtless have liked to keep the colonies united under Andros, but the best lawyers said the charter was valid, never having been revoked legally, and the king did not wish now to enter on a squabble with one of the colonies. Connecticut men are said to have received a letter from England urging them to restore the government, "telling them they were a company of hens" if they did not do it. Elections were held "in order to the Reassuming and Settlement of government according to charter, to prevent anarky and Confusion, and the Daungerous effects thereof." At the last meeting of the General Court ten deputies had been present from New Haven County; at this meeting the number was thirteen, the second of their deputies being present from Branford and Derby, and one, its first, from the new plantation of "Watterbury." Three of these thirteen deputies had been among those present at the prior meeting. The former courts of law were reinstated.

The county organization has various obvious relationships. With reference to the other counties, there has been joint control of certain bridges and highways, and occasional borrowing of equipment and neighborly assistance. The state makes some inter-county arrangements. At present the same individual is referee in bankruptcy for New Haven and Litchfield counties, and the third judicial district for the terms of the Supreme Court of Errors is made up of New Haven and Fairfield, two counties which were often grouped together in colonial days. The county has acted with the towns in some things, such as control of the sale of liquor, appointment of tavern keepers; and its court is a court of appeals from the lower local courts. Relations with the state are close. The county was created by the colony under the powers given in the charter of 1662; and it has only such powers as are granted by the state. No county can give extra pay to officials or increase their pay; no county can subscribe to stocks or bonds. The reason for the latter provision, which was passed in 1877, is that there had been large losses in such investments. An amusing example of this sort of limitation is an order of the General Court in 1666. After providing that no person settled in one county could "be requireable by vertue of a summons served on him in that county to answer a case in another county court," the record continues, "And noe prson shal molest his neighbour in another county in this Colony vnless it be in some extraordinary case or by mutuall consent of both parties." The first part of this order was soon found "prejudiciall to creditors" who had to "goe sue their debtors to the remote countys," and they were allowed (1677) to sue in their own county courts. The county courts are part of the state court system, with judges and clerks appointed by the state and with appeal to the higher courts of the state. The Superior Court circuits are by counties, with stated meetings for each county and records kept there. Until 1719 the county was the probate district, but there are now thirteen such districts

in New Haven County. Many other officials besides judges are appointed by the state.

The county organization was used by the colony from the first as occasion arose. Thus in 1673 certain military orders were made by the war committee in time of expected war against the Dutch. "It is allso ordered that the clark of each county is appointed to send coppyes hereof forthwith unto each town within their respective counties." Similar use was made of the county clerks in connection with rates a little later, and in publishing a proclamation against Bacon's Rebellion "by the marshalls of the countys and constables, by sound of trumpet or beat of drum." The use of the county by the central authority will appear in many ways in the course of its history.

The county is now the basis for electoral divisions for the choice of senators for the State Legislature. In an amendment to the constitution passed in 1828, electoral districts were formed according to a combination of population and county lines. It was required that there be at least eight such districts, each county should have at least two senators, no county should be divided or joined to another county, and the candidate must live within the district. This provision, according to Judge Baldwin, "virtually reduced the Senate from its position, as the representative of the state to that of the representative of the counties." In 1901 an article was added (to take effect in 1905) increasing the number of senators and districts according to the increase of population, but the principle was continued that counties must not be divided or joined with other counties. This principle is to serve whenever change is necessitated by increase of population as shown by each succeeding census. In 1928 New Haven County had ten senatorial districts, numbers eight to seventeen.

County lines have been used in determining electoral districts for representatives in the lower house of Congress, originally elected at large. In 1842 the Assembly divided the state into four districts for this purpose, each district consisting of two counties, New Haven and Middlesex being the second district. In 1911 the state was divided into five districts. Of these, sixteen towns of New Haven County form the third district, and the rest, twelve towns, with Litchfield County, make the fifth,—that is New Haven County is at present divided into two districts, or to speak more accurately, into one and a fraction. In 1929 New Haven County had forty representatives in the State Legislature.

County officials today are:—three county commissioners; a treasurer and two auditors; one state's attorney, one assistant state's attorney, and one state's attorney at Waterbury; a sealer of weights and measures; public defender in New Haven and one public defender in Waterbury; a sheriff and thirty-four deputy sheriffs; a deputy jailer; two coroners, two deputy coroners and twenty-seven medical examiners; a health officer and twenty-one town health officers; and a county agricultural agent. There are three men on the State Bar Grievance Committee; wardens for

forest fires, each over a district, and fish and game wardens with deputies. At other times the county has had other officials,—a county major, surveyor, judge of probate with clerk, inspectors of meat, etc. The county once had a grammar school, and now has property valued at several million dollars,—two county houses, one in Waterbury and one in New Haven, a jail, a county home, land and buildings in New Haven, and two county law libraries.

New Haven County has contributed the following number of officials to the state,—twenty-one governors, twenty lieutenant-governors, six secretaries of state, two treasurers, four comptrollers, five chief justices, eighteen speakers of the house, besides ten United States senators and twenty-two representatives in Congress.

CHAPTER II

THE SYSTEM OF COURTS IN THE COUNTY

In giving a history of county institutions, it is natural to begin with the judicial system, historically the oldest. From 1665 to 1698 this consisted of the General Court, the Court of Assistants, the County Courts, and the lower local courts. In 1698, at a time of reorganization of the government, the county court was divided into the county and probate courts. In 1711 the Court of Assistants was given up, and the Superior (circuit) Court was established. In 1719 Probate Courts smaller than counties were formed, and the number has been increased from time to time. In 1784 the Supreme Court of Errors (circuit) was given the last of the judicial functions of the General Assembly. In 1855 the County Court (sometimes called the court of common pleas) was abolished, and its work taken over by the Superior and Justice courts. In 1869 the Courts of Common Pleas were established in the counties, to lighten the work of the Superior Court; in 1881 the District Court of Waterbury was established; in 1887 the criminal side of the Court of Common Pleas in New Haven County; and 1927 the Waterbury Court of Common Pleas in place of the District Court. There are 271 justices of the peace in the county; and City, Town and Borough Courts as follows,—City Courts in Ansonia, Derby, Meriden, New Haven and Waterbury; Borough Courts in Naugatuck and Wallingford; Town Courts in Branford, East Haven, Hamden, Milford, Orange, Seymour, West Haven; Justice Courts in smaller places.

The judges of the courts are chosen in the following manner. Under the Constitution, judges of the Supreme Court and of the Superior Court are elected by the General Assembly, upon the nomination of the governor. By a statute, of comparatively recent enactment, judges of the Court of Common Pleas and judges of the City Court of New Haven are also elected by the General Assembly on the nomination of the governor. Judges of the other courts, except the Probate Court, are elected by the General Assembly. The nominations are made by what is called the "county system," that is, the practice has been that the members of the General Assembly, resident in the county, belonging to the party which is in the majority in the General Assembly, meet at county caucus and nominate judges. These nominations are usually adopted by the General Assembly. Judges of Probate are elected by the voters, according to provision of the Constitution.

The oldest of these courts, the County Court, has been in existence in some form since 1665, except for the years 1855 to 1869. This court as has been said, is the creation of the colony legislature. The Royal Charter empowered the governor and six assistants, "allwayes seaven," (reminding one of the seven pillars), "to Erect and make such Judicatories * * * as they shall thinke fitt and convenient." In accordance with this provision the General Court, from time to time, enacted statutes establishing courts as they were needed to relieve those already in existence. Since the appointment of the judges was made annually by the General Court the judicial system thus created was dependent on the Legislature in every way,—for its officials as well as for its establishment.

The County Court was created October, 1665, six months before the county limits were defined. At this time dates were set for two annual meetings, and its membership was made to consist of five judges at least, not less than two assistants and two or more commissioners, (the latter called justices of the peace after Andros). Its duties were the trial of all cases except those involving as punishment banishment, the loss of life or limb, subject to appeal to the Court of Assistants on payment of a fee of twenty shillings. In May, 1666, this court was given the care of wills, inventories, and distribution of estates, also subject to appeal; the dates of the meetings were changed slightly and the membership altered to three judges, (one assistant and two commissioners). A clerk was added, who by a provision of October, 1667, could be chosen by the court itself, and in May, 1667, provision was made for a grand jury of "twelve able men at least." Regulations were made from time to time concerning these matters,—method of appeals, execution of judgments, appearance of persons at court, fees, oaths, duties of the clerk, special court, juries and the jurisdiction of the court. The County Court continued as thus organized until the reorganization of 1698. The first New Haven County Court was composed of William Leete, chief magistrate, William Jones, Benjamin Fenn, Jasper Crane, assistants, Alexander Bryan and James Bishop, commissioners.

According to changes made in the judicial system in 1698, the county courts were to be made up of four of the "most able and judicious freemen," appointed by the General Assembly as justices of the peace. This was the first appointment of justices as distinct from the office of magistrate. Three of them, with the judge appointed by the Assembly, were to make a quorum, and without the judge might hold court, the first nominated to preside. They were to hold office during the pleasure of the General Assembly, and later were appointed annually. For a time the experiment was tried of annual nomination by the freemen, subject to confirmation by the Legislature, but this was "found to be an occasion of Strife and Debate in the severall Townes," and return was made to the custom of annual appointment by the Legislature. In May, 1723, the law was made that they were to be nominated by the lower house.

The work of this court included the care of persons and estates of lunatics and idiots, charge of highways between towns, cases of appeals from the lower courts, and later the appointment of keepers of jails and miscellaneous duties. After the formation of the county religious bodies, the Associations and Consociations, resulting from the adoption of the Saybrook Platform, in 1708, its work was correspondingly reduced, for many of the religious disputes, such as the location of meeting-houses, might be taken over by those organizations. Similarly the formation of the probate courts reduced its work in another direction. The first appointments of the reconstructed County Court of 1698 in New Haven were: Judge, William Jones of New Haven, or in his absence, Major Moses Mansfield; justices of the quorum, Mr. Thomas Trowbridge, Sr., of New Haven, Mr. Josiah Rossiter of Guilford, and Mr. William Malbie of Branford. If there should be no quorum from the judges appointed to the County Court, it was provided in 1720 that it should be made up from any of the justices of peace of the county to which the court belonged. The justices of the peace appointed in 1698 were Capt. Thomas Clark of Milford, Capt. Thomas Yale of Wallingford, Mr. Jeremiah Osborne of New Haven, and Capt. Ebenezer Johnson of Derby. The local distribution in these two lists is interesting: five from New Haven, and one each from Branford, Milford, Wallingford, Derby and Guilford.

The County Court continued in this form until 1821. At that time the justices of the peace and quorum were given up, and the court was made up of three judges, two forming a court for the transaction for business. In 1839 two county commissioners were established, they with one judge to form the County Court. In 1841 the judge was separated entirely from the business of the county, performing only judicial functions. The other work of the county, management of its property, etc., was taken over by the commissioners, with one more added to their number. They kept some judicial functions until 1855, and regulated or helped regulate the sale of liquor.

When the County Courts were reestablished in 1869 as Courts of Common Pleas, they were given jurisdiction only in civil causes up to \$500. In 1887 the criminal side of the Court of Common Pleas for New Haven County was established. At present the same judges act for both the civil and criminal side of the court. The judges are nominated by the governor and appointed by the General Assembly for a term of four years but are usually reappointed. There was also established in 1881 the District Court of Waterbury, which included in its jurisdiction some of the surrounding towns. It was somewhat like the Court of Common Pleas, and was given criminal jurisdiction of appeals from lower courts in 1893. This court was replaced, 1927, by a Court of Common Pleas, which, like its predecessor, has jurisdiction over some near-by towns in another county.

Besides the judges, there are connected with the courts clerks, assistant clerks, messengers, probation officers, prosecuting attorneys, and two jury commissioners.

The work of a Probate Court was done at first by Particular Courts called for that purpose. When the county courts were formed, they or the General Court did all this business, until 1698. In that year the County Court was divided as to work, and a Probate Court was formed. One judge and two justices of the quorum were to act as such, or three justices without a judge, the first nominated to preside. The court had power to appoint all needful officers and appeal was allowed to the Court of Assistants. In 1703 some changes were made. If it was impossible to get enough justices to act as a court, the next assistant might serve, and soon the justices could choose which judge should preside. In 1716 the personnel of the court was changed. One judge, and the clerk which had been added, could hold the court, but if the case were difficult, they might call in judges of the quorum.

Probate judges were appointed by the General Assembly until 1850, when the office was made elective. The term is two years. Since its organization, the powers and duties of the court have been from time to time increased. It now has full charge of wills, estates of deceased persons, adoption of minors, appointment of guardians, conservators, trusts, etc.

New Haven was made a probate district in 1666, when the County Court was formed. In 1719 smaller districts were formed, made more and more minute by sub-division until now there are thirteen in the county. The first of these smaller districts was that of Guilford (1719). This district contained some towns outside the county, with appeals to the Superior Court of the county to which the towns belonged. It now includes the first voting district of North Branford. The first judge was James Hooker, and the first clerk and second judge was Col. Samuel Hill. New Haven's first judge was John Alling. Wallingford district was the next to be formed, (1776), Caleb Hall the first judge. The district now includes the second voting district of North Branford. It may be of interest to note that North Branford is the only town in the state which is divided in connection with probate jurisdiction. The original language assigned the Society of Northford to Wallingford, and the Society of North Branford to Guilford. Waterbury was the next (1779), first judge, Joseph Hopkins, a silversmith, who made plated shoe buckles and similar articles. He held this office for life (until 1801), had been delegate to the convention which ratified the Constitution of the United States, and was also assistant County Court judge at the time of his death. He was one of the men associated with James Hillhouse in the company for coining coppers. The second judge, John Kingsbury, held office for a long time, until 1832, when he was disqualified by age. He also was County Court judge until 1820, the last year presiding judge. This district now includes Middlebury and Wolcott. Districts were formed rapidly from this time. Cheshire in 1829, now including Prospect; Milford in 1832; Madison in 1834; Meriden in 1836; Oxford in 1846; Bethany in 1854; Derby in 1858, now including Ansonia and Seymour; Naugatuck in 1863,

now including Beacon Falls. The town of Southbury is in the probate district of Woodbury, in Litchfield County, which is the only probate district containing towns in two counties.

In 1711 a further change was made in the judicial system. The Court of Assistants was superseded by the Superior Court, which held sessions in each county instead of two terms annually in New Haven and Hartford at the meeting of the General Assembly. Thus all actions are tried in the county in which they originate, and the records are kept there. This court hears appeals from probate courts, and has jurisdiction over all criminal cases extending to life, limb or banishment.

The court was at first made up of one chief judge and four others, three to form a quorum. Before 1818 they were appointed annually. Six judges are now appointed by the Legislature, on nomination of the governor, for terms of eight years, at a salary of \$12,000, age limit seventy years. Besides the judges the court is made up of the following officials, (which are not exactly the same in all the counties). For New Haven County there are two state's attorneys, one in New Haven and one in Waterbury, appointed by the judges for terms of two years. There are two public defenders, one each for New Haven and Waterbury; a clerk for each place, and four assistant clerks. The duties of the clerks are to care for the records and proceedings of the court. Notice of intention to take bar examinations and application for this must be filed with the clerk of the Superior Court of the county in which the candidate lives. There are also two probation officers, two court messengers and two jury commissioners. Since 1884 the judges have also appointed an official court stenographer for each county.

About 1784 a new court, the Supreme Court of Errors, was formed to take over the remaining judicial work of the Legislature. It had six members, the numbers changed later, and holds two sessions annually in New Haven, New London and Fairfield counties and four sessions in Hartford County. Until 1889, during sessions of the Supreme Court in New Haven, the bell of the First Church was rung every morning to notify the public of the opening of the court. Records are kept in the counties. The terms of the judges are fixed at eight years, but, as in most of the other courts, they are usually reappointed until they reach the age limit of seventy years. Their salaries are \$12,000 for the associate justices and \$12,500 for the chief justice. The third judicial district for this court is made up of the counties of New Haven and Fairfield with certain fixed sessions in each place. Clerks of the Superior courts are ex-officio clerks of the Supreme Court of Errors for their respective counties.

In 1666 a grand jury was provided for, to meet annually with each County Court. The jury was called on to report such things as neglect of religious duties on the part of the head of a family; failure of a family to own a Bible, drunkenness or excess of apparel; unlicensed houses;

offences of behavior on Sabbath, Fast or Thanksgiving days. A vote of 1715 in connection with Sabbath evening meetings shows how actively grand jurors were to pursue their duties. "It is now resolved, That the constables and grand jurymen in the respective towns shall, in the evenings mentioned in the said law, walk the streets and search all places suspected of harbouring or entertaining any people or persons assembling contrary to said act." Here is an example of such a report. "Wallingford, february ye 4th, 1754: I the subscriber Do Enter this Complaint to Ezekiel roys Esq and say: that Ichabod Stark is guilty of the breach of the Law by not attending the public worship of God: on the Second third fourth Lords day of January last past in any Congregation by Law Alowed. Ebenezer Cowles; grand Juryman."

President Dwight regarded a standing grand jury as a formidable court of inquiry which would be a benefit in preventing crimes. He regretted that in his time the grand jury was summoned only occasionally, in capital cases, by the clerk of the County Court; that as a burdensome office it was passed around, and often fell to modest and timid men.

CHAPTER III

MISCELLANEOUS WORK OF THE COUNTY ORGANIZATION

The County Court has had at various times other activities besides its purely judicial business. Some of them may be briefly indicated as illustrations, without attempting a full or complete statement. An example of a particular duty, set it at the beginning of its existence, and one that must have been particularly unwelcome, was in 1666, when the New Haven County Court was called on to give the freemen's oath under the new charter.

The county courts had a share in licensing tavern-keepers from the beginning of their existence. In the early days a public house was considered a necessity, and every town was required to have a place where strangers might be entertained. Since there were strict rules forbidding people to entertain strangers without permission of the authorities, it was necessary for the officials to encourage inns. These restrictions were due to the intention to admit only desirable inhabitants to the towns. Inns obviously needed to be controlled. In 1656 the tavern-keeper of Milford was brought before the court in New Haven for various offences, "selling strong water, wine and beer, at greater prices than was allowed," and for keeping a disorderly house, because "he suffered young men and maids to come there and dance, and play at shuffle board."

The county courts were given duties in connection with granting licenses and the sale of liquor, usually to approve the towns' choice of tavern-keeper, and to issue the necessary license. At the April session of the County Court each year licenses for inns were issued and recorded, and the tavern-keeper must also file a bond with the county treasurer. The General Court, as a higher authority, could give permanent right to keep an inn at a certain place, as it did in the case of Jonathan Gilbert at his Meriden farm in 1662. Otherwise every one must apply to the County Court. The county treasury sometimes shared the fines paid for violations of the law by keepers of public houses. In 1693 one-half the fine for selling liquor without a license was to go to the county treasury; and if the licensee forfeited his bond the county treasury again received half. After the office of county commissioner was established, these officials were given the power to grant licenses on the recommendation of the selectmen of the towns. Later county prosecuting agents were appointed to prosecute violations of the liquor traffic.

A similar function of the County Court was in connection with excise duties. After 1669 customs for wines and liquors were kept in the

county where the goods were landed and the customs taken in. In 1698 the governor appointed collectors in the counties; ten years later there were to be collectors of excise in each county, appointed by the county courts, with the provision that they could also be discharged by the same authority. Later these collectors were appointed by the towns. The excise was to be kept in the counties to pay their debts and increased expenses. In 1710 the county sheriff was directed to seize and hold until the next County Court "rhum" on which duty had not been paid.

The County Court has at times appointed inspectors of various kinds,—of tar and turpentine; of meat, butter, etc.; has licensed tanners and dressers of leather; prescribed the toll of mills; appointed examiners of ships, in an attempt to prevent the spread of infectious disease, especially smallpox.

Another function of the County Court which belongs to the past is that of fixing the site of meeting-houses. Unfortunately there was often serious disagreement over this matter. In 1750 the people of Wallingford decided to build a new meeting-house, but were unable to agree on a site. Accordingly they asked the County Court "to appoint a judicious and disinterested committee to repair to sd parish and view the same and affix a place." The County Court complied with this request, but "pitched upon a place which being grievous" to some of the people, caused them to present a petition to the General Assembly to "set aside and make void the Doings of the said County Court and appoint another committee." The Assembly heard both sides and refused the petition. By the end of the century it was the rule that the site of a meeting-house must be fixed by the County Court, with a penalty for starting the building without having made this application. Thus at the first meeting of the ecclesiastical society of Wolcott in 1770 "Joseph Atkins was chosen Agent to go to the County Court for a committee to stick the stake for the said Meeting-house." Similar examples might be given, such as Oxford, 1792, and New Haven, 1811.

Control over highways which extended beyond the bounds of one town was given to the County Court perhaps because of neglect of roads by the towns. If the highways were not kept cleared and repaired, the County Court was to hear and determine all defaults. Half the amount of the fine for blocking up highways went to the county treasury. When new highways were to be opened or old ones altered, applications must be made to the County Court, which appointed a committee or jury to inquire into the matter. On a favorable report from this committee the County Court ordered a warrant to the county sheriff or his deputy to summon a jury to lay out the road, and report to the County Courts of the towns involved, which then allowed the work to proceed. For example, the people of Durham and Black Rock petitioned for a road. Some time later, in 1774, the town of Guilford voted to "pay the Cost of the County Court and attendance thereon and one half the cost of a Committee * * * to lay out a highway through some part of Durham

from this town." In Cheshire a controversy over a road continued for several years in the early part of the nineteenth century. Appeal was made to the County Court which appointed a committee to suggest alterations. The town meeting objected to the recommendations, and directed its agents to remonstrate to the County Court, but later the town voted "That the Selectmen be impowered to make the road laid out by the County Court." A man in Waterbury in 1840 wanted about a mile of road laid out, which the town authorities refused to do. He then petitioned the county commissioners, the new officials just created to take over some of the work of the County Court. They ordered the town to build the road.

The County Court also had some power over bridges between towns. In 1722 a bridge was to be built between New Haven and Wallingford, to be paid for by the two towns, the accounts first to be laid before the County Court for approval. If either party failed to pay, the County Court was to send the sheriff or his deputy to get the money from the town, plus the additional necessary charge. Fines for failure to carry out the regulations were to go to the county treasury. The County Court could order the repair of neglected bridges as well as the building of necessary ones, and the towns must pay the bills. Bridges between counties are cared for by the county commissioners.

In societies whose end was religion, it was natural to expect the use of county machinery on religious matters. The county courts in 1668 were given the duty of seeing that the public was not led astray by false doctrine. "Hereticall bookes" were to be seized by the constables, kept by the commissioner or assistant of the town until the next County Court. "And then the sayd County Court shall take care and full order that all such bookes as afoarsayd be utterly supprest." Heretical books were defined, for the information of the officials, as such as contain "the errors of Quakers, Ranters, Adamites or such like Notorious Heretiques."

At the same session of the General Court measures were taken to promote peace in its own churches. Four ministers, one from each county, (Mr. Joseph Eliott from this county), were desired to meet to search out the rule whereby the churches and people might walk together "notwithstanding some various apprehensions amonge them in matters of discipline respecting membership and baptisme &c." The report of the committee is lost, though it was read in the General Court and "left upon the file." In 1680 the General Court felt that divisions still continued, with decay of love to God and one another, the abounding of sin, and the threatening of divine anger. Besides appointing an immediate fast, it recommended the catechising of the youth, and "To the end that vnity amongst the people may be continued and increased, and that the people may have opportunity to pertake of the variety of ministeriall gifts, that it be allso recommended to the ministers to keep a lecture weekly, upon the fourth day of the weeke, in each county, as they shall agree." These meetings were held, but were only voluntary.

Shortly before King Philip's War the Council, in order to discover the "sad frownes of God against the land," was moved "to recommend that a course of seekeing the Lord * * * might be observed * * * in each county in all their townes, the same 4th day of the week monthly. * * * To begin in New Haven County, Septr the first, next." A few months later the Council appointed conventions of the ministers of the colony, those of New Haven and Fairfield to meet in New Haven, "to make dilligent search for those euills amongst us, which have stirred up the Lord's anger against us, that they being discovered may, by repentance and reformation, be thrown out of or camp and hearts; and they were allso desired to send up there conclusions to the Councill, the following weeke, by Mr. Wakeman and Mr. Eliott: and allso, an order to send one hundred and fifty bush: of wheat to New London; as pr the letter on file."

A recommendation of 1692 is noteworthy for a light it throws on some conditions. The ministers of the county and the County Court proposed to the several towns a lecture for the "furtherance of religion and reformation." This proposal was read in the New Haven town meeting and "thankfully accepted, and the condition thereof well approved: and accordingly (it was) by the town seriously recommended to the authority, town officers, and heads of families, to take the utmost care they can to prevent all disorders, especially on lecture days; and particularly, that there be no horse-racings on such days, it being a great disorder."

Thought was taken also for those in need of material help. In 1697 the ministers of Massachusetts wrote to the governor of Connecticut telling of the distress of their people because of poor crops, and asking for a charitable contribution. The governor and Council recommended that collections be made in the various congregations, of grain, provisions, or money. In order to get it together, the Council appointed a person in each county to receive the contributions and ship them on some vessel bound for Boston. Maj. Moses Mansfield was appointed for the County of New Haven.

A contribution of this sort of more interest to New Haven is the one started for Mr. Eleazer Wheelock's School for Indians. The Assembly in 1763 granted a "Brief" throughout the colony, and appointed a person in each county (John Whiting for this county), to receive the county's collections, which were to be turned over to the treasurer of the colony. Because of trouble among the western Indians the contribution was so small that the effort was postponed for three years. It was then renewed and the same machinery provided for collection.

The Assembly also took measures concerning the money to be raised in each town for the maintenance of the minister and here too used the County Court. Lack of a minister did not free a town from paying the rate. The money must be paid as usual to the collectors, but the County Court "shall dispose and improve the said sums for the use of the ministry in that town" as soon as possible and at its discretion.

The County Court assisted in matters of morality in various other ways. In 1670 the General Court ordered each county, at its own proper charge, to procure sufficient weights and measures as a standard for the county, "That righteousness and justice may be mayntained amongst us in our commerce and dealinges each with other." These were to be kept in the county towns, from which each town was required to get its own standard measures. There is at present as county official, a sealer of weights and measures.

When Connecticut had its laws printed in 1672 each family was required to have a copy, to be delivered and paid for at the county towns. Prices were set in the various forms of payment,—silver, twelve pence a book; pease, two shillings a book, (peas at three shillings a bushel); wheat, a peck and a half. Later the printer complained that he had not been paid, and the General Court appointed persons in each county town to receive the pay for the books, Mr. John Hudson for New Haven County. Under the Andros regime the same equipment was used, but with a different and less trusting method of payment, perhaps feeling that otherwise the "chearful and grateful" inhabitants would not pay. "Coppyes of ye Laws are herewith sent, for ye use of each County, wch are to be pd for out of ye County Rate, to be made by ye Justices to defray that and other County charges wch I desire you to see returned to me accordingly." The law books of 1701 were to be sent into each county in proportion, and sold by designated persons. Election sermons, when printed, were distributed by the same method in the several counties, but, judging from the provision that Mr. Hooker's election sermon should be paid for out of the public treasury, it was not expected even then that people would buy them. In 1778 a convention was held in New Haven which passed measures regulating prices. Six hundred copies of the regulations were ordered printed separately for distribution in the towns, the sheriff in each county to send them off by special couriers, when he could find no other opportunity.

CHAPTER IV

COUNTY OFFICIALS

Treasurer and Auditors

That very necessary official, a treasurer, was provided at an early date. In October, 1671 "This Court doth impower the County Courtes in the respectiue Countyes to appoynt a Treasurer for their county and to grant Rates for the defrayeing of their just and necessary charges, the Treasurer to order the gathering of them." This provision was reinforced by one passed in 1680. "This Court orders that the County Treasurer in each county shall have power, and is hereby impowered, to send his warrant for the gathering of fines due the county treasury, throughout the county, as there shall be occasion and direct the same to the constable, who is hereby required to execute the same according to their tenor." The county treasurer today is appointed by the county commissioners.

Guilford has an interesting example of refusal to pay a county rate. In 1689 the town voted that "Whereas there was a County rate exacted upon the inhabitants * * * they did declare that the money shall not be payd to any pretended officer of this County until it be made to appear according to the laws of the Colony." This was probably proved to their satisfaction, for soon the constable was directed to turn over the money to the county. The same town had another experience in this connection. Lieut. John Burgis received a counterfeit bill in collecting the county rate, but not knowing of whom he received it, the town refunded the amount. There are various examples of rates which the General Court empowered the county courts to levy, when there was not enough money in the treasury from fines and perquisites to pay the bills.

The county treasury was supplied from many sources besides the rates and court fees. These sources of income form interesting side-lights on the life of the times. Some of the income-producing misdemeanors, half the fine going often to "the complayner," were: use of weights and measures not according to the standards of the county and town (fine of five shillings); failure of a town to supply proper stocks with a lock and key (ten shillings a month to the county treasury until remedied); neglect to keep water courses open, and nuisance from weirs, etc., (half the fine to go to the county treasury in each case); half the fine for encroachments on highways. Transgressions of measures for preventing the increase

of drunkenness paid fines to the county treasury. Drunken Indians, however, were put to work, half the profits of their labor going to the treasury and "half to the complainer." Appeals of cases of giving liquor to Indians paid fines to the County Court. The county treasury also received fines for furnishing ammunition to Indians.

Two-thirds of the fine for the sale of unsealed leather went to the county, and one-third to the complainer. The fine for the export of "skinns of bucks and dowses, which are so serviceable and vsefull for cloathing" was similarly divided. Later an act was passed "for the better Preservation and Increase of Deer within this Colony," by which it was forbidden to kill any buck, doe or fawn, fines for disobeying to be divided between the county treasury and the prosecutor. If the guilty person was too poor to pay the fine he must work it out.

The County Court must also keep a watchful eye on dress. "Excess in apparell amongst vs is unbecoming a wilderness condition and the profession of the gospell," and the court issued regulations because "the riseing generation is in danger to be corrupted." These restrictions were not made too all-embracing. Magistrates and their wives and children were left to their own discretion, and "any settled military commission officer, or such whose quality and estate haue been aboue the ordinary degree though now decayed." The dividing line between the favored few and those whose dress must be inspected seemed to be a "one hundred and fifty pownd" estate. Excess apparel was defined as "gold and silver lace, or gold or siluer buttons, silk ribbons or other superfluous trimings, or any bone lace aboue three shillings per yard, or silk scarfes." The grand jury and County Court were to act as judges of "apparell exceeding the quality and condition of their persons and estates or that is apparently beyond the necessary end of apparell for covering or comeliness." The fine was ten shillings for each offence, with the same fine for the "taylor" who should fashion such garments for children or servants against the "minde" of the parent or master.

Fines for unlicensed export of timber as a source of revenue were divided between the county treasury and that of the town where the offence was committed. Wandering animals and human beings also helped fill the coffers. Too thrifty or lazy people who left their cattle in the pound after a certain length of time contributed to the public two shillings a day for each beast. If no owner could be found the animals were sold, and after a year the treasury of the county kept what was left after paying expenses. Some financial gain came to the county treasury from "deceit and evil dealeing about horses." Each town was given its own brand for horses and "horse kind." One of the duties of the grand jury was to search transgressors of this regulation. In 1686 the General Court ordered that each plantation have a certain place for branding horses and no other, and a town brander, who was required to take a Brander's Oath. The fines for setting up such places contrary to the town's order or without liberty or license from the town or County

Court were to go, one-half to the county treasury and one half to the "complayner." Unbranded horses were either sold after proper notice, or marked "for the use of the county." "Wandering negroe seruants" or slaves, and vagrants going from town to town without passes were another source of income. Ferrymen transporting negro slaves without passes paid twenty shillings to the county treasury.

The grand jurymen must report cases of negligence or moral lapses, which brought in fines, such as neglect to attend public worship or failure of heads of families to perform their religious duties. They must visit once a year "each famaly they suspect to neglect" the order that servants and children were required "as they are capeable, to be taught to read distinctly the English tongue." Twenty shillings was the penalty for each neglect, unless the court could be satisfied that the parents were unable to do this, or the children or servants could not learn.

Jurymen, in their turn, were not exempt from obedience to the law, and a jurymen who was warned to serve on a jury and failed to attend, contributed his bit to the county treasury, twenty shillings or a "sufficient reason." Persons who refused assistance asked by a sheriff must pay a fine to the county treasury, and a like fine was levied for failure to answer a summons.

In view of later complaints of "Indianizing," the following regulation of 1678 is interesting. Since people frequent Indian dances and meetings, betting on the running and the plays, and joining in, "which doth too much countenance them in these fooleries, if not encourage them in their divill worship," fines were laid of forty shillings for being present on such occasions and £10 for betting, on the usual terms of one-half to the county treasury and one-half to the complainer. If the persons were unable to pay, they were to receive corporal punishment. Considering the gains to be derived from acting as "complayner," the following law seems desirable,—that defamers and slanderers must pay a fine of fifty shillings to the county treasury, while the person slandered received the costs and damages as awarded by the courts and jury.

The county had calls for the expenditure of money besides that paid to the judges and county officials, and the building and repair of the county buildings. In 1675, for the encouragement of "rayseing rape oyle," Mr. Rosewell was given a monopoly of making it for ten years, and to help the project the county treasury was ordered to pay two shillings an acre each year for ten years to each person sowing cole seed up to eighty acres. In 1687 an act was passed for destroying wolves. Bounties were to be paid, according to a schedule, by the county in which the wolves were killed, Indians receiving only half pay. Like other county institutions, the county treasury has been called on for odd jobs. One of these in 1701 was to keep the county supply of gun powder, sent by the colony treasurer, in the head town "safely preserved for the use of the colonie." Until the nineteenth century the counties were required to pay all the costs of building and upkeep of courthouses and jails, and the pay of

judges. Since then, if the amount received from fines and penalties is not enough, the state makes up the deficiency.

One expenditure of the county today is for the Bar Libraries in New Haven and Waterbury. In 1927 the county commissioners were ordered to pay the New Haven library \$5,500 annually, and the Waterbury library \$3,300.

Connected with the county treasury was the auditor. At present there are two county auditors, to audit the accounts of the county treasurer and the jailer. These officials are appointed by the senators and representatives of the county in the Legislature, from among their own number, but they must not belong to the same political party.

The Sheriff.

An officer of the early days continued under the county organization was the marshal. Mention was made of this official in New Haven before the union with Connecticut, in 1642, when the court stated that one of the duties of the marshal was to keep lost articles " 'till the owners challenge them." In 1653 when Robert Basset, the town drummer, was described as "a leader to disturbe the peace both of the churches and commonwealth. * * * The marshal was to put him in prison, and irons upon him for his better security." The latter order may have been due to the feebleness of the prison rather than to the desperate character of Robert. After 1662 there was a marshal for each county as well as for the colony. In 1676 the New Haven County marshal was called on to warn the town for a delinquency that would have disturbed Davenport particularly,—that of not sustaining the grammar school required by law in a county town. Under Andros the governor and Council appointed such an officer, the sheriff, for each county.

At the reorganization of the court system at the end of the seventeenth century, the marshal was given the name sheriff. He was appointed annually by the governor and Council, subject to removal by the same authority. Sheriffs were usually reappointed, and Dwight said they "may, perhaps, be considered as holding their office during good behaviour." The Constitution of 1818 provided the same method of appointment by the General Assembly, subject to removal, with the restriction that sheriffs and their deputies were ineligible to membership in the Assembly. Their term was set at three years, and in case of a vacancy occurring, the governor made an appointment to last until the next meeting of the Assembly. An amendment of 1838 gave the election of the sheriffs to the electors of the counties, but they could still be removed by the General Assembly. In 1886 the term was lengthened to four years.

The sheriffs were paid by fees, regulated by schedule, with additional sums for any distance over a mile traveled in the course of duty. They were paid four shillings a day for each day at the General Assembly,

they bearing their own charges. Since 1907 the sheriffs have been paid a salary, (with fees under certain conditions). The salary of the sheriff of New Haven County is now fixed at \$6,000 a year. After 1766 deputy sheriffs were regularly appointed. Before that time they had appeared only on special occasions. They are appointed by the sheriffs, and paid by fees. The number for New Haven County is now thirty-five.

In 1722 the powers and duties of the sheriff were defined for the first time. He was not a judicial officer, though part of the judicial machinery. As such he had the custody of prisoners, the superintendence of prisons, and appointed the keeper of the jail. He or his deputies may be called on to collect unpaid taxes laid in any city, town or municipality in his county. He can call out the militia of the county when it is necessary. In 1870 the town of Milford asked for help in capturing a band of roughs from New York City who had taken possession of Charles Island. There had been trouble with such bands before, which the local authorities had not been able to bring to an end. The sheriff, given power by the governor to use military force, called out a battalion of the Second Regiment and the Second Company of the Governor's Foot Guards. About one hundred prisoners were taken and turned over to the civil authorities in New Haven, and this exercise of force ended the troubles from the roughs.

The sheriff has had his part in enforcing laws such as observance of the Sabbath. In 1721 the law was passed that profaners of the Sabbath who refused to pay a fine must go to the house of correction and work, (not over a month). Their pay was to go to the town treasury, except the fee to the sheriff, who must see that the sentence was carried out. A holiday example of the appearance of the county troop and sheriff was at the celebration of the accession of George II in 1727. The county troop was directed to attend with the order that "a treat of thirty pounds be made for their refreshment." The sheriff was ordered to "provide ten pounds of candles for illuminating the courthouse" and also to procure a "barrel of good wine at the expense of the county for refreshment of ye Assembly." About this time Major Moses Mansfield was sheriff of New Haven County, as was his son Samuel (Yale, 1735), later for several years, at least from 1744 to 1753. President Stiles called him "a very respectable character." It was his daughter who became the wife of Benedict Arnold.

County Commissioners

The executive officers of the county at present are the three commissioners, established as we have seen in 1839. They are not mentioned in the Constitution, and the office was created by an act of the General Assembly. Their duties in the beginning have been described in connection with the County Court, part of whose work they have taken over. Both numbers and duties of the commissioners have been changed from the original status. Each county now has three instead of two, appointed by the General Assembly for three years, and they have no judicial func-

tions. Their appointment is part of the "county system," which has also been described in connection with the courts. As a result of this method of choice, the commissioners are not responsible to the people, and there is no way by which they can be removed from office except by the Legislature.

The commissioners have the care of the courthouses, jail and county home. They appoint the jailer, caretaker, and county treasurer, and formerly appointed the prosecuting agent. Their work includes letting contracts for the labor of the convicts, and certain supervision of highways. The county has some property in their care besides the jail, county home and courthouses. There is land on Church Street in New Haven, and in 1929 the commissioners sold land near the jail as a site for the state armory. The county also has charge of a bridge near Stevenson. The commissioners pay certain salaries, those of the jailer and assistants, chaplain, physicians, the county treasurer, the two auditors, the sealer of weights and measures, and the probation officers. The county, through them, pays money to the Widows Aid, the Farm Bureau, the Bar Libraries, and the Child Welfare Association. Until the Prohibition Amendment was passed, the county commissioners had power to issue liquor licenses.

The principal sources of income for the county now are payments by the state and the United States for board of prisoners, and for the County Home, county tax, rents, and factory sales.

County Coroner

The office of county coroner was created in 1883, one coroner for each county, to be appointed by the judges of the Superior Court, on nomination by the state's attorney. In 1927 the office of coroner for Waterbury was created, his district to include Waterbury, Naugatuck, Middlebury, Southbury, Oxford, Prospect, Wolcott, Beacon Falls and Cheshire, to be elected in the same manner for a term of three years. This office was held for almost the entire time since its creation by Eli Mix, who served from 1885 until the time of his death in 1930. The coroner appoints medical examiners for each town, and has the assistance of a deputy coroner.

The State's Attorney for the County

In 1704 "to prevent the crying sin of the neglect of putting good laws into execution against immoral offenders," it was ordered and enacted "That henceforth there shall be in every countie a sober, discreet and religious person appointed by the Countie Courts to be Atturney for the Queen, to prosecute and implead in the laws all criminall offenders, and to doe all other things necessary or convenient as an atturney to suppress vice and imoralitie." These officials were to be paid from the county treasury, and their duty was to prosecute criminals in their own County Court. Before this time such attorneys had been appointed for special cases or for a limited time.

They were thus appointed until the County Court was abolished in 1855, and from that time by judges of the Superior Court. For this and other purposes judges of the Supreme Court are ex-officio judges of the Superior Court. In 1821 the term of office of state's attorney was put at two years. Their duties include, besides prosecutions for the state, nomination of the county coroner. There is also an assistant county attorney, and a county investigator. The salaries vary in the different counties, and the amount is fixed, not by statute, but by the State Board of Finance and Control.

Some of the most distinguished lawyers of New Haven County have filled this office,—Charles Chauncey, Pierpont Edwards, David Daggett, three members of the Ingersoll family, E. K. Foster, O. H. Platt, to name a few.



(From the collection of the New Haven Colony Historical Society)

YALE COLLEGE AND STATE HOUSE, NEW HAVEN

CHAPTER V

COUNTY PROPERTY

Adjuncts necessary to the judicial system, sooner or later, even in a theocracy, are courthouses for the judges, and prisons for the detention of persons waiting for trial, or under sentence of the court. At the time of the union of New Haven and Connecticut there was only one county jail, at Hartford. At an early date a prison-house is spoken of in New Haven, an unheated building on the Green near College and Elm streets. Its condition may be inferred from the vote in a town meeting soon after the union of the two colonies, that the "Townsmen shall see that at least one roome of the prison be made safe for prisoners." The jail buildings in New Haven have, in the course of their history, led a migratory existence, moving from the Green, across the street, to what is now the college campus, in the other direction to Church Street, and finally left the region altogether for another part of the city.

In May, 1667, the General Court ordered each county to build and maintain a suitable gaol and courthouse. Bonuses of £12 were offered if the buildings were completed by December. In spite of this offer the General Assembly found it necessary to issue a second order in 1701, for proper jails in the head town of each county, charges for building and upkeep to be met by the county treasury. If necessary to raise money in addition to that already in the treasury, the justices of the County Courts were empowered to levy a rate on the inhabitants, to be collected by the town constables. The justices were to order and direct the work. In connection with the bonus of £12, it is interesting to note that after the new state's prison at Wethersfield became not only self-supporting but with receipts higher than its expenditures, the warden paid \$1,000 to each of the following counties, Hartford, New London, Middlesex and New Haven in accordance with an act passed in 1840 granting that sum to each county whenever it should erect suitable county prisons.

At the beginning of the eighteenth century the allied institutions of justice in New Haven,—stocks, whipping post, jail and courthouse,—were standing on the upper Green. In 1735 a new wooden jail was built, between the courthouse and Hopkins Grammar School, at a point nearly opposite the present Lawrence Hall. In 1784 it became dilapidated, and a successor was located on the other side of College Street, still in the neighborhood of an educational institution,—Yale College. Other buildings in the vicinity were the town alms-house and a barber's shop. The

town and county had each purchased half of a lot which Benjamin Franklin had bought several years before, apparently as a site for a post office in which his nephew should be postmaster. This plan was not carried out, and the county had built the jail on its part of the lot, the front, the town putting the almshouse on the other half, in the rear. Just before 1800 President Dwight and the college treasurer, James Hillhouse, bought these two lots, and a new jail was built on Church Street, on the site of the present City Hall. It still maintained relations with education, for it was situated on a lot belonging to Hopkins Grammar School. President Dwight described it as "a strong and decent stone edifice." In 1857 a new jail was built on Whalley Avenue, about a mile from the center of the city. It still serves the county for a jail, the first building having been added to from time to time. Elliott's Guide Book to New Haven, soon after its erection, described it as a "strong, well ventilated and handsome edifice. * * * The grounds are laid out with taste and care. Few in passing would suppose it the stronghold of the city for criminals." The Civic Federation of New Haven later used quite opposite terms.

In connection with the jail President Dwight gave New Haven a doubtful honor, that, as the "shire town of the county all the capital punishments of the county have been inflicted here." He hastened to add that in one hundred seventy-five years there had been only thirteen executions, and not one of those of an inhabitant of the county. Others have been added since his time, at some of which the New Haven Grays were summoned by the sheriff of the county to do guard duty, with the Blues and the Foot Guards. Once, at least, the military were given a banquet by the sheriff after the execution, a new adaptation of the custom of the funeral baked meats.

The county jails also served as prisons for the colony until the use of Newgate just before the Revolution. Until 1797 lunatics not under the care of friends, and persons acquitted for murder on the ground of insanity, were also kept in the jails, as well as those who refused to pay taxes, to give evidence in a case, or to give accounting of an estate. In 1841 the care of the jails was put in the hands of the recently created county commissioners.

At the time of the organization of the county courts in 1665, there was no regular place of meeting for them in New Haven. The preceding courts may have been using the old Watch-house on the Green, apparently called the "county house" on some of the early maps, or the meeting-house. Meetings of the General Assembly began to be held in New Haven in 1701, and about this time the subject of county houses as well as jails received attention from that body. In 1712 proposals of Governor Saltonstal received the following reply from the Legislature:—"We are of opinion a suitable house ought to be provided in each county for holding courts in, but more especially at Hartford and New Haven, for holding the General Assembly, but refer it to the consideration of both houses." The lower house thought the matter ought to be deferred.



(Photograph by E. G. Wooster, New Haven)

STATE HOUSE, NEW HAVEN, REMOVED ABOUT 1890

In 1717 an act was passed for the sale of ungranted public lands to raise money for schools and county houses, though no provision was made for carrying it out. A building for this purpose was completed in New Haven in 1720, near the northwest corner of the Green, and was used both by the General Assembly for its New Haven meetings and by the County and Superior Courts. The procedure of the town and county authorities in this matter is interesting, and illustrates their relations. The County Court voted, January, 1719, "That it is necessary for the service of his Majesty that there be adjoined to the present prison-house a timber house of forty-five feet in length and twenty-two feet in breadth, two stories high, with chimneys at each end; and agreed that there be such a building erected on this condition, that the town of New Haven provide a suitable piece of land to set it on." In February, "The Town, by a full vote, Granted an half-quarter of an acre in the Market place at the old prison house to build an house upon for his Majesty's service, according to the order of the last January County Court, and to be laid out by the Townsmen." In November the County Court directed its clerk to make an order to the treasurer of the county to pay what money was in his hands to the committee appointed to build the county house. This building was used for nearly fifty years as a courthouse. After its successor was put up, it was kept for about twenty years, and used for various purposes, a printing office, and finally as a shop for making metal buttons. It was taken down between 1780-90, probably about the time its neighbor, the jail, was moved to the other side of the street.

In 1763 a new State House was erected by the county and the colony. A special County Court was held, which laid a tax of one penny on the pound to finish it, and later the colony gave £1,000. This was a brick building, also on the Green, between the present sites of Trinity and Center churches, a little north of Trinity, and much nearer Temple Street, (which was not yet laid out). It had doors at both east and west ends, a wrought iron railing for the steps which was much admired, and a cupola surmounted by a crown, though some doubt exists as to the dates of these latter decorations. Jared Ingersoll was on the building committee and got the old bell from the meeting-house. The work was directed by a committee appointed by the County Court, and, at its request, a committee appointed by the General Assembly. Half the expense was borne by the colony, and for the rest the Assembly "resolved, that the civil authority in said county of New Haven be and hereby are directed to meet at such time and place as shall be appointed by the judge of county (Roger Newton) in said county with the advice of two justices of the quorum, and such tax or taxes to levy and collect from the inhabitants of said county as shall be necessary for paying the other half part of the cost and charge aforesaid. And the judge of said County Court is hereby directed as soon as may be, to assign time and place for the meeting of the civil authority for the purpose aforesaid." In 1768 the town voted that "in consideration of the use the town would have of

the building it would pay one-quarter of the expense of the stone steps, front and rear." Jury rooms and rooms for the courts were on the first floor, the second floor was used for the General Assembly, and the third was an open hall. Town meetings were held in this building. There was also a county house near the jail, built somewhat later, described by Dwight as "a plain and barely decent edifice."

By 1819 the State House was described as "an ancient and plain brick structure," and in 1827 the General Assembly "resolved that it is expedient and necessary" to have a new State House in New Haven, with accommodations for the various courts of law, the Town, City and County of New Haven each to pay one-third of the expense. The County Court, therefore, ordered its clerk to call a meeting of the judges and representatives of the county in the General Assembly to consider the subject and lay a tax to raise the necessary funds. Such a meeting was held, and voted a "tax of one cent on the dollar on the lists of the polls and ratable estate of the county and no more." The new building, Ithiel Towne, architect, was placed on the upper Green. Part of the material for its construction came from the 1763 building, (some of which went into a house on State Street). Until it was ready (1831), the courts met in the basement of the Methodist Church, an appropriate place historically, since it was on the site of the first courthouse.

In 1862 the courts moved from the State House to rooms rented for them by the county commissioners in the newly built City Hall. In 1871 a county meeting authorized the commissioners to buy a lot and build a courthouse for the county. The lot next the City Hall was bought, and a building finished in 1873, when the courts moved again. More room was needed before many years, and in 1884 another building, the Criminal Court, just north, was finished, containing rooms also for various county officials. This was used for thirty years, until 1914, when a new courthouse was ready on Elm Street, but still facing the Green on a third side. These successive buildings, which have changed the location of the courts even more times than the jail, have represented changing fashions in architecture,—colonial, classical, Victorian Gothic. In 1889, after much discussion, the 1827 building, now known as the "Old" State House went the way of its predecessors.

In 1872 it was ordered that two sessions of the Superior Court should be held in Waterbury, if proper accommodations were furnished. Rooms in the City Hall were used for a time, and in 1895 the Legislature authorized the erection of a new courthouse, to be paid for, as in the case of New Haven, by Waterbury and the county. This building was opened in 1896, but after a few years a new one was needed. This and the New Haven County building were authorized at the same county caucus. The Waterbury building, in a different style, that of the Italian Renaissance, was ready for use in 1911.

The history of work-houses furnishes an interesting example of the independence of counties in Connecticut. In 1750 the General Assembly

directed each county to build a house of correction, using the jails as such in the meantime. Nothing was done either at this time or three years later when the county courts were directed to tax the counties for the purpose. It was necessary in 1754 to change this order by adding the provision that the county courts must first have the vote of the majority of the assistants and justices of the county, the whole course of affairs justifying the statement of President Dwight that the county was a real republic, "a perfectly safe establishment. Whenever this Body taxes the county it taxes in the same manner its own members."

New Haven town in 1767 voted money and applied to the County Court for permission to erect a work-house. It was built in 1785, the first one started as a town institution. Some towns desired a county work-house. One motive doubtless was to end the controversies between towns as to which town should care for paupers who wandered about. Cheshire voted that the selectmen "signifie to the County Court that a work-house may be built in this town for the use of the county." Hamden, too, thought such an institution desirable, and in 1795 "Voted, That the honorable Court of Common Pleas for the Colony of New Haven be requested to call a meeting of the civil authority in the several towns of this county, to consider the expediency of building and supplying a Work House for the benefit of the County." By 1821, since no county had a work-house, the law was changed and towns were authorized to build them. Seven such permissions had already been given, besides that of New Haven. In 1841 the law was passed that a county jail might be used as a work-house, if built on certain lines.

Another form of county property and institution is of much later date, the county home for children. Jails and courthouses are an obvious and immediate necessity, involving no discussion or establishment of principle and procedure in that respect. Care of the poor and dependent is a different matter. In the beginning there was little trouble. Church and town were the same and the poor were cared for out of the church treasury. Every one knew every one else and no elaborate system of investigation was necessary, or legislation beyond regulations such as that justice should be done in the case of certain relationships. For example, in cases of second marriages, the rights of step-children were guarded, and servants and apprentices must have some teaching. Children who could not be cared for by their parents were placed in families until they became of age. This system of binding out was continued throughout the colonial period and into the nineteenth century. After 1850 children might be bound out to an institution. In 1883, to keep them out of almshouses, a law was passed providing county temporary homes for those between the ages of four and eighteen, until some proper arrangement could be made. Children are placed here by order of selectmen or court. The home for this county was opened at Tyler City at the beginning of the next year, under the management of the county commissioners and one member each of the State Boards of Health and Charities. The



(Courtesy of Waterbury Chamber of Commerce)

COURTHOUSE, WATERBURY

board of management now consists of the county commissioners and two persons appointed by them. The state contributes to the support of the home. In two or three years the home was moved to New Haven, and in 1908-9 a new building was put up in West Haven. At the end of the first year fifty-two children had been received, forty-two from New Haven, and the rest from five other towns. By the time of its removal from Tyler City it had received 146 children from Cheshire, Derby, Hamden, Madison, Meriden, New Haven, Orange, Oxford and Waterbury.

CHAPTER VI

ATTORNEYS

"Lawyers" said President Dwight "though not in a strict sense executive officers, are yet so extensively employed in promoting the dispensation of justice, as to make the mention of them proper in this place."

Among the early colonists were several men with legal training and ability. William Leete was probably graduated from Cambridge and a student of law at the Inns of Court in London. It was as registrar of the Bishop Ely's court at Cambridge that his attention was first seriously turned towards Puritanism. After he came to America he was constantly employed in Guilford in matters connected with the courts. He was on the committee to look after "the administration of justice and preservation of the peace;" he was deputy judge of the Particular Court; and after the formation of the Jurisdiction of New Haven, as magistrate for Guilford, presided over the local court and sat in the Supreme Court of the colony. In 1671 he was on the committee which compiled the laws for Connecticut.

Samuel Desborough, another of the first planters of Guilford, had studied law in England with his brother who was a barrister. Both in Guilford and in England after his return, he was called on to "sustain so many and high betrustments." Thomas Jordan, also of Guilford, was also a lawyer, also held many offices there, and also returned to England and became distinguished. Alexander Bryan, of Milford, its first merchant, was a lawyer. The first person mentioned in New Haven as attorney (in 1642) was Thomas Pell, although he was not actually trained in the law. Others are mentioned in the same way,—such as Richard Malbon (1644) and Richard Catchman (1645).

At this time it was the custom to choose a friend as counsel or attorney to present testimony at the court. After the union of New Haven with Connecticut, men are frequently mentioned in the colonial records as appearing thus at Hartford as "attorneys" for another person. An example is a case from Wallingford in 1696. "Mr. Richrd Edwards as attorney for Isaac Curtis of Wallingford petitioned this court to grant the said Curtis of Wallingford execution upon a verdict of jury given at the countie court at Newhaven." This was granted. A year later the court voted and granted "that Captn Thomas Yale of Wallingford should have liberty to renew his former suit in which he was attorney for Doctor John Hull in a controversie between Isaac Curtis and the sd John Hull."

Towns also chose attorneys to act for them. Guilford at various times chose Thomas Jordan and William Leete, and in 1677 it chose attorneys in a case against Thomas Robinson, Sr., who took up land "disorderly." The town sent men to pull up his fences, upon which he claimed £40 damages. It sued him in the County Court and appointed two men as attorneys, with power to call on a lawyer if necessary. The town won in the County Court, but the case was carried on for some time. In 1688 the Townsmen were empowered to look after the town's bounds, defend its rights "and to give letters of attorney, in the Town's name, which shall be of as full power and virtue, as if the Town had done it." Disputes over town lines led to the appointment of town agents at different times in Waterbury. In 1756 Capt. Samuel Hikcox was appointed "to represent the town in any action that might be brought against it at any court of justice whatsoever."

No attorney was allowed in criminal cases. In others in the early days, with the Bible as code and Theophilus Eaton presiding as Solomon, most cases could be managed without the help of attorneys. There was no jury in any of the courts in the New Haven colony and the presiding magistrate acted as such as well as prosecuting officer and judge. With no rules of evidence, procedure was simple, having little form and regularity. Sometimes cases were continued until a committee appointed to inquire into the circumstances could make a report. Often arbitration was advised, as in Guilford in 1656 when the opponents were advised by the court "rather between themselves, or by mediatiō of some friends to end the controversy & not to hazard such hurtful events, as might proceed from that way they were going on."

In 1656 Eaton's code of laws was prepared. Before this such measures as were passed by the courts were read in the various town meetings. There was of course need of some simple regulations as to proceedings in court. In Guilford in 1649-50 it was stated that no one could speak without being recognized, nor continue "speech longer by impertinencies, needless repetitions, or multiplication of words, wch rather tend to darken, than cleare the truth or right of the matter." Similar provisions were made in the colony courts against "disorderly pleading," that all parties must speak in turn or pay a fine.

Procedure changed after the union with Connecticut. Regular judges were appointed justices of the peace, and jury trial was established. Attorneys were prohibited. The order was disobeyed, and the authorities accepted the inevitable, but passed the law that an attorney "except he speake directly to matter of law and with leave from ye authority prsent he shal pay ten shillings to ye Publick Treasure as a fine, or sit in ye stocks one hour, for every such offence." Later the court complained of "comon barretors which frequently move, stirre up and maintain suits of law in court," etc.

The General Assembly in 1708 began to make regulations as to the qualifications of attorneys. Up to this time any one might appear in

court as attorney for another. After this no person was allowed to make a plea in court (except in his own case) until he had been approved by the county court and had taken a prescribed oath. The first person admitted in New Haven County was Jeremiah Osborne in October, 1708, who, by the way, died insolvent. He had been appointed justice of the quorum ten years earlier and had been for years a deputy. Further legislation followed. In 1725 a special tax was laid on attorneys; in 1730 their number was limited to eleven for the whole colony, two in each county except Hartford which had a larger number. Only one attorney was named for New Haven County at this time, William Addams of Milford. These attorneys must be appointed by the county courts and were subject to removal by them. In 1731 the part of the law limiting numbers was repealed, and in 1734 three men from New Haven County were appointed,—Daniel Edwards of New Haven, Elihu Hall of Wallingford, and Michael Hill of Guilford. Others followed soon. This law was in the revision of 1750, and regulations were made from time to time as to fees. During the eighteenth century there were comparatively few regular lawyers for there was not enough wealth or business to support a large body of practitioners. Samuel Andrew, (Yale 1739) of Milford, who studied law, and was described on his tombstone as “*juris peritus*,” died insolvent. The county had six lawyers in 1760.

At the time of the Revolution several lawyers in the county became Tories. One of them was the brother-in-law of Chauncey Whittelsey, pastor of the First Church in New Haven, Colonel Elihu Hall, mentioned above, Yale 1731, whose practice had taken him often to England. He left in 1779. At the same time Joshua Chandler departed, a lawyer and Yale graduate of 1747. His son John, Yale 1772, who had married the daughter of Rev. Samuel Whittelsey of Milford remained in New Haven, but was always more or less under suspicion. His son-in-law, Amos Botsford, was also obliged to leave because of the odium attached to the family. He was said to have had a library, mostly of law books worth £37, and a practice worth £600, of which he could save about £225. It is interesting that as late as November, 1778, he acted as attorney for Benedict Arnold in managing his property in New Haven, and that his son was graduated from Yale in 1792. The result of the departure of the Tory lawyers and the recent growth of the profession was that after the Revolution leaders of the bar were young men, such as Charles Chauncey, aged thirty-six, and Pierpont Edwards aged thirty-four.

Further regulations as to attorneys were made in 1808. These additions to the laws were thus described by President Dwight. “The Supreme Court, and the Court of Common Pleas, are respectively authorized to make such regulation as they judge proper, relative to the admission, and practice, of Attornies in the Court of Common Pleas, and the Circuit and Supreme Courts. Before that time all Lawyers admitted to practice in the Court of Common Pleas, were admitted to practice, also,

in the higher courts. Now they must undergo two examinations before they can practice in the Circuit and Supreme Courts. Every Attorney is also an advocate, if he chooses to assume this office. Such as are admitted to practice in the higher courts are, 'after two years' practice, and having a good character,' admitted, of course, in the Courts of the United States and are; styled Counsellors at Law. No person, besides Attornies, is permitted to appear as an advocate in any cause except his own." At this time President Dwight reported two hundred sixteen lawyers in Connecticut.

From 1821 to 1855 admission of attorneys was again exclusively with the county courts. After 1855 it was exclusively with the Superior Court, which since 1808 had made such rules for admission as it thought proper. These rules were not uniform throughout the counties, but the usual requirements were that the candidate must be of full age, of good moral character, have had a certain amount of training, and have passed an examination before a committee of the county bar. Before 1818 the custom had grown up of admitting as attorneys only those persons approved and recommended by the bar of the county. For this purpose, and for other similar reasons, the lawyers of the counties were organized into Bar Associations. The date in this county is uncertain, but it goes back to colonial times. In 1877 lawyers of the counties were incorporated into Law Library Associations. Admission of attorneys to the bar today is made after an examination by a State Bar Committee appointed by the judges of the Superior Court. Two examinations are held annually, one in Hartford, and one in New Haven, the latter on the Thursday following the Yale commencement. A candidate for examination must file notice with the clerk of the Superior Court of the county in which he lives, and must satisfy the committee as to certain requirements of education and character.

Lawyers received their training either in the offices of older men, or in one of the private law schools which began towards the end of the eighteenth century, one in Litchfield, and what was really a school kept by lawyers in New Haven. This custom had begun before, Jared Ingersoll having Richard Law for a pupil, and Daniel Humphreys studying with James Abraham Hillhouse. One of the leaders of the bar in New Haven who received students in his office was Charles Chauncey. He was born in Durham in 1747, studied law with James Abraham Hillhouse, and was admitted to the bar in 1768. He was made attorney for the state in 1776, and judge of the Superior Court from 1789 until he resigned in 1793. Soon after this he began to take students into his office, and is said to have had usually several at a time studying with him, and gave them formal lectures. One student, the son of President Stiles, is said to have spent two years in his office, to have read many legal books, and to have written a thesis, which was required then in New Haven as well as the examination. Mr. Chauncey taught James Gould, later of the Litchfield Law School, David Daggett, Elizur Goodrich,

Charles Denison, Sereno C. Dwight, son of the president of Yale, Augustus R. Street, and Simeon Baldwin, to name a few of those who became prominent in this locality. In recognition of his work for forty years as a successful teacher, David Daggett was made Doctor of Laws by Middlebury College.

Simeon Baldwin had pupils, as did Pierpont Edwards, and New Haven was not the only town in the county where lawyers took students. Bennet Bronson of Waterbury, Yale 1797, studied law with Noah Benedict of Woodbury. He was admitted to the bar in Litchfield County and opened an office in Waterbury. He was justice of the peace, reappointed annually from 1809 until the political revolution of 1818, and was in that office again in 1827 for three years. He was assistant judge of the county court from 1812 to 1814, and chief judge from 1824 to 1830.

The Litchfield Law School continued until 1833, and trained many men from New Haven County. James Gould, one of the men at its head, was from this county. He was born in Branford, son of Dr. William Gould, fourth generation of a family of physicians, was graduated from Yale in 1791, acted as tutor there for a time, and was trained, as has been said, in the office of a New Haven lawyer. Of pupils of the Litchfield Law School who remained in the county, mention should be made of John Kingsbury of Waterbury. He was admitted to the bar in 1790, and opened an office the next year. He held many public places,—town clerk much of the time from 1793 to 1818; justice of the peace from 1796 to 1830; representative of the town in the General Assembly seventeen times between 1796 and 1813; and 1801 was appointed judge of the probate court and of the county court. He held the former office until 1834, and the latter until 1820, the last year as presiding judge.

Another law school was kept in New Haven from 1818 until 1824 by Seth Staples (Yale 1797), and when he went to New York in 1824 by Samuel J. Hitchcock, Yale 1809, one of his pupils, and David Daggett. Samuel J. Hitchcock was valedictorian of the class, and held many offices,—judge of the county court, 1838 to 1842; mayor of New Haven, 1839 to 1842; chief judge of the city court 1842 to 1844. He was also interested in railroads. He did the hard work of teaching in the school, to which pupils were attracted by the prestige of David Daggett. Mr. Staples himself had been a pupil of Daggett's, and in 1800 had an unusually valuable library imported for him from England by Isaac Beers.

This New Haven school was made up mostly of Yale students, and in 1824 their names were put in the college catalogue, though the connection with the college was vague. Mr. Staples had a large practice, and was obliged to meet the students before breakfast. They were so eager for his instruction as to appear sometimes before he was up. It should be added that recitations in the college were often held before breakfast. In 1826 the school was joined to the college, and in that year a professorship of law was established, named after Chancellor Kent. David Daggett was the first to hold the position, and occasionally lectured to the

seniors. There was no building and the classes met at his house. Ten students were enrolled in the college catalogue the first year, and five years later the number had increased to forty-four. Degrees were first given in 1843, and in 1846 the Law School was formally made a department of the college. A Law School library was started by the purchase of Judge Hitchcock's books, and in 1872 the school was given rooms rent free in the new county courthouse in return for the use of its library. At that time the school, which had nearly died, was reorganized and the course made to cover two years, with written examinations, and soon entrance examinations were required. Gifts began to come in, and in 1890 the school bought a lot for a building of its own. In 1896 the course was lengthened to three years, and a college degree made a necessary prerequisite. In 1876 a graduate course was begun, making it the first school in America or England to establish courses leading to a higher degree. Now it has also a summer school.

It is of course impossible to name all the lawyers of the county, (New Haven alone in its anniversary year, 1888, having one hundred twenty-nine), or even their service as judges in the various courts and in public office.

By the end of the eighteenth century the profession had advanced to a position in public estimation next to that of the clergy. A natural field for the public service of lawyers was in connection with the various steps that brought about the establishment of the government after the separation from England. Thus Samuel Beach (Yale 1757) and so much employed in drawing up legal documents and other important papers as to be called a lawyer by the historian of Cheshire, was one of the men chosen by the Town of Wallingford to which Cheshire belonged, to act as committee to consider the Articles of Confederation, and report to the next town meeting. This report, by the way, agreed to the articles except as to taxation, and quoted Montesquieu, "the greatest name in the political world." It is interesting that New Haven and Waterbury also criticized this article. The work of Roger Sherman in this connection is too well known to need repeating. He was also a member of the state convention which ratified the constitution. Samuel Beach and Pierpont Edwards were other lawyers in this convention. Connecticut sent seven delegates to the Hartford Convention, of whom one was a New Haven lawyer, James Hillhouse. He is more pleasantly remembered for other things. With Pierpont Edwards, Samuel Edwards, Joseph Hopkins and other men he formed a company for Coining Coppers in Connecticut, which for a short period was allowed to make small coins. This is only one of many projects in which he was interested and is doubtless not referred to in the following lines from the poem "Sachem's Wood,"—

"A stranger cried, (half turning round),
"That face is worth a thousand pound!" "

Families have been represented for several generations in the law, just as in medicine and in the ministry. One of these is the Ingersoll

family, first represented in that profession by Jared Ingersoll, stamp master. His nephew Jonathan was a lawyer, as were Jonathan's two sons and a grandson. Other families with many representatives in the legal profession are the White, Baldwin and Bristol families. The White and Baldwin families, both look to a common ancestor, Roger Sherman, a man of great parts, shoemaker, store keeper, almanac maker, surveyor, lawyer and, to apply to him words on the tombstone of another public man of the time,—“a faithful servant to the Public in Various Civil offices, a firm Friend to the Liberties of His Country.”

Simeon Baldwin married a daughter of Roger Sherman, and their son, named for him, and their grandson, Simeon E. Baldwin, both followed him in becoming lawyers and in having a distinguished share in public life. The family had been in the colony from the beginning, Simeon Baldwin's great-grandfather having been one of the planters of Guilford. He was born in Norwich, 1761, the youngest of eight children, and left motherless when only a few weeks old. He attended school in different places,—first at the age of thirteen sent to Danbury to be taught by an older brother, a minister, then by the Rev. Joseph Huntington in Coventry, and at Master Tisdale's school in Lebanon. As a student in Yale, he was a member of Brothers in Unity, and worked to help himself through college, as a waiter in commons, monitor and school teacher in New Haven. With all these calls on his time he was a good student, an original member of Alpha chapter of Phi Beta Kappa, and at graduation 1781, gave the salutatory oration. The invasion of New Haven occurred while he was in college, and he was one of the students who went out against the British. As a graduate student he again taught school in New Haven, was a tutor in Yale (1783-6) as so many promising young graduates were, and a popular one. He went to Albany for a time in 1783 to teach in the academy, but returned, read law with Charles Chauncey, settled in New Haven, beginning to practice his profession in 1787 and for many years received law students in his office.

The list of offices he held embraces most of those it was possible to hold,—city clerk, 1789, 1800, with further service declined; clerk of the District and Circuit Courts of the United States for Connecticut, 1790-1803; Representative in Congress, 1803-1805, again with further service declined; Judge of the Supreme and Superior Courts, 1806-1817, until replaced by a Democrat at the time of the victory of the “Toleration” party. He held local offices also, Councilman 1798, 1799; Alderman, 1800-1816, 1823-1825; Mayor, 1826; and President of the Board of Canal Commissioners. He was a strong Federalist, and believed in the abolition of slavery and in the temperance movement. He died in 1851, having lived to see his son follow in the same footsteps.

Roger Sherman Baldwin, son of Simeon Baldwin and grandson of Roger Sherman, was born in New Haven in 1793. He went to Hopkins Grammar School, and at the age of ten had read a large portion of Virgil. He was ready to enter Yale at fourteen, but waited a few years and

was graduated in 1811, delivering at graduation an Oration on the Genius of a Free Government. He studied law in his father's office and in the Litchfield Law School, and was admitted to the bar in 1814. He accumulated a library notable for titles on the philosophy of law and on general legal topics. His practice became the most lucrative in the state, the *Amistad* case which will be considered later giving him a national reputation. It may be mentioned that he advocated the right of Prudence Crandall to teach whom and what she pleased, and helped the cause of fugitive slaves. Like his father, Roger Sherman Baldwin held many public offices. He was in the State Senate 1837, 1838; in the State House of Representatives 1841, 1842; governor (1844) for two terms, for the second receiving a majority of over one thousand votes; appointed to fill an unexpired term in the United States Senate in 1848, and elected to that body the next year, in the Senate making a memorable speech defending his state against an attack by a senator from Virginia. His principal speeches were on the various provisions connected with the extension of slavery, and he was too independent in his attitude on this question to be reelected. In 1860 he was a member of the electoral college, casting a vote for Lincoln, and the next year was one of the Connecticut delegation to the Peace Conference at Washington, where he urged that a national convention should be held to amend the Constitution in such a way as to satisfy the opposing claims. This was his last public service. In local offices, he was a member of the Common Council of the City of New Haven, and declined to be judge of the Supreme Court of Connecticut. He died 1863, one of the great lawyers of his day, and an example of the best in the life of New England. He was given the degree of LL. D. by Trinity in 1844, and by Yale in 1845.

Simeon Baldwin had another son, Ebenezer (Yale 1808), who was a successful lawyer in New York until he lost his health.

The legal traditions of the family were carried on in the third generation by Simeon Eben Baldwin. Born in New Haven in 1840, he attended Hopkins Grammar School, and was graduated from Yale in 1861. He studied law at Yale and at Harvard and was admitted to the bar in 1863. He had a large general practice and, like his father and grandfather, held many public offices,—associate justice of the Supreme Court of Errors of Connecticut 1893-7, and chief justice 1907-1910. In 1911 he became governor and was reelected for a second term. He was instructor in law in the Yale Law School 1869-1872, and was then made professor. He served on many commissions,—to revise educational laws in 1872; to revise the statutes of Connecticut in 1873; for simplifying legal procedure in 1879; and for a better system of taxation in 1885, drawing up the report for the latter commission. He was member and at times president, of many organizations, such as the American Bar Association, which he founded, and the American Political Science Association, and published many books, principally on subjects allied to law, but he was also interested in historical matters.

His son Roger Sherman Baldwin is carrying the profession into the next generation, the fourth.

David Daggett, a man of brilliant parts, distantly related to Naphtali Daggett of Revolutionary fame, was the first of several lawyers of another family. Born in Massachusetts, 1764, he was graduated from Yale in 1783, and while acting as college butler and teaching in Hopkins Grammar School, read law with Charles Chauncey, and was admitted to the bar when only twenty-one. He settled in New Haven, where he was constantly in public life,—from 1791 to 1813 in the Connecticut Legislature (as Speaker of the House at times); from 1791 to 1797 in the Lower House, and again in 1805 and from 1809 to 1813; from 1797 to 1804 in the Council; and 1813 to 1819 in Congress. He acted as presidential elector at various times, 1804, 1808, 1812; and 1825 and 1826 was Federalist nominee for governor, the last time the final appearance of the Federalists as a party in a political campaign. He was state's attorney for New Haven County 1811 to 1813 when he resigned, and was mayor of New Haven 1828 and 1829. He engaged in the political controversies of the day, having great political power, and writing pamphlets on the various questions. Picturesque titles of some of the pamphlets were,—“Facts are Stubborn Things,” by Simon Hold Fast; “Count the Cost,” and “Steady Habits Vindicated.” More directly in line with his profession, he was judge of the Superior Court and of the Supreme Court of Errors of Connecticut 1826-1832, and chief justice from 1832 to 1834, when he became seventy years of age. He was professor of law in Yale College from 1825 to 1848. He died 1851. The name is represented now by his grandson, Leonard Daggett, and two great-grandsons, David L. and Stanley Daggett.

The Bristol family has also furnished a lawyer in more than one generation, beginning with Simeon Bristol (1738-1805) of Hamden, a judge of the New Haven County Court. William Bristol, his son, studied law with David Daggett, and became judge of the Superior Court, 1819-26, and of the United States Court. He held many public offices, alderman, representative in the State Legislature, where he was Speaker of the House, and he was a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1818. One of New Haven's landmarks, removed to make way for the Public Library, was the house built for William Bristol in 1800, patterned after the adjacent Daggett mansion. Three others of the Bristol name have been lawyers, his son William B. Bristol, his grandsons, John and Lewis, and in a later generation and another name, J. D. Dana, and W. B. Dana.

One of the governors of the state who came from New Haven was Henry Dutton (1796-1869). His father was a Revolutionary soldier, descended from one of the seven pillars of Quinnipiac. Henry Dutton was born in Watertown, and was graduated from Yale in 1818, having prepared himself for college almost unaided. He entered the junior class and was graduated with high honors. He studied law with Roger M. Sherman while teaching in the Academy at Fairfield. He was a tutor

at Yale for two years; practiced law in Newtown and in Bridgeport until 1847, when he was appointed Kent professor of law at Yale. He continued teaching and practicing law until he died. His library went to the Yale Law School. He held many public offices,—five times in the Legislature of the state from three different towns; once in the Senate of the state; one year judge of the county court; and (1854) governor of the state, the last Whig governor; presidential elector in 1856, voting for Fremont; and judge of both the Superior Court and Supreme Court of Connecticut, serving until he reached the age limit. He had a practical mind, and brought about reforms in legal practice: the passage of a law allowing parties to a suit to testify in civil cases, the transfer of all divorce cases to the Superior Court, and acts securing more effectively the rights of married women; assisted in preparing three revisions of the Connecticut statutes; and published the Connecticut Digest (1833) and a revision of Swift's Digest (1862). Descendants of his are practicing law today in New Haven, members of the Watrous family. His only son, a lawyer practicing in Middletown, was killed in the Civil War.

The name Edwards also has more than one representative in this profession, besides those famous in the ministry. The youngest son of Jonathan Edwards whose name, Pierpont, recalls his descent from Rev. James Pierpont, was a lawyer and identified with the public life of the city and state for many years. He was a graduate of Princeton (1768), was a member of the Continental Congress, and for a short time in the army. He was a member of two conventions, the one which ratified the Constitution of 1787, and the one which drew up the state Constitution of 1818. He was elected to the Connecticut House of Representatives acting as speaker for two or three sessions, and was judge of the United States District Court 1806-1826. His activity in connection with the development of the Toleration party will be noticed later. His son, Henry W. Edwards (1779-1847) was also a graduate of Princeton. He studied in the Litchfield law school and settled in New Haven. He was a pronounced Democrat, and held many offices,—representative in Congress, 1819-1823; in the United States Senate, 1823-1827; in the State Senate, 1828 and 1829; Speaker of the House 1830; Governor 1833 and from 1835 to 1838.

About the middle of the eighteenth century three Ingersoll brothers were flourishing, David, Jonathan, a minister, Yale 1736, and Jared, attorney, Yale 1742. In the next generation there were two brothers, David, Jr., Yale 1763, who died young, and Jared, Jr., Yale 1766, who practiced law in Philadelphia where his father lived for a time after the Stamp Act difficulties. The Rev. Jonathan Ingersoll started a long line of lawyers, five generations, the first his son Jonathan, Yale 1766, who became a lawyer in New Haven. He was state's attorney, judge of the Superior Court, Lieutenant-governor, elected by the Toleration party, member of the General Assembly, elected to Congress but declined to serve. He had

two sons who were lawyers, Charles A. and Ralph Isaacs, the former a lawyer and judge of the United States District Court. Ralph Isaacs, Yale 1808, read law with Seth Staples and was admitted to the bar in 1811. He was in the Connecticut Legislature 1819-1825, holding at various times the office of clerk; member of the judicial committee and Speaker. He was in Congress for eight years, refusing to serve longer, and filled a vacancy in the United States Senate, but declined election both to the Senate and to be Governor of the state. In local offices he was state's attorney for the county from 1822 to 1845, declining to serve longer, and mayor of New Haven in 1830. He was defeated for the General Assembly 1834 because of popular revolt against Jackson's bank policy. For two years, 1846-8, he was minister plenipotentiary to Russia, and on his return to America practiced law again until he died, 1872.

His son, Charles R., carried on the legal tradition of the family. He was born 1821, went to Hopkins Grammar School, was graduated from Yale 1840, went to Europe for the next two years; and after attending the law school was admitted to the bar 1845. In 1874 he was given the degree LL. D. He was elected to the following offices,—to the State Legislature 1856, 1866, 1871; was governor 1873-7; presidential elector 1876, voting for Tilden. He died 1903. Other members of the family have become lawyers.

Dyer White, lawyer and judge of the Court of Common Pleas for New Haven County, was the first of another family with lawyers in several generations. His son, Henry White, Yale 1821, admitted to the bar 1828, was especially interested in probate and real estate practice. He was one of the first men to devote his attention exclusively to one special line in which he was interested, in this case conveyancing and examination of land titles. He began this work in 1832, and came to be in demand all over the state for practice of this kind. He also had a long-cherished design of writing a topographical history of New Haven. He married a granddaughter of Roger Sherman, and had four sons who formed a firm which carried on the same line of practice—Henry D., Oliver S., Roger S., and Charles A. The grandson Roger S. White continues the firm. Mrs. Henry L. Stimson is a granddaughter.

It seems appropriate to include Noah Webster in this list, for he was a lawyer and practiced in Hartford for a time successfully, having been admitted to the bar there in 1781, three years after his graduation from Yale. He became a teacher because he did not like the law. He served as judge of the New Haven County Court from 1807 to 1811. He lived in New Haven at two different times, 1798 to 1812, and from 1822 until his death in 1843, except for a year spent abroad. At one time he lived in the Benedict Arnold house on Water Street, but most of the time in the house on the corner of Wall and Temple streets, near the site of Robert Newman's barn. He was also councilman 1799 to 1804; and alderman for a number of years; and represented the town in the Legis-

lature from 1800 to 1807. Among other books, he wrote a *Brief History of Epidemics and Pestilential Diseases*, and had a theory that an epidemic of yellow fever in New Haven was caused by the unsanitary conditions of a certain part of the city, and incidentally to setting forth this theory, gave a description of the locality.

John Wilkinson Webster, a lawyer in Waterbury, was a nephew of Noah Webster. He was a graduate of the Yale Law School, admitted to the bar immediately and settled in Waterbury. He did not devote much attention to politics, but served the city in many offices,—as mayor, city attorney, member of the common council, water commissioner, besides being judge of probate.

Stephen W. Kellogg was born in Massachusetts 1822. He attended the Shelburne Falls Academy, and taught school winters and worked on his father's farm summers. He went to Amherst College for two terms and then came to Yale, where he was graduated with high honors in the class of 1846. For a short time, only part of a year, he was principal of an academy in Wilbraham, Massachusetts, and then came back to Yale to enter the Law School, teaching Greek in a New Haven school while pursuing his legal studies. He was admitted to the bar in 1848, and opened an office in Naugatuck, moving to Waterbury in 1855. Besides caring for his large practice, he held many public offices. In 1851 he was clerk of the Connecticut Senate, member of the Senate two years later and the next year member of the House. 1860 he was a delegate to the Republican National Convention, and member of the committee which drew up the platform. He was sent to two later national conventions, 1868 and 1876, chairman of the Connecticut delegation in the latter convention. He was elected to Congress in 1869, 1871 and 1873. He prepared bills for reorganizing the Treasury and War departments. During his second term he was chairman of the committee on naval expenditures, and in the third of the committee on civil service reform. He served on committees on the judiciary, patents and war claims, Pacific railroads, was interested in the tariff and harbor legislation for Connecticut. In local affairs he was city attorney from 1866 to 1869, and from 1877 to 1883, and procured legislation for supplying the city with water and with a sewerage system. He was active in organizing the Connecticut National Guard. He was appointed judge of the county court in 1894 and was judge of probate for seven years. He died in 1904.

Associated with him in the practice of law was his son John Prescott Kellogg graduated from Yale in 1882 and from the Yale Law School two years later. Besides practicing law he held offices in the city government, was assistant state's attorney for New Haven County 1897-1916, judge of the Superior Court 1917, and judge of the Supreme Court of Errors 1924. He died 1925.

The New Haven County bar furnished another governor of Connecticut, Henry B. Harrison (1821-1901). He was born in New Haven and attended Lovell's Lancasterian School, later acting as assistant in the school. He was graduated from Yale College in 1846, as valedictorian

of his class, and was admitted to the bar two years later. In 1854 he was elected to the State Senate, and was a member of the (state) House of Representatives in 1865, acting as chairman of two important committees, Railroads and Federal Relations. He was a member again in 1873, and was on the judiciary committee, and chairman of the committee on a constitutional convention. It may be of interest to note that in 1882, a Constitutional Reform Association was formed with officers from every county in the state. He was elected again in 1883, and was Speaker. In 1884 he became governor for one term. He was an ardent "Henry Clay Whig," and interested in the slavery question. He drafted the personal liberty bill, which really nullified the fugitive slave law in the state. He was a member of the Free Soil party, and one of the men who organized the Republican party in Connecticut in 1855-6. From 1872 to 1885 he was a Fellow of Yale, and 1885 received the degree LL. D.

Orville H. Platt was born in Washington, Connecticut, in 1827, and was educated in the district schools of that town and at the school which later became famous as the Gunnery. He studied law in Litchfield with Gideon H. Hollister, the historian of Connecticut, and was admitted to the bar in Litchfield County in 1849, but after a brief time in Pennsylvania, where he was also admitted to the bar, lived in Meriden for the rest of his life. He was one of the original members of the Republican party, and from 1856 was active in politics. From 1853 to 1856 he was judge of probate; clerk of the Connecticut Senate, 1855 and 1856; secretary of state, 1857; in the State Senate, 1861 and 1862; in the Lower House from 1864 to 1869, the last year as Speaker; state's attorney for the county from 1878 to 1879; and twenty-six years, 1879-1905, in the United States Senate. He had great influence, particularly in the last ten years. He was especially interested in patents and copyright, acting as chairman of the committees on patents, a subject of great interest to Connecticut people. As chairman of the committee on Cuban relations, he prepared the Platt Amendment, with the aid of Senator Spooner, authorizing the President to leave the government and control of Cuba to the people under certain conditions. Later there was a controversy as to whether Senator Platt or Secretary of War Root drew up the amendment. He died in Washington in 1905.

Two men who became prominent lawyers in Meriden were in his office for a time at the beginning of their careers, George S. Fay and J. Q. Thayer.

David Torrance was born in Edinburgh in 1840, and came to the United States when he was only nine years old. He attended school in his native country, but received little education in the public schools here, only six months when he was twelve years old. He was a paper maker, and at the time of the Civil War served as sergeant of Company A in the Eighteenth Regiment, and was in Libby Prison and on Belle Island for a time; and later served as captain, major and lieutenant-colonel in the Twenty-ninth Regiment (colored). While he was in the army he began to study law with Col. William B. Wooster of Derby, with whom he later

formed a partnership. He was admitted to the bar in 1868 and practiced law until 1885. He had a long career in public service,—member of the Lower House of the Connecticut Legislature 1871 and 1872; secretary of state 1879 and 1881; judge of the Court of Common Pleas 1881 to 1885; and of the Supreme Court of Errors 1890; chief justice 1901 to 1906. In 1893 he became an instructor in the Yale Law School, and five years later was made Professor of the Law of Evidence. He was regarded as one of the ablest judges of the Supreme Court, and received the honorary degree of M. A. from Yale in 1893. He died in Derby in 1906.

William Kneeland Townsend was born in New Haven in 1848, was graduated from Yale in 1871, and then spent a year abroad. He was admitted to the bar in 1874, and for a time was associated with Simeon E. Baldwin in the practice of law. He was a member of the Common Council in 1878; alderman from 1880 to 1882; corporation counsel of the city from 1889 to 1891; judge of the United States District Court 1892; and of the United States Circuit Court 1902. He was professor of Contracts and Torts in the Yale Law School from 1881 until his death in 1907. He wrote a History of American Law of Patents, Trademarks, Copyrights and Admiralty. He had the following degrees from Yale, B. A. 1871, LL. B. 1874, LL. M. 1878, and D. C. L. 1880.

One would like to tell of many more lawyers and their careers and variety of interests, especially those who acted as officials for New Haven County. It is interesting that a grandson of the Thomas Darling who had strong Tory sympathies, Noyes Darling, was surveyor for New Haven County; that Charles H. Pond, who studied with Roger M. Sherman, was county sheriff for many years, and acting governor for a short time; that Dennis Kimberly, who read law in Ralph I. Ingersoll's office, and declined to be either United States Senator or governor of the state, held among many offices, that of state's attorney for this county; that S. A. Foote, who was obliged to give up the practice of law on account of his health, and the shipping trade with the West Indies because of heavy losses in the War of 1812, was governor, and also introduced in Congress the resolution that brought on the Webster-Hayne debates; that Probate Judge R. D. Smyth of Guilford, who studied law in the Staples-Hitchcock school, was known, through his interest in local history, as the "Guilford Antiquary."

Perhaps a good summing up of the public service of members of the legal profession is the inscription on the tombstone in Milford of Gideon Buckingham, Esqr, delegate to the Convention for the Ratification of the State Constitution of 1788,—

"Judge of the County Court
Justice of the Peace
Town Clerk &c And was improved
in almost every kind of publick
Business for 35 years in which
he sustained a good Character."

CHAPTER VII

THE STANDING ORDER AND THE CONSTITUTION OF 1818; CONVENTION OF 1902

The Royal Charter of 1662, with some slight changes, served as a constitution for Connecticut after the separation from England. Many conditions under this constitution favored the existence of a ruling caste, the so-called "Standing Order," described by its opponents as an "organized aristocracy." Its membership was made up of the professional men, office holders, and leaders in church and society. The clergy, from the beginning, had held a position of leadership, but by the end of the eighteenth century, lawyers and physicians had made for themselves places of almost equal dignity and importance. In 1804 a majority of the assistants were lawyers. In general all these were "godly men; of sober, solid and steady habits," of Federalist belief in politics, and in settled control of church and state. Several leaders in this order lived in New Haven,—David Daggett, Simeon Baldwin, Noah Webster, Timothy Dwight, James Hillhouse, David Austin, among others,—as well as men prominent in bringing about its downfall,—Pierpont Edwards, Abraham Bishop, both belonging by birth to the Standing Order, the latter admitted to the bar in 1785, and having returned from a sojourn abroad in 1787 imbued with different political ideas, and, as President Stiles remarked, "full of Improvement and Vanity."

The effect of education throughout the colonial period had been to foster the concentration of power in the hands of a limited group. The clergy, long the principal and almost only class of educated persons, had had much to say in this matter, in fact up to 1798 the Congregational societies had had complete control of schools. Ministers not only themselves were instructors of youth, fitting boys for college in great numbers, but also served as school visitors, as examiners of teachers and in similar ways. Saturday afternoon in the schools was devoted to teaching the Congregational Catechism, which was included in the New England Primer. School books were written from the Federalist point of view; and Yale, a "laboratory of church and state," under that born leader, President Dwight, (called Pope Dwight because he never liked to be contradicted), and a corporation that until recently had been entirely clerical, "the Pope and the holy order," was notoriously an upholder of the Standing Order. Yale commencements were at times criticized by Anti-Federalists as partisan occasions. In 1783 and 1784 there was criticism

of the treatment of Episcopalians in college, and again in 1798 a pamphlet appeared on the same subject. The orations of 1799 were displeasing to Anti-Federalists, and soon after commencement in 1803 an article appeared in a Hartford paper, saying that attendance at commencement that year had been small because Republicans did not care to be insulted by offensive harangues as they had been, especially in 1798 and 1799.

In those days the term Illuminati was applied where perhaps today the word would be Intelligentsia. A newspaper said, "The Illuminati of New England are composed of certain ecclesiastics, who wish for political sway; and of laymen in office who wish for clerical influence to retain them in place. * * * The senators and representatives in congress from Connecticut belong to the New England Illuminati, and obey the president of Yale, who rules with the united power of a teacher and ecclesiastic. * * * Thus are church and state, and the ties of blood and marriage, united to form an hierarchy and aristocracy in Connecticut, which some fail not to call a monarchy, controlled by Dr. Dwight. A desire for place, favor and power conducts this system. * * * Mr. Eleazar Goodrich is looking for the place of collector of the customs in New Haven. President Dwight has a host of brothers, sons and cousins who want employment."

Appointment to political office was in the hands of the same men. The clergy, especially, because of their historical position as a privileged body, ministers of the established church of the state, had decisive voice in the choice of officials, in the "deacon's seat nominations." They considered themselves rightfully entitled to honor and power in politics as in other things, and their influence was very direct. "When they got together," said Lyman Beecher, "they would talk over who should be governor, and who lieutenant governor, and who in the Upper House and their counsels would prevail." The clergy formed the nucleus, the greatest single element of the Standing Order. "The governors, magistrates and leading men were their spiritual children." The senators, members of the Upper House of Council, were called Pope Dwight's Twelve Cardinals. But some people were beginning to speak bitterly of the "old firm of Moses and Aaron," of the "political part of the sacerdotal functions," and of the "ecclesiastical carcase of Connecticut."

Lawyers also, as a class, were bound to the Standing Order in many ways. They were often sons of ministers, were usually educated at Yale, and taught by lawyers of prominence who belonged to the same order. Admission to the bar depended on the county courts, which, as appointed by the General Assembly, were naturally Federalist, and chances to rise in the profession obviously depended on friendly relations with the influential classes. The judges and court officials held many other offices at the same time, thus making the judiciary anything but independent. Many leaders of the bench and bar wished constitutional reform, to free the courts from the Legislature. To take one or two examples from New Haven County, David Daggett, while in the Council, was state's attorney

for the county; Elizur Goodrich, who was the son of a minister, was an assistant and at the same time judge of the county court, and mayor of New Haven. Samuel Bishop, senior deacon of the North Church, was justice of the peace, town clerk, mayor of the city, judge of the Court of Common Pleas and judge of probate. Under all these circumstances the interpretation of the law as well as sources of knowledge and training in it, was inevitably Federalist. Chief Justice Church said, "The Courts of law were most complained of as being partisan in the discharge of their duties. * * * Prosecutions by States Attorneys against Republican editors were frequent; Democratic lawyers were discountenanced and frowned upon. The real truth was, as I know from my own observation, that the Republican party in this state from the election of Mr. Jefferson to the Revolution of 1817 was treated as a degraded party, however worthy and respectable, in fact, as the Saxons were treated and considered by the Normans, as the Irish are treated by the English government."

Members of the Standing Order were united in many ways other than political. They were bound by ties of family. The same newspaper article which spoke of the Illuminati said further, "The wives of Messrs. Dwight, Hillhouse and Davenport of congress, are cousins; Messrs. Goodrich's are brothers; Messrs. Wolcott of the Treasury and Griswold of congress are cousins; as are Messrs. Griswold and Hillhouse; Mr. Chauncey Goodrich married the sister of Mr. Oliver Wolcott; and Mr. Eleazar Goodrich married the sister of Mr. Allen, late of congress." They were also associated in business, in the turnpike companies, and in the banks and insurance companies. In the New Haven Bank were David Austin (whose son married Roger Sherman's daughter), David Daggett, Simeon Baldwin, Pierpont Edwards, Elizur Goodrich and Dyer White; in the Derby Bank, William Leffingwell, David Daggett, Charles Sherman; in the Eagle Bank, James Hillhouse, Simeon Baldwin, Timothy Dwight. Together these same men formed the Missionary and Bible Societies, and similar organizations, which were said by their critics to propagate Federalism rather than the Gospel. Thus in 1812, the Society for the Suppression of Vice and the Promotion of Good Morals was started in New Haven, obviously partly with political aims, in the office of Judge Baldwin, with President Dwight in the chair. Simeon Baldwin was chosen president, and among the important members was David Daggett. The judges of the Supreme Court lent it their approval and the clergy were to push it. In the words of Lyman Beecher, who was present, they were "to touch every spring, lay or clerical, which you can touch prudently."

The Bible Society and the Minister's Annuity Societies held their annual meetings on Election Day at Hartford, a very convenient time, since the ministers were assembled for the festivities, and the lay trustees were the Federalist leaders who were also in attendance. It could very truly be said that the "Federalists have priests and deacons, judges and justices, sheriffs and surveyors, with a host of corporations and privileged orders, to aid their elections." This obviously made a large and powerful political machine.

Suffrage was limited, and since its regulation was by vote of the Legislature, determination of the necessary qualifications was in the hands of the party in power. In New Haven in 1784, at the time of the first city election, of the 600 men in the city, only 343 were freemen. The suffrage status was attacked by Abraham Bishop and defended by David Daggett and Noah Webster. Bishop said,—“Thirty thousand freemen are against the union of church and state. Thirty thousand more men, deprived of voting because they are not rich and learned enough, are ready to join them.” And again, “And who may be freemen? No one who does not have a freehold estate worth seven dollars a year, or a personal estate on the tax list of one hundred and thirty-four dollars.”

Certain conditions were bringing about a weakening of the position of the Standing Order, and the formation of a party of opposition which finally came to demand a new constitution. The rise of denominations other than the established Congregationalism made dissatisfaction over the existing laws concerning public worship; there was a division of opinion over foreign affairs and the French Revolution, with Noah Webster and men of his party applying the term “Jacobin” to their fellow citizens of different political sympathies. The election of Jefferson as President took some offices from the Standing Order and gave them to the opposition. The most famous example from New Haven County was the removal of Elizur Goodrich, one of the “midnight appointees” of President Adams, from the collectorship of New Haven, and the appointment to the office of Samuel Bishop, the aged father of Abraham Bishop, that “shrewd and active politician.” The Federalists could not say too much against this appointment, since Bishop had just been named chief judge of the Court of Common Pleas, and judge of probate. The father died in 1803, and the son received the office and held it until 1829. He had written a pamphlet, “The Sun of Liberty,” in answer to the remonstrance on his father’s appointment, but when he became an office holder himself seems to have been less actively radical. He died one of the richest men in New Haven, worth about \$126,000, and having given many books to Yale. Appointment to office helped and encouraged men not to leave everything to the professional classes and the ruling caste.

Belonging to a religious sect other than Congregational, and having to take out a “certificate” in order not to be obliged to pay taxes to the established church, labeled a person in one way at least as not a member of the highest social order. In fact, in the eyes of the ruling caste, those who opposed them were “riffraff” and infidels, or at best associating and lending their countenance to “Nothingarians,” who were trying to wreck the social, political and religious order of society. Episcopalians were regarded with more favor than members of the other dissenting denominations, and were given some consideration,—charters for an academy, for the Bishop’s Fund, and permission for a lottery for \$15,000 for this fund; honorary degrees from Yale, and the appointment of the Congregational spring fast day on Episcopalian Good Friday. But the Federalists,

in saying that their opponents were in general infidels and immoral were taking the most effective way to hinder increase of their numbers in a state of such steady habits as Connecticut. Republicans were, as a matter of fact, many of them men of the people, whose position was improving. "Knowledge," said David Daggett, "has induced the laity to think and act for themselves."

Many of the meetings in which the new party gradually took shape and developed a platform were held in this county. In 1800 a meeting to bring about some organization was held in New Haven at the home of Pierpont Edwards. Among those present was Abraham Bishop, who had just made his revolutionary address on "The Extent and Power of Political Delusions." This was prepared as the Yale Phi Beta Kappa Commencement oration, but was delivered elsewhere before a large audience, when Yale would have none of it. A scathing reply was made by Bishop's classmate at Yale, Noah Webster, in a pamphlet called "A Rod for a Fool's Back."

The results of the following election encouraged the Republicans to proceed, and the next year, in March, a large meeting was held in Wallingford to celebrate the election and inauguration of Jefferson. An interesting suggestion is made that in such gatherings the new idea of Methodist camp meetings was being copied. At this rally Pierpont Edwards read the inaugural speech of Jefferson; Rev. Stanley Griswold, of a daughter town of New Haven County, New Milford, preached a sermon, for which he later resigned his pastorate; and Abraham Bishop delivered one of his spicy orations. Its title was significant, "Our Statesmen to the Constitution and Our Clergy to the Bible." Separation of church and state was to become an important plank of the party platform. In that year a candidate for governor was put up by the party, Richard Law, and a list of nominees for assistants.

In the same year the Federalists passed a measure which roused much opposition,—the Stand-up Law,—according to which votes were taken separately by individuals rising and answering to the roll call. As a debtor was subjected to the "cruel ordeal of being gazed at by his creditors," and as deacons, justices, and leaders of all kinds were present to take note how a man voted, the effect of this law was against freedom of voting, and indeed it was designed to prevent a secret vote for Republican candidates. Opposition to this law gave a local issue in the next campaign, and made the question of a new constitution more real and vital.

In 1803 another Republican meeting was held in New Haven, with Pierpont Edwards as orator. His presence in the party was a great asset, for he belonged to the aristocracy of the state, and there was still much feeling that leaders should be gentlemen. He was son of Jonathan Edwards, and related to various prominent men, including his political opponent, the Federalist Pope Dwight. He was a United States District judge, and a leader of the bar in New Haven, where he was said to have

an income of \$2,000 a year from his practice. He had attracted much attention a few years earlier by driving through the state in a four-wheeled chariot, when most of the travel was still on foot or horse-back. According to Abraham Bishop's description of Federalists as "well-fed, well-dressed, chariot-lolling people," Edwards was thus visibly qualified for leadership.

In 1804 another Republican meeting was held in New Haven in the old State House on the Green, attended by delegates from ninety-seven towns. This meeting passed definite resolutions in favor of adopting a new constitution, and issued ten thousand copies of a circular letter speaking "to the citizens of Connecticut plainly and explicitly on the subject of forming a new constitution." David Daggett, who masqueraded under various names, Simon Hold-fast, or Connecticutensis, replied this time under the pseudonym Jonathan Steadfast, in a pamphlet with a Poor-Richard-like title, "Count the Cost." Republicans contested elections in the next few years, with gains so small that for several succeeding years there was less activity on their part. Jefferson's policies were unpopular, but on the other hand were offset by various unpopular acts of the Federalists. Opposition to these gradually furnished the Republicans with a party and a platform. Especially unpopular were the affairs of the Phoenix Bank bonus and the Hartford Convention. The one was called "the child of Intrigue and the mother of Discord," and the other the "grave of the Federal party."

A break came in the ranks of the Standing Order in 1811 with the nomination of Roger Griswold for governor. He belonged naturally to that order, for he was son and grandson of former governors of the state, and himself a life-long office-holder, but he was not a professor of religion, had joined the Republicans, and was now elected over the ministerial candidate, John Treadwell. This had been due to the efforts of Daggett and "wire-pullers" of the Federalist party, lawyers who according to Lyman Beecher, said "we have served the clergy long enough." The Republicans however did not like Griswold's attitude on the War of 1812, and he was elected for his second term as a Federalist.

The affair of the Phoenix Bank came in 1814. Application was made to the Legislature for the incorporation of this bank in Hartford, with an offer to follow the usual custom and pay a bonus for the privilege of incorporation. It was suggested that some of this money be given Yale College for the Medical School, and some to the Bishop's Fund of the Episcopal Church. This fund had been created in 1799 to raise money by private subscriptions for the support of the Bishop, the state having refused to make any appropriations for this purpose. The amount paid was \$50,000, and of this \$20,000 was immediately given to Yale. There was debate over the \$10,000 for the Bishop's Fund, and, what was felt to be an act of bad faith, the vote was finally against it in both houses, as was also a vote on the petition for giving Cheshire Academy a charter as an Episcopalian college. This was not the first refusal of a charter for such a

college. On the other hand Yale had, in the words of Pease and Niles, "since its first establishment been an object of the peculiar solicitude of the Legislature—has repeatedly experienced its munificence, and at all times its fostering care." Methodists and Baptists also were displeased over their treatment in the matter of the bank bonus, and the result of the whole affair was a great addition of members to the Republican party. These denominations had already been attracted because of the efforts of Jefferson towards Disestablishment in Virginia. The forces of dissatisfaction grouped together under the general party name of "Toleration," and the two elements of discontent, the constitutional and the religious, were united. Lyman Beecher said of the Bishop's Fund, "That upset us. They slung us out like a stone from a sling." The Federal party in Connecticut finally committed suicide by the Hartford convention in 1814, for some of its best men took part in this meeting of disaffection with the government, men such as James Hillhouse of New Haven.

In 1816 a meeting was held in New Haven to make nominations for governor and lieutenant-governor, of men who would unite the various elements of dissatisfaction into a party. The candidate chosen for governor, Oliver Wolcott, belonged to the Standing Order, but had opposed the Hartford Convention, was tolerant in religious matters, and was thought an excellent compromise candidate. Jonathan Ingersoll, the nominee for lieutenant governor, a lawyer, and Federalist in good standing, in the Council, judge, and a warden of Trinity Church in New Haven, was put on in order to gain the support of the Episcopalians. Wolcott failed of election by a few hundred votes, but Ingersoll was successful at the polls, the first time a Dissenter had held so high an office.

The Federalists were worried, and tried to conciliate people by the distribution of money the state had received from the national government in payment of claims arising from the late war. Congregationalists, Methodists, Baptists, Bishop's Fund, and Yale were offered varying amounts, that to the Congregationalists, one third, being the largest. These offers made matters worse, for no one was pleased.

The party issues now were the local questions of ecclesiastical and constitutional reform. The Toleration party made more gains in the next two elections, and at last not only was Wolcott elected as governor, but the party had a majority in the Lower House, and an Episcopalian, Charles Dennison, as Speaker. The election sermon was preached by the rector of Trinity Church, New Haven, the Rev. Harry Croswell, the first time any one other than a minister of the Congregational Church had been recipient of this honor. The subject of his sermon was doubtless no surprise,— separation of the civil and ecclesiastical, historically an odd one for an Episcopalian.

In the summer of 1818, as a result of this political revolution, representatives to a constitutional convention were elected in the towns throughout the state. The convention appointed three men from each county to form a draft of the new constitution. Pierpont Edwards was chairman

of this committee, and the members from New Haven County were three lawyers, Nathan Smith, William Bristol, and William Todd. The changes brought about in the government of the county have already been noticed, but the great result of the new constitution was the disestablishment of the church. As a local poet observed, from this time

“No tax-built church compels us here to sign
Thirty-six articles, or life resign.”

The vote in New Haven County was 2,385 for the constitution, 1,572 against it, a majority of 813, which was a little more than half the majority of the state in its favor. The city was two to one in its favor. The Federalists, in a party address sent out a little later said of the new constitution, and of giving up the old constitution, “A set of pretended Reformers, under the imposing garb of TOLERATION, to get themselves into office, have deceived a small majority of the people, and induced them to throw away this legacy of their Fathers.”

In 1902 another constitutional convention was held. The growth and shifting of population due to the Industrial Revolution had brought about great inequalities and unfairness in representation of towns in the Legislature. A member of the convention said, “It was entirely possible for less than twenty per cent of the people of Connecticut to elect a clear majority of both branches of its General Assembly and so secure absolute control of the entire state government. Some towns having a voting population of barely one hundred sent two representatives, while towns having more than ten times as large an electorate were entitled to but one.” To remedy this and other defects, a convention was held in Hartford, each town sending one delegate. After laboring more than four months the convention drew up a constitution, only to have it rejected by the citizens of the state, with few persons voting, and no county giving a favorable majority.

The discussions in the convention as to county affairs have consequently only an academic interest, but are worth mentioning. A representative from East Haven introduced a resolution that all county officials except judges of the Court of Common Pleas be chosen by the electors. To this was added later “except also county health officers and coroners.” There was also suggestion of election of county commissioners and state’s attorneys. One man from Thomaston wanted a Senate ignoring county lines. As finally drawn up, the proposed constitution made no great changes, except in regard to representation in the lower House. The remedy provided for inequality of representation was one representative in the Lower House for every increase in population of 50,000. Thus towns up to 200 should have one representative; those up to 50,000, two; up to 100,000 three; and so on.

SECTION III—NEW SETTLEMENTS

CHAPTER I

REGULATIONS

Before 1665 men had begun going out from the four original towns and starting small settlements, which were not yet developed into separate organizations. The period following the union of New Haven with Connecticut saw some of these children become independent, and others started:—Paugasset, settled largely from Milford; Waterbury from Farmington, but destined soon to be joined to New Haven County; New Haven Village or Wallingford; Meriden; East Haven and North Haven. The Legislature of the colony and the County Court had much to do in connection with these new societies, settling their bounds, giving permission for the organization of their churches, and the incorporation of the group as a full fledged town.

The first plantations in this county had been original in every sense of the word, for they had been made, not by gradual growth from two or three families going into the wilderness from an older settlement but by larger independent groups under the leadership of their ministers and subject to no outside civil jurisdiction. These second generation groups left the parent town for various reasons, and by various methods; Derby and East Haven as a result of New Haven's commercial ambitions, the one as a trading post with the Indians, and the other in connection with the farms and the Iron Work. Wallingford and Waterbury were started according to definite plans, under committees, one by a committee of the Legislature, and the other by a committee of the parent town. Meriden began as scattered farms owned by persons in the older settlements. In general these later towns went through a certain course of preliminary development, and the General Court, partly as a result of the experiences of Derby and Waterbury in King Philip's War, worked out a kind of formula followed more or less closely by new plantations.

In granting permission to start a plantation certain requirements must be fulfilled within a stated period of time, usually three or four years. These measures were taken for protection. Intending settlers were often required by the plantation itself to do certain things. Thus, if a man wished to join such an enterprise, he must perhaps first be voted on, and then agree to build a house of specified size before the end of a

given period. The object of such regulations is obvious. Absentee land holders were a disadvantage, and a new settlement needed the presence and help of all. An example is the condition set in granting land in Paugasset in 1671 to Ebenezer Johnson. The bounds were given "and the said Ebenezer Johnson is engaged to build a fence and inhabit on this land within the space of time of two years after the date hereof: and if the said Ebenezer fulfill not the terms hereof the land is to return to the inhabitants again: and the said Ebenezer is to make a sufficient highway between his fence and the hill, and so maintain it."

By the time churches in these settlements were to be formed the General Court had passed a law that no new church could be organized without its consent. In order to be allowed to set up a church, one of the first steps towards independence, the settlement must contain at least thirty families, that being the number considered able to fulfill the essential requirement of supporting a minister. When a town was incorporated it was generally set free from the colony rate for three years. It was also often allowed to tax land for that length of time, in order to get rates from any absentee there might be, and from those who did not improve their land. As to bounds, committees were appointed from the General Assembly or from the towns involved, to confer with each other and work out an arrangement satisfactory to all. Final acts were to give the new town a horse brand, a train band, and admit its deputies to the General Court. Of course there were variations in the procedure, as will be seen in the course of the accounts of the different towns.

Branford

It might almost be said that Branford had a second founding during this period, for the minister of the church, Mr. Pierson, and many of the people went to Newark in 1665 and the original records of the first church are lost. The existence of Branford as a town, however, did not cease, as has been sometimes stated. In fact Mr. Pierson himself arranged for one necessity, for he engaged some one to preach in his place, Rev. John Bowers, and paid him to the end of the year 1666. It is rather curious that his own son should have come back as rector to the college founded in the house of a Branford minister.

A church covenant was drawn up according to those Congregational principles in which "we, that yet remain here, can say that we have found much peace and quietness, to our great comfort, for the which we desire to bless God; and that it so remain to such as do continue their abode in this place, and to such as shall come in to fill up the rooms of those that are removed, and that do intend to remove from this place of Branford—we all do see cause now for to agree that an orthodox minister of that judgment shall be called to it and among us." At the end of his arrangement with Mr. Pierson, the people gave a formal call to Mr. Bowers and he remained until 1677. He was not settled, as the call was not unanimous, and he was followed by several preachers, before one was settled.

People from other parts of the colony moved in and bought the land of the first planters, so the region gradually filled up. Among those who came was William Rosewell in 1672. He built a sawmill, a bridge, vessels for the Barbadoes trade, and bought land until he had a large estate. His daughter became the second wife of Governor Saltonstall. In 1676 returns were made of lists of persons and estates, with forty-eight from Branford, only five more than in the new community of Wallingford, but with several hundred pounds greater value in the estates. In 1680 the meeting-house was enlarged; in that year Branford had one of the few vessels in the colony, a barque of thirty tons; sent deputies to the General Court; and in 1695 had a train band with enough members to entitle it to a lieutenant and ensign. In 1685 its patent was confirmed with those of the other towns; and the next year its petition to form a church was granted by the General Court, and the Rev. Samuel Russell was settled as minister.

Several years later (1699) Branford was building a new meeting-house, and two men were given permission in Guilford "to get as many eighteen inch shingles of cedar as may be needed for their meeting-house at Branford." It was necessary to draw lots to decide between the "different notions respecting the form, some being for a square house and others for a long brick house with leanto." Fate decided for the older square form, and the house was built on the common. Mr. Russell and Governor Saltonstall, and soon others, were given permission for one innovation, that is, to build pews for themselves, which were to be their private property.

In 1685 the town began to make small purchases of land from the Indians for the minister's use. This land, belonging to the First Society, was leased on long terms. Thus in 1866 Samuel Beach leased a tract on Indian Neck for 999 years, paying \$900 a year to the Society. He was greatly criticized at the time for paying so much money for swampy, brush-covered land, but he reclaimed it, first raising strawberries and small fruits, later dividing it into lots on which summer cottages were built. It has now become very valuable, and as church property, was not taxed. This has led to a recent case in the state courts, brought by neighboring owners of non-church land who felt that it was unfair for them to bear the burdens of taxation while others went free.

CHAPTER II

DERBY*

Regulations concerning the formation of new settlements are best illustrated and elaborated by the history of the new towns being formed, those started in this period representing different types. Soon after the union of New Haven and Connecticut, the three or four families living at Paugasset, who had been left in a dallying way, once more asked to become a plantation. The General Court wished first to be assured that the settlement was large enough to support a minister, such assurance to be given at the session a year later. Meanwhile no more lands could be purchased. Before the year was up, the General Court, being obliged to appoint a committee to settle a difference between the Indians and the English at Paugasset, instructed the committee also to look over the land and its possibilities as the site of a future township. In 1667 Edward Wooster, the wolf-hunter, again petitioned for plantation privileges and again was put off, until "October com two year," the first of several two-year postponements or probation periods. He was also reminded that Paugasset must continue to pay for the support of the minister and repair of the meeting-house at Milford, the town to which it belonged. Neither could it receive new settlers without the consent of three Milford men, who were named.

But before the end of this two years the settlers were led to form among themselves a sort of practical plantation covenant, because of difficulty and trouble in saving their corn in the autumn. "Paugasset inhabitants met together and have made the following agreement to secure their corn which was as followeth," stating certain provisions about fences and pounds. "This agreement is to stand authentic till we see cause to alter it." The agreement was dated September 4, 1667, and was signed, curiously enough, by seven men.

At the end of the two year period set by the General Court the settlement received a little practical encouragement in the appointment of Mr. Wooster as constable, its first officer. To attract settlers, land was given, on condition that the men should build houses and come with their families to live in the place within two years and stay four, or lose their land. One of the men who came under this plan was the Ebenezer

*(Acknowledgment to Mr. Bradley of Derby for the privilege of consulting his MS. paper on Old Derby).

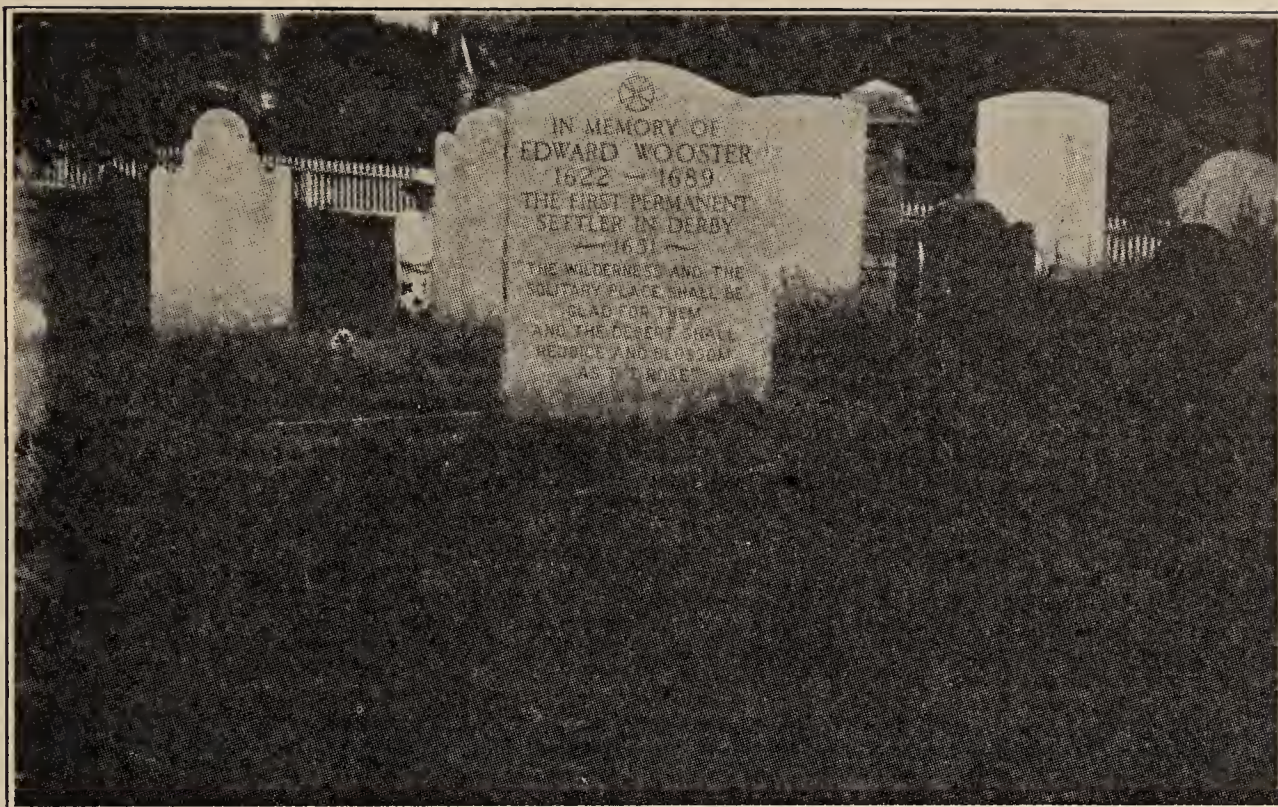
Johnson already mentioned, who became one of the most prominent inhabitants of the place, and indeed of the whole colony. Another was Abel Gunn, who started the book of land records. At the end of the next two year period (1671) the General Court was still favorably inclined to the infant plantation, "but cannot see it will be capable unless there be thirty families entertained." It did however take the further step of outlining their bounds, and promised freedom from rates for three years, when the plantation should have fulfilled the conditions. At this time there were apparently about eight families in the plantation.

The little group, thus encouraged, began to prove that a minister could be supported. Rev. John Bowers came, probably in 1672, to preach, perhaps as elder, since he could not be installed as minister until the General Court should consent to the formation of a church. The inhabitants voted to share equally in paying for a minister's lot, and in 1673, still calling themselves merely the "inhabitants," for they were not yet either a church or a town, voted to build a house for Mr. Bowers. He was to provide the glass, nails and iron work, the people were to get the clapboards and shingles and cart the timber, and John Hulls, who seems to have been the William Andrews of this plantation, agreed to get the planks for the lower floor and do the timber work for £33. Mr. Bowers also had some land and a salary, and arrangements were made for the return of the house to the people if he left before the end of six years. This John Hulls, by the way, also built the first corn and flour mill, two or three houses for himself and his sons, and was on the building committee and probably directed the work of building the first meeting-house.

In 1675 John Hulls and Joseph Hawkins appeared before the General Court and declared that a minister was engaged, about £100 spent on a house for him, that twelve families were already settled there and eleven more preparing to come. Whereupon the court granted them the powers and privileges of a plantation, appointed a committee to settle their bounds, which extended from Milford and New Haven to Woodbury and Mattatuck (Waterbury), and the distribution of the lands, freed them from colony rates for three years as promised, and gave them the name of Derby, thriftily adding, "they defraying their own charges." The court also ordered highways to be laid out from Woodbury and Stratford, and land to be appropriated for a ferry place.

The evil times of King Philip's War now fell upon the young town. In September hostile Indians appeared near them. Help was sent, and they were advised to retire to some bigger town with the best of their estates. Some of the families returned to Milford, but a number remained, perhaps fortifying their houses. The Indians showed no other signs of hostility, and there was little interruption in the life of the place.

Land was divided with special attention to swamps, supposed to be the only land good for meadows, and hills, similarly regarded with favor as plow land. The committee of the General Court directed that the



(Courtesy of H. M. Bradley, Jr., Derby)

EDWARD WOOSTER HEADSTONE



(Courtesy of H. M. Bradley, Jr., Derby)

JOHNSON HOUSE, BUILT IN 1697, AND OLD FRANKLIN SCHOOL ON GILBERT STREET

ferryman was to have "six acres of swamp or low land * * * for the making of as meadow; and also a proportion with others of tilable land upon the hills." The same committee assigned other men "any lowe and swampy land, to make meadow." Each person had a four acre home lot, ten acres of upland, and four to six of swamp for meadow. To hold it, he must build a house and fence his home lot, and live there four years, paying his share of the rates. This was no mere form of words, for there are cases of men who lost their property in the town by leaving before the end of four years. After 1679 men must pay for lands granted them, whether they lived there or not. A man must be voted on, first as an inhabitant, and secondly to be given a grant of land enough to equal the £10 necessary to make him a voter on taking the oath of freeman.

In 1677 steps were taken to organize the church. To accomplish this, the town held two meetings, agreeing to "walk in a church way and set up the ordinances of God according to gospel rules as near as we can attain, according to our best light * * * and to ask counsel and consent of neighboring churches in order to a church gathering." This latter procedure was necessary in order to make the organization of the church legal, as was also the consent of the General Court. It had not been necessary or possible to ask such permission in forming the churches and civil organization of the original settlements. Two men were sent to Hartford with the petition for a church at Derby in 1678. They called on "Honrs fathers of the Comonwealth & nourishers of Gods Israel" to "abbet, encourage, assist, protect us" in the matter of building a meeting-house and organizing a church. In reply "this court doe see good reason to grant the sayd people of Derby free liberty in an orderly way to settle themselves in a church state, and doe desire the Lord's gracious blessing presence to be with them, guiding and directing them therein." It then made the usual remission of their ordinary colony taxes for three years.

The people of Derby had previously (1677) asked permission of the General Court to be allowed to raise their rates on land, since otherwise many persons who took up land without improving it "doe shunn the afoarding that help they ought towards mayntenance of the ministry and publique charges of the towne." After considering the problem, the court decreed that for the next three years the tax should be raised on land, and for the following three years one-half on land and one-half on persons and estates. It also granted Derby a monopoly of the fishing trade, approved the report of the committee previously appointed on the ferry and highways, which also incidentally cleared up some difficulties caused by "severall tracts of land purchased by severall persons at severall times, both of English and Indians." It took many years to settle the boundaries.

There is no record of the ceremonies of the organization of the church, and no tradition as to where the early meetings were held. Probably Mr. Bowers was installed when the church was formed. In 1680 the town began to consider building a meeting-house. John Hulls was again in charge of the work. It was a small building, twenty-eight feet long and



(Courtesy of H. M. Bradley, Jr., Derby)

BROWNIE CASTLE

Built in 1686 by Samuel Bowers, the minister's son, who married Ruth
Wooster, daughter of Edward Wooster

twenty feet wide, not very different in dimensions from the minister's house, which was thirty-six by eighteen and a half. The walls were unplastered until 1706, when the town voted to "refit the old meeting-house by shingling and plastering the walls with clay and whitewashing with lime upon the clay." As was often the case, there was difference of opinion as to its location, and finally the town voted that "the place near the tree where the town met and sat down shall be the place where the meeting-house shall stand, without any more trouble." This was surely a wise conclusion and, in spite of its name, Squabble Hole, an appropriate place, and reminds one of the famous tree under which the settlers in Quinnipiac first met.

About the same time the project for a mill was considered, and once more John Hulls was called on. The mill, like the church, was a public institution, established under some control of the town. A town meeting took measures "to encourage such a man as will build a sufficient mill for the town of Derby, by giving him twenty pounds and build a dam, provided it shall be in such a place as a committee shall agree upon with the man." In 1682 the General Court was petitioned (and granted the petition), to release Derby from rates for three years because they were building a mill and a meeting-house. In all, Derby was exempt from taxes for ten years.

The town had the following officers,—constable, two townsmen, a fence viewer, two surveyors, tavern-keeper, marshal, grave digger and treasurer. The first townsmen had the familiar names of Samuel Riggs, Ebenezer Johnson and John Hulls. In 1685 and 1686 Derby received further attributes of a distinct community, by the appointment of the lieutenant of a train-band, Ebenezer Johnson, and an ensign, Abel Gunn; and the presence in the General Court (October, 1685) of two deputies, the same men, who had been there before as petitioners for the young town. At the session before this Derby had appeared under the wing of Milford. Johnson was sent to the General Court forty-six times. The town also received the useful and necessary decoration of a horse brand. The first record concerning a school is in 1701. Ten years of war, 1689 to 1699, brought an increase of only two tax payers and an increase in the grand list of only one-third of the whole. During this time it was necessary to find a new minister and to build a house for him. Mr. Bowers died in 1687, and his successor, Mr. James, was settled in 1694. He was elected town clerk in 1701, and was also the first school teacher on record.

CHAPTER III

WALLINGFORD

Of the towns formed north of the original four, the second in point of time is Wallingford. People went to the region represented by Meriden earlier, but settled on farms, which did not grow into a town until later than the younger settlement at Wallingford. Soon after the union of New Haven and Connecticut there began to be talk of the New Haven Village, which ultimately developed into Wallingford. Just as Derby looked to Milford, after Goodyear and Wakeman's trading post was sold to Milford men, (with some from Stratford), so this plantation was formed almost entirely of New Haven people. The beginning of the two towns was unlike. Derby grew slowly from men who went to start a trading post and to cultivate hop lands, just as East Haven grew up around the Iron Work. Wallingford, on the other hand, was developed according to a definite plan. Instead of Derby's beginning of three or four families, increased only after several years to twelve "with eleven more coming," thirty-eight families were in Wallingford from the first, eight more than the minimum of thirty, which came to be the standard set for a plantation by the General Court.

One could wish to accept the pretty and appropriate story that Davenport preached their first sermon, standing at the bottom of the hill on which the town stands, with the text so fitted to the seal of Connecticut, "My beloved hath a vineyard on a very fruitful hill." The connection was close at any rate, for the settlement was made on land bought by Davenport and Eaton, and the first man to preach, though not ordained there, John Harriman, was from New Haven, son of the keeper of the ordinary or tavern, and fitted for Harvard in the schools fostered by Mr. Davenport. The first settled minister, Samuel Street, was son of Mr. Davenport's colleague in the church in New Haven.

In 1667 a settlement on East (Quinnipiac) River in this region was first projected. In that year the deputies of New Haven applied to the General Court for permission to make a village, which was allowed if done within "fower yeares." A committee of seven men from the town of New Haven, not called, as they might have been, "pillars," was formed to start this enterprise, besides those appointed from time to time by the village itself and by the General Court to settle the various boundaries. A petition of 1722 to the General Court concerning some land there describes the action of New Haven. "And Whereas abt ye year 1669 some of ye

Inhabitants of Nhaven inclining to settle themselves in northern parts of ye Lands belonging to Nhaven & to make a village or new Town there; The Town of Nhaven (according to ye honest and well-meaning customs of those times) did in full Town meeting by vote grant all their Right of Lands, in ye northern part of their purchase, unto such persons as would Inhabit there and incorporate themselves in a Town or Village Society for ye Setting up and Supporting ye publique Worship of God according to Gospel Institution, etc; Whereupon Sundry Persons ye Ancestors and Proprietors of ye Petitioners Removed thither and Obtained from ye Genll Court A Grant of a Township with priviledges of a Town, wch is now called Wallingford."

The committee of seven acting for New Haven granted the lands to the settlers without payment, but with "due respect to New Haven persons, being fit and offering themselves, so far as it can consist with the good of the place and capacity thereof." It also appointed a committee of the settlers to manage the affairs of the new community as trustees, and laid down certain conditions to which planters must subscribe. A general regulation was made concerning religious matters, that new planters must not disturb the church in any way, such as in the choice of minister, and must contribute to his support. Having laid down the regulations they turned the plantation over to the committee of four settlers.

This committee selected a site for the town, and allotted a home lot and a few acres of land to each planter. Thirty-eight men were already accepted as settlers by the New Haven committee, all but three from New Haven. They signed a covenant or agreement, which was practically the recommendation concerning religion given above, with the addition of a promise to settle there within twelve months. The first permanent settlement was made in 1670. In that year the General Court stated their bounds, and, perhaps fearing too much control from New Haven, so recently independent, "prouided that the sayd village be carried on and made a plantation wthout any relation or subordination to any other towne." At the same time it was given the name Wallingford. The next year the court assigned the town to New Haven County, gave it the customary freedom from country rates for three years, a horse brand, the letter Y, and appointed two men to lay out its bounds.

This year also the settlement held its first town meeting, and voted its first tax, "for the incouragement of any fitt person whose hart god may stirre up to be helpful in the ministry, that what some soever shall be Reqisitt to the attaining such a man shall be rayased." The next year Wallingford's first deputies appeared in the General Court, quite naturally two members of the committee appointed by New Haven to manage the town, John Moss and Abram Doolittle. It also had a train band with a lieutenant, and was given two miles more territory. The work of several committees was needed to settle the various boundary lines.

The land was granted without charge by the town of New Haven to the committee of planters, and by them in turn to the individual pro-



CORNER OF MAIN AND CENTER STREETS, WALLINGFORD



POST OFFICE, WALLINGFORD

prietors. The first portion was a house lot of six acres to each of thirty-eight persons, and a little later portions in varying amounts of land on the river for meadow. Fourteen men received twelve acres, and twenty-four, eight acres. The next division (1673) was made on the principle of three ranks in the population, those paying most taxes in the highest ranks, and the three receiving respectively forty, sixty, and eighty acres. Later provision was made for a man to advance to a higher grade, receive more land and pay a larger tax. The land owners in these ranks, and their heirs, together with those allowed to come in, were regarded as the "proprietors" of the undivided lands. A proprietor's book was kept of all the transactions concerning vacant land.

An early town vote provided that "None shall come to dwell as planters in this towne with out there concent and allowence, whether they come in by purchase or otherwise." Even a temporary resident must get permission from the town, and neither could a land-owner sell his land without such permission. Thus, for example, the town voted that two men "shall have lotts granted ym provided they procure sufficient testamony of theyr good conversation in the place whear they formerly lived;" and again, the town gave a man liberty "to sell his accomodation to any such men as ye towne shall approve of."

The town was laid out in a compact village, with one highway from east to west six rods broad, and another northward; and having, as we have seen, "on each side of itt to ranges of house lotts of six acres to a lott." During the time of King Philip's War there was no extension of the plantation beyond the little village. In 1677 the town voted to divide "the choyse Land upon the River hopp ground land, beginning att pilgrim's harbor, and what that plais doth not aford they are to please themselves ellswheare." Pilgrim's Harbor, traditionally but erroneously said to have received its name as one of the stopping places of the Regicides, is now part of Meriden. Another locality to be divided at an early date, beginning in 1679, was a swampy place called Dog's Misery, now also part of Meriden. This land was considered very desirable, and was the cause of many disputes and appeals to the court of New Haven, and thence to the General Court. Finally (1696) one set of citizens, being "sencable" of the "mezery of Contention" entered their "descents against any Charg at law about doggs mezery" and declared "yt such yt cannot find no other way to raise their own spirits but to spend their Estates shall spend of their own Estates & not of ours." Another locality was Milking Yard or Little Plain, where again the fondness for swamps was shown, three acres of swamp land being granted to individuals, beginning 1679. Falls Plain or the great plain, later also part of Meriden, was laid out according to a map like a village in 1689 and cast lots for.

On the north of Wallingford was a small territory, in area three miles north and south, and about six miles east and west, which has a history interesting as illustrating many of the difficulties of settling in the wilderness. Through the help of Major John Talcott, Wallingford bought this

land from an Indian, Adam Puit, in 1684, thus becoming the owner so far as the Indian title was concerned, but having no right to tax the people living there. This was the time of the excitement over the possible loss of the charter and the government of Andros, and the authorities of the colony were hurrying to grant out all unassigned lands while they were still sure of possession of the charter. In their haste this little strip of land was given to Farmington, Wethersfield and Middletown, though it had been bought by Wallingford and was known as the Wallingford Purchase Land. Forty years later the difficulty was straightened out. In 1723, as a result of two petitions, test cases, the General Assembly of the colony put the inhabitants of the region in the tax lists of Wallingford.

Frequent action on highways was taken by Wallingford during this period, and concerning a mill. Lieutenant Fowler was invited to come and confer with the townsmen about a proposition to build a mill. Several committees and town meetings were held, and the mill was finally going in 1674. Lieutenant Fowler was given two grants of land, but his arrangement with the town proving unsatisfactory, a new miller started a new mill in a new place. Further change both of site and miller were necessary before the town gave up all control in 1707 to William Tyler. The mill and privileges remained in his family for many years, when it was sold to Charles Yale, and the place became Yalesville. Other necessities were gradually provided. In 1673 Lieutenant Merriam was chosen to keep an ordinary and the next year Wallingford was given liberty by the General Court to build a bridge. The first reference to schools is in 1678, but there seem to have been schools before that date. From that time references are frequent. Committees were appointed to hire teachers and to build a schoolhouse on land set aside for it in 1674.

Although Mr. Harriman was in Wallingford, and regular worship was held, a church was not organized at once. In 1675 a day of fasting and prayer was observed, to prepare the minds of the people for this work, and soon there was a meeting at which thirteen men, including the four appointed by the New Haven committee to start the settlement, were chosen to form a church and admit others in regular course. The necessary petition to the General Court was made and granted, "they attending the same with the approbation of the neighbor churches." As war soon broke out with the Indians, necessitating garrisons and watches, nothing was done about a meeting-house. When peace was made town meetings were held on the subject and decided to construct a building of about the usual dimensions, twenty-eight feet in length, twenty-four in breadth, "to be comfortably and comleyly fitted up with doors and windowes & flower or floors and other things needful." Additions were soon necessary, sixteen feet to the breadth in 1690, and in 1698 an addition on the east side, fifty by twenty feet. Like other early meeting-houses it was furnished with long seats, the men and women seated on different sides of the house. This, as elsewhere, necessitated arrangements to keep order among the boys, and even young people removed from the parental eye. One cannot

help wondering if the parents of an unruly boy could keep their entire attention on a long sermon.

In 1673 Mr. Samuel Street was invited to settle here, and was installed in 1674. A house was built for him at the town's charge, and a six acre lot given him, followed by other grants amounting in all to one hundred twenty acres. He had a salary of £50, raised to £100, in provision pay, with the privilege of buying his firewood delivered at two shillings six pence a load. In 1681 the General Court granted him 200 acres of land for his "encouragement." Mr. Street was minister of the church for forty-two years, until he died, "Agged: 82," having a colleague, when he became unable to act as minister. The inhabitants of Wallingford, like those of Derby, petitioned (1677) the General Court to be allowed to raise rates on land for the ministry and town charges. The court allowed it on different terms from those granted Derby,—“untill the major part of the inhabitants by their vote see cause to alter.”

The last withcraft case occurred in Wallingford, interesting also as having been taken from court to court. Joseph Benham, one of the first planters in 1670, attained no prominence until 1691, when he was brought before the New Haven County Court and made to enrich its treasury to the extent of five shillings. His offence was certainly worth the money, for he was accused of “speaking words in Reproach agt ye townsmen of Wallingford vizt that they were noe more fit for townsmen than Doggs.” His next appearance at court was even less pleasant, but easily understood. He was summoned for threatening to shoot Goody Parker, who had cast “some reflecons (in her speech) about witchcraft upon his wife.” He was let out on bond for good behavior, but Mr. Street and the church took up the matter of Goody Benham's suspected withcraft. She was summoned before the County Court, with Robert Treat, Esq., Governor Jones, Deputy Governor Leete and other notables presiding. After listening to the testimony of some witnesses, and hearing that of others “Redd,” as well as what Goody Benham had to say for herself, the court dismissed her with solemn advice to reflect on the case, and warning for the future. Five years later she and her young daughter were again called to court upon “suspicion of them for witchcraft, they or the devill in their shapes afflicting sundry young persons.” The case was taken to Hartford where, “in behalfe of our Soverain Lord the King,” a man appeared as attorney and accused the two of “having familiarity with Sathan the enemy of God and mankind and by his aid doing many preternatural acts by mischievously hurting the bodies and Goods of Sundry persons.” The grand jury dismissed the case. A few years later Joseph Benham made his final appearance in the records, in the provision for the settlement of his estate.

CHAPTER IV

WATERBURY

The early years of Waterbury, begun in this period and known in its infancy as Mattatuck, do not properly belong to the history of New Haven County, but in 1728 it was transferred, at its own request, from Hartford to New Haven County, and its beginning is interesting as illustrating a somewhat different type of plantation-forming. The committee under whose direction it was started, was not from the parent town, but from the General Court of the colony.

The land for the settlement was bought from the Indians by a series of six purchases, made between the years 1657 and 1714. The name first appears (1657) in connection with a deed from the Indians giving the mining rights in a hill from which black lead was brought. The location of this hill is uncertain. The men who found it were prospecting for minerals, perhaps under encouragement of the authorities and of Winthrop in particular, for there was always the dream that Connecticut's rocky hills might contain mineral wealth. The deed was given to men apparently as representatives of a company, for in 1665 it was asked for "in ye behalfe of ye company," to have it assigned and recorded.

The deed conveyed no right of settlement, except to erect buildings for the use of the laborers. The Indians around Farmington, the mother town of Waterbury, began to be restless, and nothing was done for a time. But here, as elsewhere, men were straying away from the older settlements. In 1673 a farm was granted Deacon Stephen Heart in Mattatuck, and before the end of the year three other Farmington men went to look over the region "in refarans to a plantation." In October these three, with twenty-three others, "being sensible of our great need of a comfortable subsistence," petitioned the General Court, "Honored Gentlemen and fathers * * * to take cognizance of our state who want Land to Labour upon: for our subsistence & Now having found a trackt at a place called by ye Indians matitacook: which we aprihend may susfetiently acomidate to make a small plantation: we are therefore bould hereby to petition your honors to grant vs ye liberty of planting ye same with as many others as may be: capable comfortably to entertaine." The General Court immediately ordered the lands to be viewed by a committee of its own to determine their suitability as a plantation. In the spring the committee reported that the land seemed capable of supporting thirty families, that is, that a plantation there would be able to support the minimum number

required by the General Court for this undertaking. The court then appointed a permanent committee of five men to "regulate and order the settling of a plantation at Mattatuck." On the town records this was called the Grand Committee.

The Grand Committee drew up the following set of eight rules, the only document concerning the first years. 1. Each accepted inhabitant to have eight acres for a house lot. 2. The amount of land assigned in the meadows to be based on the amount of each man's estate up to £100. 3. Public charges to be paid for five years by a tax on the meadows. 4. Every person taking up allotments to build a good house, at least eighteen by sixteen feet in length and breadth, nine feet between joints, with a good chimney, within four years. 5. If this was not done, the allotment to return to the committee. 6. The settler must come personally within the four years as a resident, or lose not only the allotment but all his lands, and perhaps all further rights in the town. 7. Four years residence in the house, after it was built, in order to acquire full ownership, or ability to sell the land. 8. Every planter must subscribe to the Articles by signing his name or mark. Thirty-nine persons at once, and three somewhat later, signed this agreement. The committee also approved the site chosen for the town by the committee to view the lands,—the place called the Town Plot, a high ridge on the west side of the Naugatuck River.

All that is known further of the years before King Philip's War is learned from a later order to reduce the highway on the old town plot. On the back of this order is apparently a diagram of the old town. It contains twenty-five lots, which perhaps were being built upon before the inhabitants were ordered to leave at the outbreak of the war with the Indians. The inference that building had been begun is borne out by the answer of the General Court to a petition from Paugasset, that the bounds were to be settled to accommodate both Paugasset and the new town going up at Mattatuck. This was obviously one of the places meant by the war order of the General Court "that all out livers and weak places doe take a speedy and effectual course to get their women and children, corn, and the best of their estates to places of the most hopefull security, as is within their compass to doe."

A number of the planters did not return after the war, and the next thing heard of Mattatuck is a town meeting which discussed the question of a new site for the town, if the committee in charge should agree. The site suggested was on the other side of the river from the original settlement, and a town committee looked it over. It was a much smaller place, with house lots of two instead of eight acres, but more capable of defence, and with a plentiful supply of water, both for family use and for a mill. That the Grand Committee would be likely to consent to the change to such a place is shown by an order of the General Court of 1677. "That for the future all plantations or townships that shall or may settle in plantation-wise shall setle themselues in such neerness together that they may be a help, defence and succour each to other against any surpriz, onset, or



(From Barber's Historical Collections)

WATERBURY IN THE EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY

attempt of any common enemie; and the General Court from time to time shall appoynt some committee to regulate such plantation settlement accordingly."

Beyond a reference in an Indian deed of September, 1677, to inhabitants of Mattatuck, the only information for the next ten years comes from the reports of the six meetings of the committee in charge, held from January, 1677, to February, 1682. The questions brought up at these meetings were the obvious ones connected with getting the new settlement started,—extension of the time for taking up residence, acceptance of new inhabitants, confirmation of grants of lots and setting one aside for the "use, occupation and improvement of the ministry," orders concerning fences for the common field, and concerning highways, advice to build a mill instead of continuing to go to Farmington. One of the duties of the committee was to lay out the highways, both of the village itself, and to other towns.

In 1677 the committee made over the land to the inhabitants, but did not give up its authority. Each man had a house lot in the new location, his house lot on the old site, a three acre lot, and his interest in the undivided lands. Special grants were made to meet special needs, such as land equal to a £100 allotment for the miller.

There was a division of land in 1678, and again in 1679. An attempt was made to equalize the value of the land,—“three roods of the best of this land shall be accounted as one acre, and the worst of the land which we divide shall be accounted seven roods but for one acre, and so rise or fall in this division according to the goodness or badness of this land.” At the discretion of those in charge of the division, lands were to be thrown in and not counted. In one division five acres were given to each £100 allotment, and in the other two acres. The division was made by lot. It is interesting to notice that the man who drew next to the last lot in one division drew the first in the other, and the man who was first in the one, was twenty-second out of thirty-four, in the other. Time was allowed each man to inspect the land, and a day on which to take up his lot, and have it surveyed by the town measurers. The people of the town chose officers, apparently without authority, but the Grand Committee at its next meeting (1680) not only gave these officers the power necessary to enable them to act, but also granted that “for the future the inhabitants of the place being orderly called and conuened by their majr voat” might choose “Townsmen, constables, surveyors, fence-viewers, and haywards, or any other civil officers, from time to time, without any further order from the committee.” The committee remained in charge, and the town consulted it on questions that came up.

By the beginning of the next year (1681) measures were begun against men who had not fulfilled the conditions laid down at the beginning of the plantation. The Grand Committee heard the “complaynts and Alligations” that some of the proprietors had not erected their houses, and that, of the twenty-eight houses built, thirteen were incomplete or unsatis-



(Courtesy of Waterbury Chamber of Commerce)

CITY HALL, WATERBURY



(Courtesy of Waterbury Chamber of Commerce)

POST OFFICE, WATERBURY

factory in some way. Two men had not built at all, four houses had no chimneys, and one man was living in a hired cellar. Another chance was given the delinquent ones, but with the regulation that they must live on their lands a year longer than the original requirement. All but two of them fulfilled the requirement. The committee also made arrangements for taxes for two years, concerning holdings and confirmed a grant. This is its last document. After 1682 it advised instead of ordering. By 1685 it was reduced by death from five to two members and gradually gave up its control, though it confirmed grants of land until Waterbury was made a town. In 1686 the plantation was accepted by the General Court, assigned to Hartford County, given the name of Waterbury, and recommended, with the town of New Haven, to lay out a road as soon as convenient.

Waterbury's first deputy to the General Court, Ensign Thomas Judd, took his seat, May, 1689, in the first session after the régime of Andros. He had received the title in that year as Waterbury's first commissioned officer, which meant that the town had thirty-two soldiers in the train band. Before that time it had a band of twenty-four, which entitled them to two sergeants, and in 1715 it had sixty-four men and therefore a captain.

Little evidence exists as to provision for religious service during this early period. Lots were set aside for the minister's use, a minister's house is spoken of at the time the town decided to call Mr. Peck and in 1686 there was an apportionment of the minister's fence. There must have been a preacher, as this was one of the requirements of the General Court. Some references indicate that a Mr. Frayser was acting in this capacity for part of the time at least. In 1682 Major Talcott, one of the Grand Committee, tried to get Tutor Russell from Harvard as minister. In 1689 the proprietors voted to invite Mr. Jeremy Peck to come, offering him a house, a salary of £60 a year, £50 in provision pay, £10 in wood, and "the other allotments or general Devisions belonging to the ministers lot so caled provided he cohabit with them four years." This choice was convenient in many ways. One of Mr. Peck's sons could supply other needs, for he was a carpenter and a school teacher, and probably taught the school from this time until 1698.

Mr. Peck was sixty-seven years old, but a most fitting person. He had been associated with the New Haven colony from the beginning, having come in the ship *Hector* with his father William Peck. He had attended Harvard, preached, taught school four years, and married a wife in Guilford. For two years before that he had been in charge of the New Haven colony school, and had imbibed the principles of Mr. Davenport so completely that he went to Newark with the band of irreconcilables. After a few years he had returned to Connecticut, as did others of that band, and settled in Greenwich as their first minister. He was said to have still refused there to baptize the children of non-communicants.

In May, 1691, Mr. Peck and Isaac Bronson, one of the first petitioners for a plantation at Mattatuck in 1673, asked the General Court for the

necessary permission to form a church, which was at once granted. The church was organized and Mr. Peck ordained on the same day in August. The number of male communicants, curiously enough, was seven. In October Waterbury again presented a petition to the "honored gentlemen," "right worthy sirs," "Patrons of this Christian Commonwealth," in short the General Court. They set forth their condition, "living remotely in a corner of the wilderness" and their desire for a meeting-house, "a good work; yet too heavy for us." They had had losses of crops and stock; much sickness for four years; they had done public service,—unpaid scouting during the war, and entertainment of soldiers passing to and fro; and they had heard that such help had been given others. Their specific request was for their colony tax for four years. The court at once granted the request, giving them their country rate, and in 1694 gave it for one year more.

Other means were used to raise money for building the meeting-house. In 1694 the town devoted to this purpose part of the money from the sale of "wild" or unbranded horses, for in 1690 Waterbury had been given this mark of independence, the letter R. The pulpit and seats in the church were arranged for in 1699, but by this time it was necessary to get a new minister, for Mr. Peck died in that year, having been for some time "disabled from the work of the ministry by a fit of the Apoplex."

Besides its inauspicious start, just before a war which necessitated a second beginning, followed by two other wars, Waterbury was pursued by a variety of calamities. Eleven proprietors left, the first one in 1686, in 1691 the town was almost destroyed by an inundation, in 1712 there was an epidemic. To try to stop the young men from leaving, the proprietors in 1697 took the first steps towards establishing what were afterwards called the Bachelor Proprietors. Each young man was given a certain amount of land and a propriety of £40 in the commons under certain conditions, in the hope of his becoming a permanent settler. As in the case of the original proprietors, it was necessary after a few years to see whether these conditions were being fulfilled. It was found that thirty-eight young men had met the conditions, eighteen "haue not fulfilled but in a likely way," and five had not, and had therefore forfeited their rights. Most of these bachelor proprietors were sons of the original proprietors but some of the land owners who had left town objected to this system, and after granting bachelor proprietors to the original owners, the scheme was abandoned. Other objections came from original proprietors who had no sons. One case was solved by a gift to the church. "March 13, 1727-8, Lef Timothy Standly Declairing before the proprietors that if they would quietly resign a Bacheldors Lott to Him belonging to his original propriety which he had been Kept out of he would make sale of it and dedicate the money there of to the building the meeting-house we are now about building—where upon the proprietors did by their vote Declare that they did resignn the above sd propriety to the Said Lift Timothy standly he dedicating of It to the use above sd." The propriety sold for £60, which was duly given to the church.

CHAPTER V

PATENTS AND PROPRIETORS

When the colony began to worry over the possible loss of its charter, besides granting out all the unappropriated lands, it ordered all the towns to get patents according to a prescribed form. Titles taken out while the charter was still in force would hold good even if it were revoked. This is the order of the General Assembly: "This Court for the prevention of future trouble, and that every township's grants of land as it hath been obteyned by gift, purchases or otherwayes, of the natives and grant of this Court, may be settled upon them, their heires, successors and assignes for ever, according to our charter granted by his late Matie of happy memory, This Court doth order that every township in this colony shall take out Pattents for their sayd grants, of the Governor and Company." Patents were granted as follows in New Haven County,—in 1685, to New Haven in January, to Branford in February, to Milford in May and to Guilford in December. The other towns followed within a year, or soon after. Beginning soon after 1700 these patents were all confirmed again for various technical reasons, such as the purchase of new lands, or as in the case of Waterbury's, because it was not properly signed by both governor and secretary of the colony.

Proprietors

When Guilford held a town meeting to consider the order of the General Assembly that each town should get a charter or patent from the colony, it was "voted that they did desire twelve men as patentees, in behalf of all the planters, to be nominated in the Town's patent, and it was also voted in the same meeting who the twelve men should be." The towns had been accustomed from the beginning to have a few men take action for the whole body. In this way the purchase of lands had been made from the Indians, and, for obvious reasons, purchase by private individuals was discouraged and forbidden. In this way too churches had been formed in many towns by a small body of men known as pillars. A given individual might thus be a Planter, Pillar, Patentee, and as will be shown also Proprietor.

A later body of men, also distinct from the whole body of freemen, and growing out of the custom of the common purchase and ownership of land were the Proprietors. For a long time the towns had tracts of land held in common, most of it temporarily until people were ready to take it up

by successive divisions. At first this arrangement presented no difficulty, for there was plenty of land, and new inhabitants were needed. But as ungranted land diminished in quantity, it increased in value. People were coming into the towns and wishing to share in the divisions of land who had themselves contributed nothing to its purchase and represented no one who had. The question arose as to who should have shares or rights in these divisions, and right to vote on the method by which they were made. Should it be by the towns, including admitted inhabitants or by original inhabitants and their descendants?

In many of the older towns a body of men known as the Proprietors of the Commons or Undivided Lands was formed, which controlled most of the common land belonging to the town, and became an organized body, separate and distinct from the town. The General Assembly, as might be expected, supported the claims of these proprietors. In 1723 it enacted that no person by becoming an inhabitant, or in any way except by consent of the proprietors could have any interest in the common lands. It passed measures allowing the proprietors an organization. Five of them could call a meeting, and have a clerk who was under oath. From this time some of them kept their own separate records. They were a self-perpetuating body, and still exist in some places, as in New Haven, where the control of a few pieces of land is in the hands of such a committee. Thus certain property holders formed a distinct class in the communities, and without being office holders held some power. Their relations with the towns are not always clear. In New Haven in 1675 their acts were submitted to the town meeting for approval.

It became necessary in the course of this development to define who were proprietors. Guilford, in 1697, "voted that all that were proper settled planters in Guilford in the year 1686, which was the time of our last purchase of our common lands, them and their male posterity after them for ever, are accounted proprietors of all common lands, also those that purchase any foundation allotment in the said town is reckoned as a proprietor." Derby, too, meant by proprietors all those who had paid for the original purchase or been admitted by special vote of the town. Wallingford voted the following to be proprietors,—Persons holding lands in 1672, and their heirs and assigns, those whom the town had admitted, or who had taken the places of proprietors who had gone away and lost their lots. Descendants of other proprietors who had gone away received grants in a distribution. The original Ancient Proprietors lasted here until 1803, when they formally released to the town all their rights and ceased to exist.

Waterbury, as has been said, had an interesting history in this respect. In order to keep her young men home as settlers, (whether married or not), they were given portions of land and made Bachelor Proprietors, that is having rights in any division of land that might follow, but no vote in making it. After a time, objections were made to those grants by proprietors who were not living in Waterbury, or who had no son to be-



(Courtesy of the Milford News)

THE OLD TOWN HALL, MILFORD
Burned in 1915

come a bachelor proprietor. These men still owned land and were called on for services for the town and for contributions such as money for a new meeting-house. Adjustments were made by giving original proprietors bachelor grants. A committee investigated records and titles, and it was agreed that after 1721 all divisions of land should be made to the present original and bachelor proprietors according to their propriety. A list of both Grand and Bachelor Proprietors was made, ninety-six names in all, the grand proprietors being those who bought land in 1674. A Proprietor's Book of Records was kept from 1711 to 1722, after that records were all entered in the same book. Proprietor's records have been published by the Mattatuck Historical Society.

In New Haven the patent was issued to the proprietors by name, and was thus confirmed in 1713. After 1724 their acts were recorded separately from those of the town. These relate to the distribution of common and undivided lands among the surviving proprietors and their descendants. By 1806 most of the lands were gone and the proprietors scattered, and in 1810 their interests were transferred to a permanent self-perpetuating committee of five. In 1850 this committee granted the United Society the right to build a small addition to its church, but in 1856 the State Legislature said that such an act must thereafter be ratified by town meeting. In 1875 a statute was passed that any commons remaining should belong to the proprietors as individual estate. The proprietors in 1896 gave some proprietary land to the city for a park,—the southern face and slope of West Rock. In 1929 the Proprietor's Committee refused permission to build a shelter on the Green for people while waiting for street cars. A resolution for such a shelter had been introduced at a meeting of the Board of Aldermen, referred to the Board of Park Commissioners, and by them to the Proprietor's Committee, which controls the Green.

Another interesting example, from an earlier period, is action taken in forming the parish of Westbury from Waterbury. The families in the northwest corner of the town were given winter privileges in 1732. A few months later the proprietors sequestered a tract of land three miles square in that corner of the town, its center to be the center of the new society which was to be formed. The town a few days later agreed to the formation of a new society, and the petition was granted, though not immediately, by the Assembly. The town appointed a committee to settle the bounds of the new society, and the proprietors in 1747-8 set aside the sequestration of the three-mile square, which it is suggested had really been made to retard settlement there.

In Branford new settlers took over the rights or proportion of rights of the proprietors from whom they bought land, and shared in the divisions of unappropriated land. Proprietor's meetings were separate from town meetings. Records were kept. Most of the land was divided by 1740, but meetings of proprietors were held into the nineteenth century.

The description of the acts of the proprietors in Steiner's "History of Guilford" gives a good idea of this body. "On January 12, 1726-7, the pro-

prietors began separate records. The sphere of their activity and that of the town seem to have had very ill-defined limits. They pass resolutions about divisions of lands, changes of highways, gifts of unoccupied land, setting up of Sabbath Day houses, and horse sheds on the Green. At first their meetings were regularly held and much business was transacted. But as the land became distributed there was less and less need for their existence. Their meetings became more and more rare, and finally William Elliott, the last proprietor's clerk, records the last meeting of that august body on April 14, 1826, and on June 14, 1831, the last entry in their records was made. Their dissolution had been foreseen, and on October 7, 1882, the town appointed Amos Seward to meet the Proprietors of the Common and Undivided Lands and make arrangements." In 1747 the proprietors granted a petition of the Church of England men for permission to build a church on the Green.

CHAPTER VI

FORMATION OF NEW PARISHES

A slightly different type of new settlement was also beginning, not in the wilderness on lands newly bought, but nearer the original towns and within their bounds. This type,—destined to become the usual one as the ungranted wilderness land was taken up,—was the “parish” or ecclesiastical society, the formation of a second church by those members of the “First” church living at a distance and grown to numbers large enough to support a minister. There was also a regular procedure to be followed in organizing one of these parishes, first to get the authority of the town, then of the colony, and the advice and consent of the neighboring churches. The next step would be civic independence.

Even before the union with Connecticut such groups were formed near New Haven, whose petitions were favored where opposition might have been expected, that is, by the pastor of the original church, Mr. Davenport. Three such settlements in New Haven were now asking for this privilege,—two across the East and West rivers, and one in the northeast. Guilford had her “East Farmers” and Wallingford soon had a group of “North Farmers.”

This situation offered a somewhat different problem from that of settlements in the wilderness, such as Derby, Wallingford, and Waterbury. Those men went out to make new plantations, these were seeking to divide the old organization. Waterbury stated the problem in replying to a similar request later. “The effect would be to cut us up into mouthfuls ready for the devourer,” and, “they would be stripped of almost all the inhabitants but those that live within about a quarter of a mile of the meeting-house.” This “must lay the foundation for the ruin of the society, since the lines comprehend about all the feasible land on each side.” It objected to another because their meeting-house would be “thrown from the centre into an extreme part of the society, giving a dangerous aspect and tending to their destruction.” By village or parish in this sense was meant an independent church or school, perhaps with one civil officer, a constable. Wallingford was a village of a different type, and grew so rapidly that it soon became a town, and was governed by trustees only two years.

East Haven

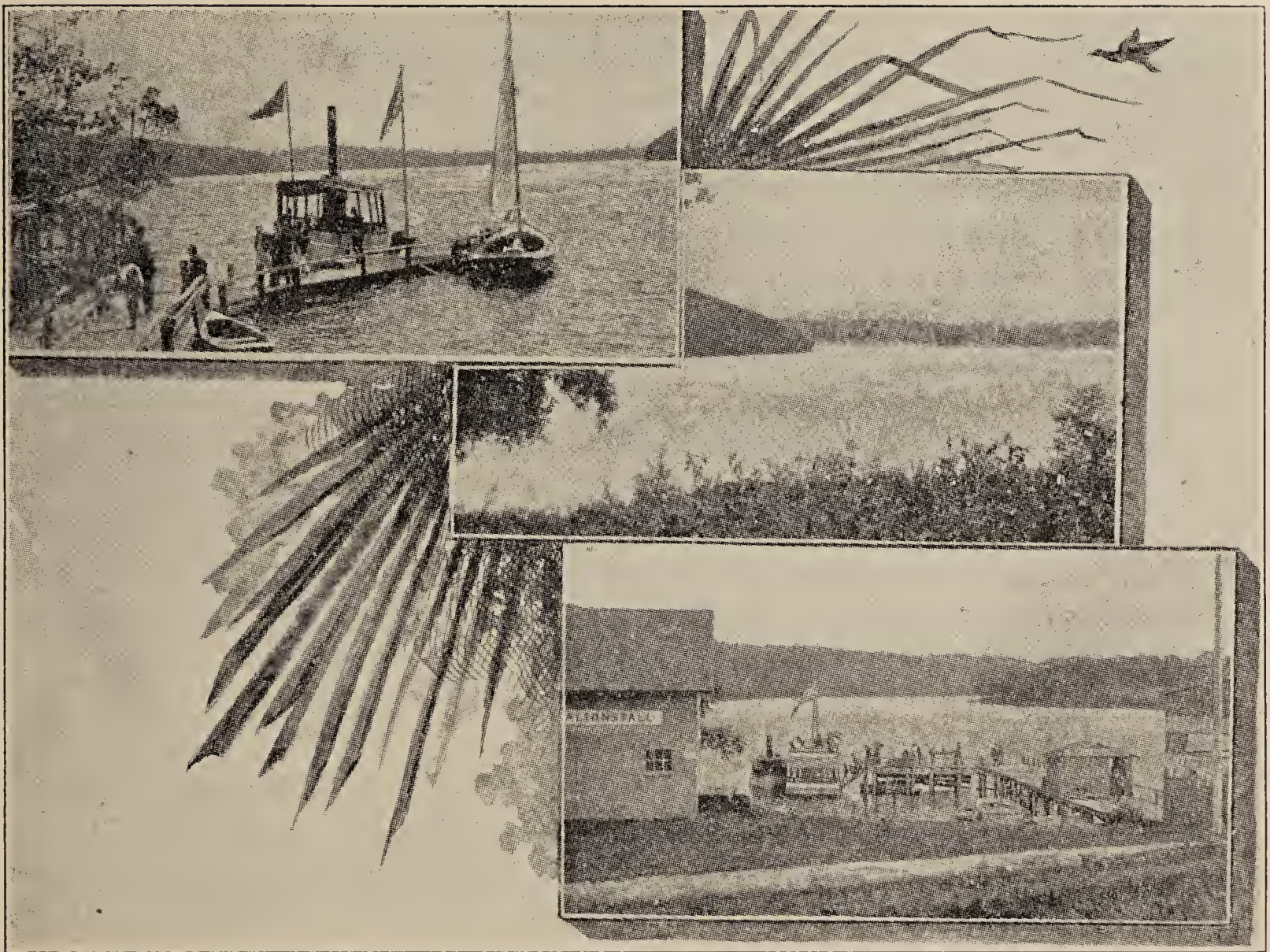
The development of East Haven started with a grant of a six hundred acre farm to Mr. Davenport, fifty acres to Samuel Eaton, and grants to

others of the first settlers of New Haven. Mr. Davenport put a farmer on his land, Alling Ball. Mr. Gregson, a leader in the commercial life of New Haven, asked for and was given land at Solitary (Morris) Cove, near the Indian reservation. It is a question whether he actually ever went there to live, but he was appointed truck-master with the Indians, for venison. A settlement grew up around the Iron Work, begun in 1655 with the help of the town, which after the union with Connecticut also received help from the colony, in freedom from rates for seven years, granted in 1669. This enterprise was started at the south shore of Furnace Pond, (Lake Saltonstall), by Mr. Goodyear. John Cooper, a useful citizen of New Haven, was overseer of the furnace, and it gave employment to others, who it must be confessed were not always law abiding citizens. The Iron Work fell on bad times and was given up about 1680, for some unknown reason.

It was a long and difficult journey for the people on the farms to go to New Haven for religious worship and meetings of various kinds. In winter, and indeed at any time, the roads were rough, and in the short days it was necessary to start before daylight and to return after dark.

After one or two unsuccessful attempts to get the consent of New Haven for some degree of independence, the farmers received, in 1679, "the liberties and conveniences of a village." The agreement contained six points from the petition of the farmers and two added by New Haven. These were, permission to have their own minister as soon as they could maintain one; liberty to admit such new inhabitants "as may consist with the interest of religion and the Congregational way of the Churches, provided for, to be upheld;" the request to purchase certain Indian lands, on the reservation, must be considered because of New Haven's covenants with the Indians; allowance of New Haven's right, (acquired by purchase from the Indians) to a tract of land in Branford, not yet sold or released, "with due consideration that New Haven hath been long out of purse," because Branford had never paid for these lands; freedom from paying rates to New Haven when they should have a settled minister; statement of boundaries. The two additional points were concerning commonage and the provision that New Haven people should pay other than church rates to New Haven.

Upon receiving this reply the inhabitants of South End, Stony River and others on the east side of New Haven River, within the bounds of the town of New Haven, applied to the General Court for the necessary act of incorporation. The court answered favorably, and freed them also from country rates for three years, but added the provision that if the village should find itself unable to "goe throw such a worke as maintayning a settled ministry amongst them, and are destitute of one, they shall return to their first station to New Haven till they shall be able to goe throw the worke." East Haven got as its first preacher Mr. James Alling. He was a Harvard graduate, as were most of the early ministers in the daughter settlements, since the supply from England was coming to an end, and



GLIMPSES OF LAKE SALTONSTALL

Yale was not yet started. One hundred acres of land was set aside for the ministry, one-half to go to the first minister and the rest for the standing use of the ministry forever. Mr. Alling remained two years, and after an interval of nearly a year was succeeded (November, 1683), by another Harvard graduate, Mr. Harriman, teacher in Hopkins Grammar School in New Haven. He was voted an annual salary of £50, and a house to be built within a year. The money for this was to be raised by subscriptions, in sums ranging from £20 to the offerings of two men who "will do what they can," and one who promised "25 rods of rail fence about the home lot." Mr. Harriman departed in 1685, with no house built, and the people, unable to find a successor, returned to former relations with New Haven, in accordance with the provision made by the General Assembly. During this time they had advanced further towards independence by the appointment of town officers, to which New Haven had agreed, but these too were given up in 1687. These were the usual officials, selectmen, collectors, constable, and recorder.

By 1703 East Haven and Fair Haven had united, and renewed activity towards ecclesiastical independence by voting to take up the old village grant. The General Assembly deferred final consideration of their petition until the next session, when it would be granted if New Haven made no objection, but with this "restriction, that the propriety of lands shall not be concerned with." There were some wrangles over lands and taxes, which the General Assembly could not pacify, but in 1707 it made an ambiguous grant to the "East Village of New Haven," which was interpreted by them as a charter. The village might lay taxes, choose collectors, constable and recorder and have a school. A little later they were told to maintain their own poor and were named East Haven. The General Assembly also confirmed their choice of captain, lieutenant and ensign of the train band.

Negotiations were being carried on for the person essential to their existence, a minister. The candidate was Mr. Jacob Hemingway, one of their townsmen, the first and for a time only, student at the college of Davenport's dreams, that had at last been started in Connecticut. He finally accepted an offer of £50 a year, wood, house or money to build one, and land. In 1706 a small meeting-house was built, and the next year a house for the minister, the latter the larger of the two and the only parsonage supplied by the church until 1853. Other ministers built their own houses. In 1709 permission was received from the General Assembly to "embody themselves into a church state with the approbation of their neighboring churches." The church was organized by seven men, Mr. Hemingway ordained on the same day in 1711, and the same year it was admitted into membership in the recently formed Consociation of New Haven County.

Governor Saltonstall, through his wife, the rich Miss Rosewell of Branford, came into possession of a farm of several hundred acres at Furnace Pond. There is some doubt as to whether he built the house or

ever lived here, except perhaps temporarily, but in either case relations between him and the town were not friendly. The cause is said to have been the wandering of his neighbors' geese on his farm. At any rate East Haven did not vote for him, and the General Assembly began passing acts which took away the privileges given in 1707. The village had embroiled its relations with New Haven, through laying claims in 1704 to undivided lands near their bounds. There were about 1,200 acres of these town lands, extending from the river to the Branford line, and East Haven went so far as to divide them. New Haven quite naturally objected and tried to make its own division. The General Assembly was appealed to several times, and at length appointed a committee to look into the matter of the "unhappy differences between the said town and the village." In 1710 it finally declared that the act of 1707 granting privileges, had said nothing about property in land, or about excluding the village from being in the township of New Haven, and therefore that the village had no right to deputies distinct from the town of New Haven. East Haven having interpreted the act as a charter, had been sending deputies, in fact one was present at this session, but in 1713 when a man offered himself at Hartford as a representative from East Haven, armed with a certificate from the constable, he was not admitted. Other marks of independence figured in the controversy. East Haven was threatened with punishment if she refused to return the lists of estates through New Haven instead of handing them in separately. In 1716 she was put in the position of other parishes by having the care of the poor given to New Haven. East Haven remained as a parish until the middle of the century, when it again took up the question of town privileges under the grant of 1707, and the disputes were continued until after the Revolution. The controversy was ended in 1785 with the consent of both New Haven and the General Assembly.

In 1679 the village of East Haven began to discuss buying some of the Indian reservation. There was a question as to whether New Haven could sell this land, since it had agreed to supply the Indians with lands for planting. In 1695 the General Court gave the necessary permission, and many little purchases were made, one man buying a highway to some of his land, another a quarter of an acre for stables for his horses when he went to New Haven, another eighteen acres.

CHAPTER VII

NORTH HAVEN

The present town of North Haven is in the territory granted out in the third, fourth and fifth divisions of land in the town of New Haven. The first settler in this region is believed to have been William Bradley, an ex-officer of Cromwell's army, who came some time between 1640 and 1650, on land just above the East Farms (Cedar Hill), where Governor Eaton had a brickyard. The next arrivals were Thomas and Nathaniel Yale in 1660. Thomas Yale had come to New Haven as a youth in charge of his step-father, Governor Eaton, and Thomas Yale, Jr., was one of the original planters of Wallingford. Another early settler was Jonathan Tuttle, who came in 1670, and was allowed to build a bridge across the river and charge toll. The first farms taken up were near the river, but settlement was slow. Forests extended in every direction, and it was necessary to go to the little settlement of Wallingford, five miles north, for a mill, where the miller was ordered not to "grind away his water for strangers to the injury of the town's inhabitants." People went to New Haven for public worship, to attend town meeting, and for most of their needs. By 1700 enough families had come so it began to be called the North Village, and the time was approaching for it to think of supplying its own needs. In 1715 it is said to have had a fulling mill, and was certainly starting the movement for a church.

In 1714 the Rev. James Pierpont by his will left eight or ten acres of land "nigh Wallingford bridge" for the site for a meeting-house, training ground and burying place. Two years later the General Court granted the petition of the "north east farmers" to form a parish. The parish chose a moderator, clerk, and committee to ask advice about a minister, and in 1717 agreed to build a meeting-house, lay a tax to pay the minister, and to call Mr. Wetmore to that office. He arrived in 1717, was installed in 1718, and built himself a house about 1720. Perhaps the first brick used in the parish was on the top of his chimney. In 1722 the meeting-house was finished, and the minister was given liberty to build a pew for his family.

The community was gradually acquiring the equipment of a town. It had a military company, formed in 1718, with a captain, lieutenant and ensign; had built a bridge over Muddy River; and a pound. In 1720 the town was divided into four school districts, and the first cemetery was established. In 1722 tithing men were appointed in accordance with an

order of the General Court, but this was done by the town of New Haven, not by the North Haven Church, for these men were civil officers. If they neglected to take the prescribed oath, the fine of forty shillings went to the town treasury.

The parish life seemed well started, when the people heard some disquieting news about their pastor, first signs of a movement that was to cause much trouble everywhere and necessitate readjustment of the ecclesiastical system. The people had stated, when they called Mr. Wetmore to be their minister, that they supposed he desired "to lead them on in ye methods ye New Haven Church have or doth now practice." In September, 1722, seven men, who might have become pillars if all had remained firm and acted together, wrote a letter to the Faculty of Yale College expressing doubts of the validity of the Presbyterian ordination of ministers. Some of them were even persuaded of its invalidity, which meant of course that they were converted to the doctrines of the Episcopal Church. One of these seven men was Mr. Wetmore of North Haven, and another was his neighbor of Wallingford, Samuel Whittelsey. The news of this letter naturally caused dissatisfaction to the church of North Haven, which seems to have been quite lively, for in the course of the discussion it caused, Mr. Wetmore "cast Considerable Reflections in our Esteem on those that manifested Their Dissatisfaction by calling them a mobb and a riot and a Disorder with many other words signifying your great dislike att our Dissatisfaction which things are evidence and can be proved." In spite of the advice of Yale to receive the pastor into love and charity again, the church voted to call a council of ministers and messengers to hear the case. The records of this meeting are lost, but the church soon began to arrange the financial details of Mr. Wetmore's departure, buying his house and barn which were transferred to his successor, the Rev. Isaac Stiles, in 1724.

Mr. Russell was engaged to preach for two months, and efforts were made to get the giver of the Green, Rev. James Pierpont, as minister, "with ye advice and conduct of ye Rev. Elders of ye County," but the "ofers" for his "incoriagement to come and settle" amongst them were declined. They also invited Jonathan Edwards, Tutor in Yale College, and Jedediah Mills, but they too declined. In 1724 they succeeded in getting Isaac Stiles, recently graduated from Yale, a combination of names destined to figure prominently from this time in the history of New Haven County. Remembering the apostacy of Mr. Wetmore, it was provided that his teachings were to be "not varying from ye articles of faith or church management agreed on at Saybrooke by ye Rev. Elders of this government." Several offers were made as to salary and settlement before Mr. Stiles would accept the call, and he finally laid down the terms himself, providing for an annual increase of salary from a certain minimum amount, which was to "rise in proportion to ye rising in ye List till it amount to £120 annually, and this to be given me during my life, Extraordinary Cases excepted, and to be paid in money or grain

at ye prices stated in your last note, and also my fire wood." The question of fire wood always figured prominently in the settlements of ministers. Mr. Stiles received the deeds of the house he wanted on the day he was installed. He seems to have had no hesitations in expressing his ideas on the subject of material things. His son told the following incident. "Once on a time, during the intermission on Sunday, he saw one of his Congregation stealing his melons. In his afternoon sermon he referred to this incident in a manner somewhat personal. After treating of the particular sin of theft, said he: 'no longer than this Lord's Day noon (pointing to a person in the gallery) I saw you John Johnson, thou son of Belial, thou child of the devil, enter my garden and steal my melons.'" It would seem that Mr. Stiles possessed one qualification of a preacher according to the scheme of church government, "the sinewy athletic strength that could make effective use of the fire and hammer to break flinty heart." When he died, Mr. Stiles left an estate of £1,600.

Mr. Stiles, who came to North Haven after trouble in the church, had also some part in ecclesiastical difficulties in other towns in the county. For the ship of church and state was now about to sail in troubled waters. He gave the right hand of fellowship in the ordinations of Mr. Robbins in Branford and Mr. Dana in Wallingford, and was obliged to take part in controversies in both places, being one of those treated as "disorderly persons" for his stand in the Dana case. At the time of the Great Awakening he was invited to preach the Election Sermon at Hartford. He took the opportunity to express his disapproval of revivalists, calling them "Will with his wisp and Jack with his lanthorne, and pointed the artillery of heaven in a tremendous manner against them." The author was thanked by the Assembly for this vigorous use of the fire and hammer, which was printed. He was also the author of the declaration of the Association of New Haven County in the case of Rev. George Whitefield.

During his ministry the parish received the addition of those people who lived in the "Half Mile," in East Haven, and those in present Centreville. The Half Mile was a tract of land over which there had been dispute. Branford claimed more land than it had bought from New Haven, and in 1682 had surrendered to East Haven this piece, extending from the head of Furnace Pond to the Wallingford line. New Haven objected to this settlement, and to meet expenses of the controversy East Haven had sold part of the land. In 1708, being in debt to the minister she sold the rest. In 1737 the people living here, at their own request were annexed to the parish of North Haven, but they still belonged otherwise to East Haven, and paid their taxes there, except the minister's rate.

The addition of these two sets of people made a new and larger meeting-house necessary. According to the requirements of law at this time the parish applied to the General Assembly in 1739 for the necessary permission, and the Assembly also at their request, appointed a com-

mittee to fix a site. The new building was placed near the old one and was not taken down until 1835. It was completed in 1741, a two-story building of somewhat larger dimensions than earlier meeting-houses, with a turret, no chimney, seats still instead of pews, and a high pulpit with a sounding board. The deacons' seats faced the broad aisle. In 1766 two seats were made into pews, and gradually all were changed. There were galleries on three sides, and one later set of grand jurors and tithing-men issued a statement expressing the "wish that the young people would take their seats in the Meeting-House and not huddle into a Company at the top of the stairs." After 1762 a bell was used instead of a drum, except to warn the society meetings. These society meetings were in a sense annual town meetings, for New Haven left the parish very much to itself.

In 1757 the North Haven Church was called on to part with some of her people, those who formed the parish of Mount Carmel, one of the early granddaughter societies. North Haven opposed in vain the formation of this parish, as did so many of the older churches in similar circumstances. The church also had trouble with Mr. Stiles over his salary, and disapproved his attitude on the Dana case. His resignation was called for, one parishioner in the course of events telling him, with a frankness equal to his own in the matter of the stolen melons, that he was not fit for the ministry. Mr. Stiles died in the midst of this agitation. In the letter of condolence which the deacons received from the Association of New Haven County, the Association took occasion to say that they had "heard that Mr. Dana was expected to preach among you, on which we would observe to you that he being under censure * * * we trust you will take no irregular steps."

CHAPTER VIII

MERIDEN—EAST GUILFORD

Meriden, situated on a small branch of the Quinnipiac River, called Pilgrim's Harbor Brook, grew from a farming community, "a rural suburb of Wallingford," which was at one time one of the largest towns of the colony. The farms were scattered and there was nothing like a village or village street. There seems to have been no Indian village here, but the whole territory, famous for its game, was used by the Indians as a hunting ground. This characteristic is preserved in names,—Cat Hole, Cat Swamp, Deer Hill, Beaver Dam Brook, Wolf Swamp.

The name Meriden appears in the records of the General Court as early as 1666, before its mother town, Wallingford, had been begun. Meriden started with even fewer houses than Derby, having only two in an almost unbroken wilderness. These two were north of the old Wallingford north line, which cuts the modern City of Meriden into two nearly equal parts.

The region around modern Meriden was bound to become familiar at an early date to such travelers as there were, for it was half way between Hartford and New Haven on one of the oldest long highways in the colony. The journey took two days and Meriden, "where the old road goeth ouer Pilgrimes Harbour" became a natural stopping place. New Haven as has been described, claimed this locality as part of the Montowese purchase and sent out a committee in 1660 to mark out the boundaries. John Brockett was one of the number and it was directed by Montowese in person. Hartford protested the line these men laid out as the northern boundary of New Haven as "some seeming right to this jurisdiction which they pretend." It also acted on its own claims to the region and (1661) granted a farm of 350 acres of "countrey Land" here for a farm to Jonathan Gilbert, inn-keeper, of Hartford. This farm was in the northern part of the present town of Meriden. In 1662 Gilbert was given permission to keep a tavern there, and in 1672 he bought some adjoining land.

Mr. Gilbert was a prominent man in Hartford, marshal of the colony, often a member of the General Court, a fur trader and Indian interpreter, inn-keeper, and man of wealth. He put Edward Higby on his farm, who was thus probably the first white man to live in Meriden. In 1664, probably while he was a tenant on the Gilbert farm, this Edward Higby bought some land of his own in the vicinity, south of the Gilbert farm,

from an Indian named Saukett. In the deed from Saukett the name of the future town appears, for one boundary of Higby's land is given as lands of Jonathan Gilbert's known by the name of Meriden. This is the first use of the name, and it applied only to Gilbert's farm but was later transferred to the settlement which grew up around the farm. Higby's title to the land was confirmed by the General Court in 1665, and the next year he was given exemption from country rates on condition of "making and maintaining the way over Pilgroom's Harbor passable for man and horse." How long this first inhabitant of Meriden lived there is not known. Mr. Gilbert died in 1682 and a contested will case followed. Finally Capt. Andrew Belcher of Charleston, his son-in-law, bought the rights of the other children, and brought the picturesque Belcher family into a connection with the region which lasted for three generations.

In 1700 Captain Belcher acquired the whole farm by buying the interest of the widow of Jonathan Gilbert, his mother-in-law. When his title was confirmed by the General Court, some additional land was included, and with this and other purchases he had about 1,200 acres, which he called "My Meriden Manor." He was a mariner and ship owner, the richest merchant in New England, and though he never lived here, he was probably the one who built the stone house and wall around the farm. He may have bought the property in the expectation of finding mineral wealth. In 1707 he deeded it to his son Jonathan, Harvard 1669, merchant, at times member of the Council, agent for Connecticut in England, governor of Massachusetts, governor of New Jersey. He too spent much money on the farm in improvements, especially in the attempt to find copper. Discovering that gentleman-farming and mining were expensive, Jonathan Belcher in turn deeded the farm to his son Andrew. In 1741 and 1742 in two sales Andrew sold the farm to persons outside the Belcher family.

Between this Gilbert-Belcher farm and Wallingford was a strip of territory of doubtful ownership and jurisdiction. In 1683 Wallingford, through the good efforts of Maj. John Talcott, one of Waterbury's Grand Committee and "Wallingford's Great Patron," had as has been said, bought this strip of land from Adam Puit, an Indian. It extended three miles north of Wallingford, and was between five and six miles east and west. It was part of no township, and Wallingford had only the Indian title from Adam Puit, with no right of government.

In the excitement of granting out lands at the time of the threatened loss of the charter under Andros, this land, though bought by Wallingford and known as the Wallingford Purchase Land, was given by the General Court to the towns of Farmington, Middletown and Wethersfield. After a long struggle, carried on principally by Middletown, the General Assembly in 1724 put it in the Wallingford list of estates, though making Wallingford pay another purchase price. Another part of this region was granted by the General Assembly to two Deputy-Governors, probably as a reward for public service,—William Jones and James Bishop, both of New Haven. James Bishop had been for many years auditor of the colony accounts, one of four, each representing a county. His farm



(From Barber's Historical Collections)

MERIDEN IN THE EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY



(Courtesy of H. Wales Lines Co.)

TOWN HALL, MERIDEN

was described in 1716 as "three hundred acres in the wilderness at Pilgrim's Harbour." Captain Thomas Yale of Wallingford, who had been given a farm in Meriden by the town of Wallingford, was put in charge of the Jones farm. After the death of Mr. Jones, the farm, a very large one, was gradually broken up among various owners, some of whom had names prominent in Meriden's history,—the minister, Rev. Theophilus Hall, Stephen Atwater, Timothy Jerome, and John Merriam, whose home lot is now Meriden's business center. Another important land owner in Meriden was Samuel Andrews, descendant of William Andrews, one of the original planters of New Haven, and ancestor of the family who were the main support of the Episcopal Church in Meriden in its early years.

These farmers did not live in any village, as was the case in a definitely planned settlement such as the four original towns, and the second generation towns of Wallingford and Waterbury. Their homes were scattered about, and their union as a community came through the decision as to where they should go to church. In 1718 some men south of Belcher's farm near Wallingford petitioned to be allowed to become connected with that town, and were accepted. This arrangement applied only to the individuals who made the petition, not to all the people in this region. They were all looking about for ways of lessening the inconveniences of going great distances to supply their needs. Some of them petitioned (1724) for a pound near the Meriden or stone house, to save them from having to drive unruly cattle six or nine miles to the nearest pound.

In 1724 "in respect of ye north farmers the town [Wallingford] voated that they may hire a minister four months this winter on their own charge." There were at this time thirty-five families living around Dog's Misery (the eastern part of Meriden), and Pilgrim's Harbor (the central part of the town). This vote of Wallingford's is the first act in the process of separating Meriden from Wallingford, or in recognizing the north farmers as a distinct community. The next year Wallingford voted them a society, that is, consented to the formation of an independent church of their own, on condition that the General Court would agree to give them such of the Wallingford Purchase Land as had not already been granted to other societies. In accordance with this vote the men from Meriden petitioned the General Assembly for the necessary permission, which was given, together with the land asked for. Three years later the Belcher farm was added to the society, which they had also requested, the parish was given the name of Meriden, and annexed to the town of Wallingford and the county of New Haven.

For two years religious services were held only in winter and at private houses. When they were ready to build a meeting-house, each of the various groups, at Dog's Misery, Pilgrim Harbor, Milking Yard, wanted it located at a different place. Meeting-House Hill, a place near Dog's Misery, was decided on, the present center of Meriden, owned at this time as a farm, not even being considered as a site. When the tim-



VIEW OF MERIDEN FROM THE CITY HALL, 1868

Showing the new (third) building of the Episcopal Church. Note precipitous face of the hills in the background

bers for the meeting-house were brought to the appointed site, dissatisfied persons came in the night and took them to the place of their choice, but the town meeting made them return the materials and the house was built on the site previously designated. It was finished in 1727, a building about thirty feet square, constructed in the plainest style. There were probably several Sabba-day houses around it, one being mentioned in a deed of 1740, on land one rod square. In 1729 on a fast day, October 22, the church was organized with fifty-one members, twenty-one of them men. Rev. Theophilus Hall was ordained pastor a few days later, and two deacons were soon elected. The first church record was made by Mr. Hall just before the organization of the church. "Wallingford (Meriden in Wallingford) Oct 9th 1729 on the 8th day of this inst the Christian Brethren of Meriden the North Society in Wallingford met together at their meeting-house with myself to come to an agreement as to matters of discipline in said church that was about to be settled in that place." Mr. Hall was born in Wallingford Village in 1707, was graduated from Yale in 1727, came to preach in Meriden in 1728, and built his house and moved there probably in 1734. He collected 418 acres of land in different places and owned five slaves. At his death his estate was of considerable value, and he left the church some money to buy a "fashionable" communion cup.

East Guilford, Later Madison

Guilford too had its group of inhabitants who felt the difficulties of attending a distant meeting-house, or as they put it "inconveniences upon the Sabbath,"—the East Farmers. It was easier for them to attend religious worship in Killingworth, but of course this created complications in the matter of the minister's pay, and the General Court in 1672 recommended the two towns to consult about it, try to make some amicable arrangement, and report at the next session of the court. Leete who was deputy governor at the time was particularly requested to lend his assistance. An arrangement was made by which the East Farmers went to Killingworth when they could not go to their own church, paying for the privilege, while at the same time acknowledging the "credit and right" of their own church. This lasted for twenty years.

In 1695 twelve men petitioned to be joined to the church at Killingworth saying they ought to "incurrage a Gospill ministry * * * where we may, with the least travel on the Sabbath day, injoy benefit by it." There was also, when they went to Guilford, the difficulty of "being separated from our children the greatest part of the day, and it is not unknown to most considerate men, the need of the parents eye on their children on that day." Twenty other East Guilford men, however, objected to this request. They were east farmers too, but in a different quarter and preferred to wait until they could have their own church, and thought granting this petition would hinder that project.

The Assembly put off the matter for a time, hoping the two parties would "come to a compliance," but was obliged to settle it after all. The men who wished to go to Killingworth were allowed to do so, after paying anything they might owe Guilford, and continuing to pay all but ecclesiastical taxes to Guilford. The party which did not wish to go to Killingworth kept working to become a village, and received the grant of a corn mill in 1700. Apparently some of the farmers were not paying ecclesiastical taxes anywhere under this arrangement, for in 1702 the General Assembly ordered that those who could not show "receits" from Killingworth must pay their minister's dues at Guilford. In 1703 both groups, thirty-one men, one more than the minimum number required by the General Assembly in such cases, united to ask, first from the town and then from the General Assembly, for parish privileges and were allowed to "provide a minister and build a meeting-house, and be a societie by themselves," but "no wayes obliging any other of their neighbors to joyn them without their consent." In 1707 the Assembly formally incorporated them into a society with a west boundary defined. They were given power to lay taxes for the minister's salary and for the building and repair of the meeting-house; to choose a collector and a recorder, and to have a share of the school money if they kept a school. They were freed from paying the Guilford minister so long as they had one of their own.

They had agreed on a site for a meeting-house some time before, and built it in 1705, a simple building without galleries, steeple or bell and probably with no glass until 1717. The year after the meeting-house was finished a parsonage was built.

CHAPTER IX

SETTLING BOUNDARIES—COUNTY SURVEYOR—PERAMBULATION OF BOUNDS

County Surveyor

The formation of new towns and parishes necessitated much work in outlining boundaries of the new divisions, and was naturally accompanied with some disagreement over lines. Committees of the General Assembly were appointed to draw these bounds. Sometimes the committees were slow to act, as in the case of Mattatuck. The town got tired of waiting, and appointed its own committee to work with one from Derby. These committees reached an agreement before that appointed by the General Assembly, and the agreement was sanctioned by that body. Soon committees from Mattatuck and Woodbury settled another line in the same way. Many examples might be given of such committees from the General Assembly and from the towns, but the history of the county is more particularly interested in the creation by the General Assembly of the office of county surveyor in 1700.

This official was put under oath, was freed from training while in office, and was appointed by the General Assembly to hold office until further orders of the court. Later he was given the assistance of chain bearers who were also under oath. Difficulties and disputes led to the establishment (1719) of his pay as six shillings a day while in service, and necessary charges. William Thompson was the first of New Haven County surveyors and this was the oath: "You A B doe swear by the great name of ye living God that you shall faithfully attend to and discharge your office of surveyor unto which you are appointed without favour or respect to persons." His duties were to survey the boundaries of towns newly erected, and of those whose bounds had been left undetermined, to lay out grants to individuals, and to serve the towns when called on.

Committees were still appointed by the General Assembly and the towns to agree where the line should be. These duties may be illustrated by examples. When Durham in 1708 was given a patent, permission to organize a church, and was assigned to New Haven County, Mr. Thompson surveyed the boundaries. In 1715 the town of Waterbury chose a committee to measure its southern bounds. When they could not do this satisfactorily, the surveyor of Hartford County was called on for help.

In 1728 the ox pasture at Sachem's Head was ordered to be laid out as the fifth division of land in Guilford. It was surveyed by the county surveyor, Mr. Thompson. In 1716 the General Assembly appointed the surveyor of Hartford County or Mr. Thompson of New Haven County to lay out to Col. Ebenezer Johnson three hundred acres of land formerly granted him, and to make return to the Assembly at a meeting in the near future, the work to be done at the charge of Colonel Johnson. About 1740 the county surveyor, then Mr. John Hitchcock, helped run the lines of the farm which the colony had granted Deputy-Governor Jones in Meriden. In 1744 such bitter disputes arose over land boundaries among the farmers, that the selectmen of Meriden engaged the county surveyor, Mr. Hitchcock, to run the north line of Wallingford and set stakes every eighty rods to define the line.

In 1722 a boundary dispute began between Wallingford and Middletown which lasted fifty years, and involved several county officials as well as the General Assembly. Wallingford accused Middletown of encroaching three miles on her territory. The General Assembly settled a certain line between them, the line to be measured by the county surveyor with representatives of both towns present. Wallingford employed the New Haven County surveyor to measure the line and the Fairfield County surveyor to verify it, but Middletown accused them of false representations, and in her turn got the Hartford County surveyor to run a line, which gave them half a mile more land than the line drawn by the other surveyors. The difference was due to a variation in the needles used by the different surveyors. Middletown not only made a new line but sued the selectmen of Wallingford for not having perambulated the bounds with her. Wallingford appealed several times to the General Assembly, saying on one occasion, "Your honors have found a remedy for other towns in like predicament so please allow the line of the New Haven County surveyor to stand, which is nearest the true line or else settle the line yourself." On another occasion Wallingford said the General Assembly ought to determine "by what needle the sd line shall be run. If there be more than one compass in the world, and they differ from one another, and the act doth not determine by which of them the lines should be run it's necessary then the act should be explained by declaring the particular needle by which it should be performed, otherwise it must forever remain uncertain which of them was intended." The two houses of the General Assembly were unable to agree for some time, but at length settled on a line in 1736. Middletown objected to this line and the sheriff of New Haven County summoned certain Wallingford owners of land claimed by Middletown to answer the complaint. They were apparently able to do so, for Middletown's petition for redress was denied. Endless lawsuits between individuals continued, with perplexed courts deciding sometimes in favor of one claim and sometimes in favor of the contrary claim. Meantime a cedar tree on top of Beset Mountain from which the measurements were to start had died, adding further complica-

tions. A committee of the General Court was able in 1773 to make a decision which ended the matter.

Waterbury made use at different times of the county surveyor. In 1756 his services were required to erect marks on one of the boundary lines of the town towards Farmington. In 1765 committees from Milford and Waterbury, with the assistance of two surveyors for the County of New Haven settled the lines between the two towns beginning at that famous mark, "the three sisters New Haven northwest corner, Milford northeast corner, Waterbury southeast." When Farmingbury parish was formed in 1770, partly from Farmington and partly from Waterbury, the inhabitants "Voted to have the Society measured by a County surveyor * * * and to lay a half penny rate to pay for measuring the Society." In 1780 the county surveyor and men from Waterbury measured the town in connection with the formation of the town of Watertown from the societies of Northbury and Westbury.

The county surveyor was sometimes called on by a society to fix the site of a meeting-house. The inhabitants of the parish of Amity (later Woodbridge), on its formation in 1738 voted to ask the county surveyor with two chain bearers to measure the distance of the way from each of the inhabitants, to some certain place to build a meeting-house. Considering the frequent disputes and divisions of societies over this matter of locating a meeting-house, the parish deserved its name for thus avoiding trouble.

Perambulation of Bounds

The marks set up to define boundaries were usually heaps of stones at designated spots, such as the roots of trees, or some kind of tree, at the corners of the towns, and eighty rods apart on the lines, with trees marked at intervals to point the way, leading to picturesque measurements, such as "seven rods to a bunch of cherry trees." It was the law that bounds should be perambulated and inspected, and monuments renewed once a year, with penalty of five pounds for failure to do this. Selectmen often were the perambulators, or men were especially appointed.

In cases of dispute between towns they sometimes refused to perambulate. Waterbury in 1748 preferred to pay the fine rather than perambulate with Farmington at a time of controversy between the mother and daughter towns. The Proprietors' Record of Waterbury contains the following entry: "the proprietors by Vote Agreed that the proprietors would be at the Charge of paying the fine for not perambulating with Farmington if they should Site the Town to per Ambulate this Spring and should exact the fine." This particular line however which had been a subject of dispute for several years was perambulated in the spring by three men from each town who "with good agreement renewed each monument."

In 1754 Waterbury voted to commence a suit against Litchfield for not perambulating. Five years later the selectmen of the two towns met and perambulated the line, agreed on placing the monuments, and discharged each other from this service for three years.

In 1793 the Belcher farm figured in a perambulation when Wallingford and Berlin were arranging an exchange of land to rectify the boundary line.

SECTION IV—EARLY WARS

CHAPTER I

MILITARY ORGANIZATION

KING PHILIP'S WAR

On the union with Connecticut management of the militia became one of the functions of the colony Legislature, and the region which had been New Haven colony no longer had complete control of its military organization. Troops were of two kinds, the foot companies or trained bands of the towns for ordinary times, and mounted men and scouts raised by the counties in addition at times of special danger. A trained band, to be entitled to a captain must have sixty-four men, half that number had a lieutenant, and twenty-four men a sergeant. Each trained band had two drummers and two fifiers. As towns grew, other trained bands were formed. Thus in 1705 East Guilford had one, in 1708 the one in the center of the town was divided, and in 1727 one was established in North Guilford. In 1710 there were 197 men in the three companies. In 1699 Milford had two train-bands. Wallingford train-band was divided into two companies, the East and the West, in 1711-12.

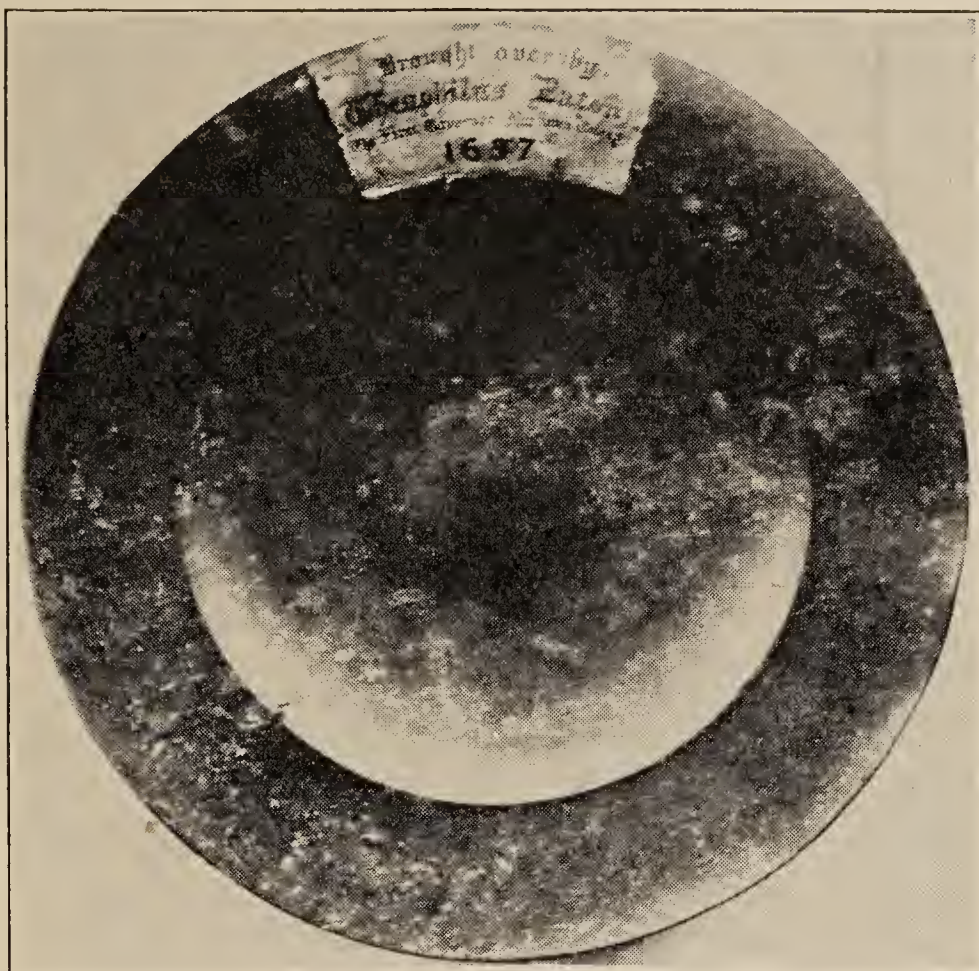
Officers were chosen by the troops themselves, and confirmed by the General Court, which sometimes had also to intervene in a case of disputed election. Just before King Philip's War, the trained bands in each county were combined for general training, the united forces were spoken of as regiments, and the companies of the county town were at the head. The county and the towns both had supplies of ammunition. The system may be shown by its working. This, rather than the history of campaigns and battles, is the aspect of the wars which will be considered.

In July, 1665, the General Court fearing an attack by De Ruyter, because of the war lately declared between England and Holland, ordered a repairing of arms throughout the colony. Each inhabitant liable for duty was to provide and keep arms, four pounds of bullets and one pound of powder, in readiness at all times; and each town was to keep on hand its required amount of ammunition. A year or so later the towns reported,—Branford, Milford and New Haven were "compleat in their ammunition according to order;" Guilford was not complete. Some reported that it was impossible to procure ammunition and their fines were remitted. The soldiers were musketeers and pikemen, a larger number of

the former, and the latter selected for their height. They would need to be tall, for the pikes were fourteen feet long, the wooden part ten feet. Twenty pikes were to be provided for every hundred soldiers, to be bought by the town, and kept in the town stock, if any "refused to maintaine a pike." In King Philip's War some of the soldiers must carry "cutle-axes" and hatchets worn like swords. Half-pikes, belts and pouches, and bandoliers were sometimes provided by the towns and stored until needed. In case of "suddayn exigence" war committees were appointed in each county, and troops of dragoneers were raised. About this time three counties, one of them New Haven, were given liberty to raise a troop of horse.

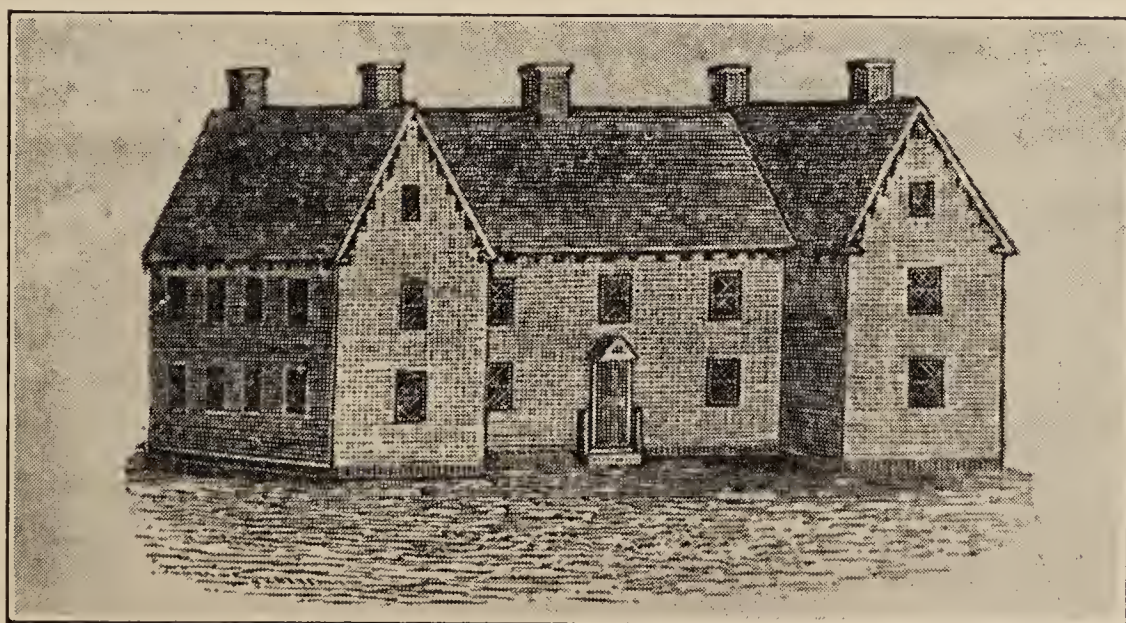
In 1672 another inspection and repair of arms was ordered throughout the colony, and men were appointed in each county to prepare lists of men, forty in each county, suitable and willing to become troopers. County military commanders were temporarily named, and the rule was made that if troops were drawn from one county to another, the officer of the one in which they were acting should be chief in command. It is worth mentioning that the first in command in New Haven County and second in command in the colony was Robert Treat, captain of the Milford train-band, who had lately returned from Newark. In August the colony, still worried by the Dutch, formed a war committee, containing two men from New Haven County, Fowler and Munson. All the forces of the colony, train-bands as well as dragoons, were ordered to be ready for service. The distribution of figures in the counties is interesting. Of the 500 dragoons to be raised, 120 was the quota from New Haven County, 160 from Hartford, 120 from Fairfield, and 100 from New London. They were apportioned among the towns of the county as follows,—New Haven 51, Milford 30, Pawgeset 3, Guilford 19, Branford 9, Wallingford 8. Pawgeset (Paugasett) had no regular military company until 1685, though it was provided with a stock of powder and lead and obeyed directions of the General Court for defense. Wallingford first had a train-band this year. Forces sent out of the county were to be commanded by Capt. Robert Treat, Lieut. Thomas Munson and Ensign Matthew Sherwood.

These men were to be ready upon an hour's warning, each dragoon "prouided with a good sword and belt, and serviceable muskett or kirbine, with a shott powch and powder and bullitts, viz: one pownd of powder made into cartridges fitt for his gunn, and three pownd of bulletts; and a horse to expedite their march." Some of the counties, one of them New Haven, must provide a halfe-picke for each dragoon. In spite of the efforts of the General Court it was found in November that there were still complaints "of intolerable insufficiencie and gross defects in armes and ammunition." A muster-master was therefore appointed for each county, (New Haven not having one at this time), to view the arms of all the train-bands, and report to the major or next chief officer of the county. To insure efficiency, these men were paid, put under oath, and given power to lay fines. The General Court arranged for a meeting



(Courtesy of E. G. Wooster, New Haven)

GOVERNOR THEOPHILUS EATON'S TURKEY PLATTER



GOVERNOR EATON'S HOUSE

Reproduced from Lambert's History of the Colony of
New Haven

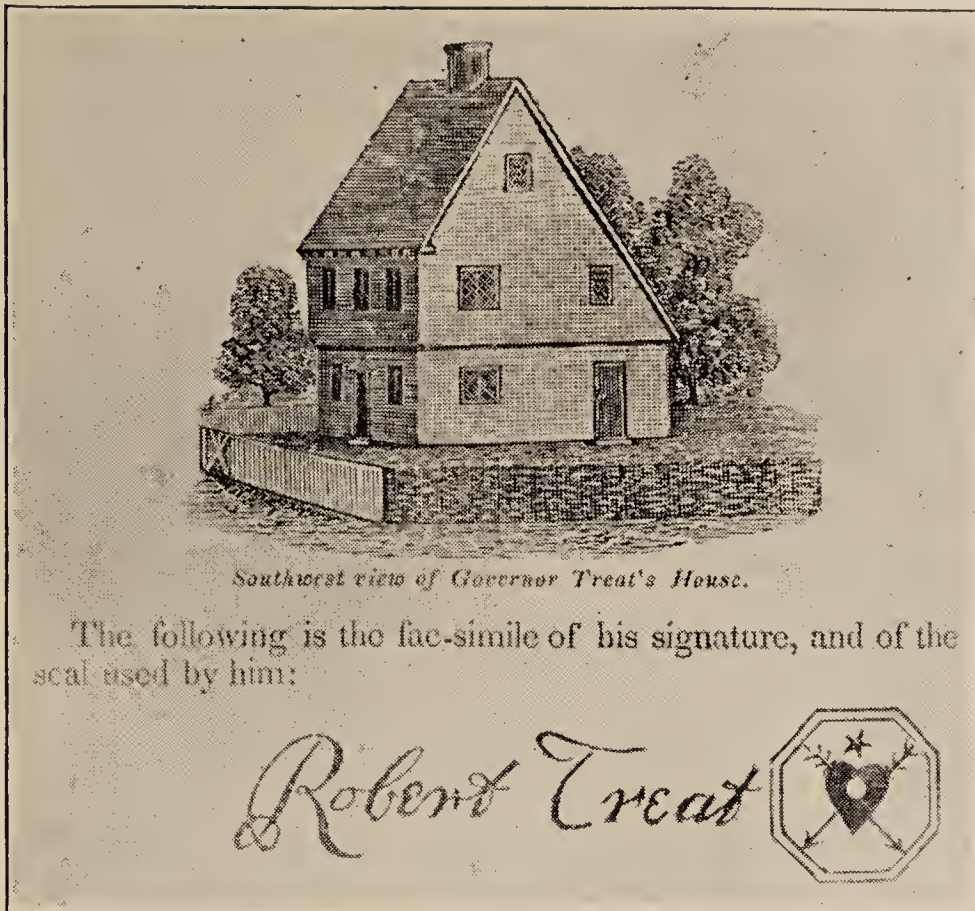
of a war committee, including three men from this county, but soon received word of the conclusion of peace between England and Holland. Its next military regulation was the very mild one of establishing the order in which the general trainings should be held in the counties, first in New Haven, then New London, then Fairfield.

In the summer of 1675 the colony was faced with the outbreak of King Philip's War, in their own words "the trouble of the Indians now risen against the English, spoyleing and destroying of them by fire and sword." War was formally declared by the United Colonies in November. The Connecticut authorities began war-like preparations, raising forces through the officials of the counties. Besides raising an army, with provision, as the war continued, for its replenishment, it was necessary to put the towns in a state of defense, especially the small new plantations in the wilderness towards the north. Supplies had to be gathered for the army, and after the war was over, provision made for the Indians taken as captives.

It is not necessary to describe the course of the war, the burning of settlements, the horror of Bloody Brook, and of the "hungry march," but though the scene of conflict was never here men of this county participated in the war. Major Treat and his Connecticut soldiers relieved Hadley, and went against the Indians in their winter quarters in Rhode Island. Their fort was on a hill in the middle of a swamp, surrounded by palisades, and approachable only during winter frosts. After a terrible engagement, the "Direful Swamp Fight," the English were victorious, the Connecticut troops under Major Treat charging over the logs and rushing into the fort. New Haven lost Capt. Nathaniel Seeley and twenty men. The losses were so great that Major Treat was obliged to return to Connecticut to recruit and get medical attendance for the men.

During this period the colony had trouble with Sir Edmund Andros, who had a commission from the Duke of York as Governor of New York and all the territories in those parts. In carrying out these claims to territory as far as the Connecticut River, an attempt was made to take the fort at Saybrook. The colonists thought Andros was also secretly inciting the Indians against them, and the General Court commanded the people "utterly to refuse to attend, countenance or obey sayd Major Andros," as his orders were against charter rights, ending in the fullness of their emotion with the unusual declaration, "God save the king." The successful resistance to the demands of Andros when he tried to get on shore to read his commission was made by Captain Bull of Hartford, but Guilford was one of the five towns of the colony chosen to send forces to his support.

For the army against the Indians the War Council ordered men to be sent from the counties. These preparations may be described somewhat in detail as showing their methods of making ready for war. The Assistants of each county were to apportion the numbers among the plantations, with instructions to favor the small ones, though the minister of Derby



GOVERNOR TREAT'S HOUSE
Signature and seal reproduced from Lambert's
History of the Colony of New Haven



THE MEMORIAL BRIDGE, MILFORD

complained afterwards that in spite of this order Derby had been called on for more than its share of men. The quota of the county in the first call for men was sixty dragoons, and others were sent at different times, —63 in November, 8 in December for a garrison at Norwich, 33 in the following January, and 78 in May, new ones being pressed by the constables of the towns “vnless the present souldiers som of them may be perswaded to continue in the service.” In the report of 1680 it was stated that “in or late warrs wth the Indians, we found dragoons to be most usefull.”

Besides men, provisions must be supplied. In August, 1675, New Haven County was called on for 1,000 “biskit;” in November for fifty bushels of wheat to be gathered by Mr. Bryant and Lieutenant Fowler, the latter having a name quite familiar in connection with the products of a mill in this region. The next January the county was asked for eighty more bushels of wheat; in February for four barrels of pork and four of beef; “Som stockings, shoes, shirts, and drawers is desired to be prouided and sent,” and in May more wheat and Indian corn and peas were required. Regulations were also made forbidding the export of provisions from the colony, to guard against shortage. Other wants of the army were considered. In January, 1675-6, “The Councill appointed Mr. John Brackett of Wallingford, to goe forthwth to New London, there to take care of and assist in the dressing of the wounded men. * * * The Councill also appoynted Mr. Wise of Brandford, to goe forth minister to or army.”

Dangers at home had to be guarded against, for Indians were everywhere, and well acquainted with the settlements and their means of defense, while outside the towns was wilderness, where small bands of hostile Indians were a constant danger. The General Court, finding it difficult to make a general order, left it with the local authorities,—the assistants and commissioners, to come to some agreement with their own neighboring Indians, to find a way of distinguishing friendly Indians from others. It gave the sensible advice that they be treated amicably and without injustice or severity, and of course ordered that no arms or ammunition should be sold, given or lent to the Indians, disobedience to the order punishable with fine or imprisonment as the county court should determine. Some of the county forces of New Haven were sent to scout and attack any bands of “sculking ennemies” they might find. The action of the town of New Haven is doubtless typical of the way the recommendations of the General Court were carried out. The town ordered “that an account be taken of the Indians; how many men there are and where they are.” An official, with the powers of constable, was appointed to look after them, and they were not allowed to come into the town, where they might see the fortifications that were being made.

The towns took measures to protect themselves from any possible attack, should the Indians of their locality go on the warpath. The colony authorities gave definite orders,—watch at night and ward by day, one

fourth of the men of the towns, between the ages of sixteen and seventy, on guard during the day by turns. Men were to carry arms to meetings, even to public worship. Votes of Wallingford town meeting illustrate how these orders were carried out, "that every man bring his armes & ammunition compleate upon the Saboth day yt he may be able in a fitt posture to do service if need require. * * * That ye select guard serve as sentinells on ye Sabath and ye rest of the town ward 4 men every Sabath and 2 every weeke day & be warned by order from ye Constable by ye watch & called & yt they begin to ward when the watch breaks up and hold on till ye watch be sett again: yt they begin and end at ye dawning and shutting in of ye day: and yt both watch and ward come to ye constable and yt their arms may be viewed if they be according to law: this untill further order, provided notwithstanding ye select guard is not hereby freed from warding on ye weeke days: it is alsoe ordered yt ye drum beat at ye setting and breaking up of ye watch."

Mounted scouts were to watch the woods about the towns and men must not wander there. Work in the fields must go on under arms, in companies of six if half a mile from town. Martial zeal, however, must not go too far, for ammunition could not be wasted by wanton shooting of guns, except by order or to destroy "some wolfe or such ravenous beast."

The chief military officer in each town was to appoint the various positions in preparing for its defense. Either he or some one appointed by him in each town should train the men, even youths under sixteen, in the use of arms and "in such necessary motions, postures and actions as may be requisite to fit them for such service as the condition of the country and the proceedings of the enemy may call for." Those persons who were allowed to wear gold lace and other "trimmings" were now called upon for extra supplies. Every one listed at £150 must have one good and serviceable gun, that is a "musket, culliver, or curbine" for the use of the country, besides those already required. Persons listed at £250 must have two guns, "and so for euery hundred pownds estate more added to his list, he shall prouide a gunn for the country's use."

Each town was to appoint committees to prepare its fortifications, with power to impress men and teams for the work if necessary. Towns that could do so, such as New Haven, were ordered "to compleat and lyne their stockadoes and flankers with a ditch and breast worke, that persons may securely haue recourse to them to annoy and withstand enemies, and all men's courage more animated and emboldened to do their dutys." The meeting-house in New Haven was fortified with flankers, palisades and a watch tower on top and the great guns were prepared for service, and placed at the seaside, to be fired in case of alarm. Fortifications, or flankers, were built at the end of each street as shelters, and at the four angles of the town plot. Some of the houses were fortified with palisades, one of these was on the site of the Taft Hotel. One man's house had a sentry box on the roof, and he complained that "The sentinells, in

their rounds, had done great damage to the shingles, and he looked to the towne for compensation." A line of fortifications was ultimately made around the town, and no Indian corn was allowed to be planted within two rods of this stockade. The palisades were made of wooden posts twelve inches square, set close together, five feet below the ground and ten feet above, pointed at the top. These posts were set in several rows, the space between filled with earth from the ditch dug outside. Soldiers could march on top, and there was perhaps a platform lower down on the inside with loop holes for sentinels. Materials in the fortifications were later sold for six pence a rod. Brush was cut down within a half mile of the town that it "might not afford shelter to the Indians to creep in a skulking manner near the town."

Smaller towns had a less ambitious program. Wallingford fortified two houses, Mr. Samuel Street's and Lieutenant Merriman's, and the latter's barn had two flankers. Garrisons were kept at both places. Later the town "consented to be at ye charge of fortifying one house at ye lower end of ye towne where Serg Doolittle liveth." The clearing of land outside the settlement was done under direction. "It was ordered yt ye day workers for ye cutting of Brush be performed ye next Monday and Tuesday being ye 27th & 28th instants & ye Drum to beat in ye morning & ye persons to work meet at Eleazur Peck's house & so distribute 4 parts to work at ye view part of ye town & ye other 3 persons towards ye lower end of ye town & that is about ye South."

In March, 1676, Guilford voted two garrisons, all men over fourteen years of age to work on the fortifications, under the direction of two men chosen for the purpose. The stone house built by Mr. Whitfield had been designed to answer as a fort. Milford was reported to have got into some difference over their fortifications, as well as over the Indians, whom they wished to treat as enemies. Two captains were sent down to try to straighten out the trouble. The condition of the smaller new settlements was a different matter. During the war Derby asked advice of the General Court as to measures for its safety. The Court advised them to remove their best goods, as much of their corn as they could, and go with their wives and children to some "place of more hopeful security," some bigger town which could be better defended. Those who stayed behind were to harvest the corn if possible. This same advice was made a recommendation to "all out livers and weak places." Some of the families of Derby removed to Milford temporarily, among them the minister, Mr. Bowers, but a few remained, perhaps fortifying their houses. One house had been described in 1661 as fortified. Wallingford also asked advice, and was told to attend to garrison houses, watch and ward. Two of the assistants of New Haven were sent to help in settling their affairs for the best good. As to the farmers near New Haven a town meeting of 1675 passed the following vote. "And it was advised that those who live abroad at the farms be careful not to straggle abroad into the woods, at least not yet, till we have further intelligence of the



(Courtesy of the New Haven Colony Historical Society)

FORTIFIED HOUSE OF EARLIEST COLONIAL PERIOD
On the Post Road near Guilford. Now torn down



OLDEST HOUSE IN BRANFORD

Originally a fort, built in 1666. Made into a house by a Mr. Plumb. Daniel Averill owner during the Revolutionary war. Has been in the Averill family for one hundred and fifteen years

Indians motions, and that they keep watch in the night to discover danger, and upon intelligence of danger to get together to stand for their defence at the farms or else to come to the town."

The "woefull experiance" of the war,—the loss of life and damage to property in the single and scattering settlements, as well as the fact that people living in isolation "are endangered to degenerate to heathenish ignorance and barbarisme," led the Court after the war to order that for the future plantations must be made differently. People must settle in such nearness that they could help each other in time of danger, and for the first years be under the direction of a committee from the General Court. How this was done has been seen in the case of Waterbury.

Other questions arose for settlement as a result of the war. An immediate problem was the disposition of Indians who surrendered. If not proved "murderers," their lives were spared, but they were sold as slaves, not however to go out of the country. Those under sixteen were to serve until they were twenty-six, those over sixteen for ten years. A division was made to each county in proportion, there to be divided again among the towns in like proportion. One man from each county was appointed to manage the distribution, Captain Mansfield acting for this county. These men, with the advice of the magistrates, offered the Indians for sale to persons they thought "most meete to educate them and well nourish them, at such price as they shall judge equall," each assistant and each committee man keeping one for himself "freely." Prisoners of war were otherwise disposed of, some kept by the captors, some given to "friend Indians," perhaps some sold into slavery out of the country.

The story of an Indian named Toby is not the story of one of the slaves acquired in this particular way, but is no doubt typical of the more fortunate Indian captives. In 1676 Ebenezer Johnson of Derby was sent with a squad of soldiers against the Indians in the eastern part of the colony. The conflict lasted until night, and the men slept on the field. All the Indians were killed, but in the morning Johnson saw a little Indian boy looking at him in a pitiful manner, and took him home. In 1713 this Indian, named Tobie, or Toby, applied to the Legislature for a patent for some land. The town of Derby opposed this petition. Perhaps it was in the course of this affair that Captain Johnson gave him the certificate which states that Toby had lived with him for twelve years and had been set free. Toby in his will (1734) left his land to three men, two of whom were sons of Captain Johnson. It is interesting, in view of the coats, spoons, etc., of earlier land transactions, to learn, in this reversal of situations in 1693, that Toby paid for this land with ten pounds and a barrel of cider.

Soldiers who served in King Philip's War were given land as a reward. Two hundred acres of land in New Haven in the third division were divided among them according to the terms of their service. Guilford granted each of her soldiers ten acres of land in the third division. In 1684-5 the town of Wallingford "showing their respect to those that

were employed in the country's service in the war do grant unto Lieut. Merriman 10 acres and to the brothers of Nathaniel Merriman that was slain at the fort fight 10 acres: as to the rest of them 5 acres apiece which they are to take up together in some place viewed by the townsmen that may not be prejudicial to the town, highways and other grants excepted." Seven men were thus given land, and the will of another mentions land received from the colony grant.

The necessity for military preparedness and activity did not end with the close of King Philip's War. That conflict was followed by Indian alarms, and by four inter-colonial wars, which with short intervals of peace brought the colony nearly to the time of the Revolution. King Philip's War left behind it a state of excitement and anxiety. In 1681 New Haven was stirred by word brought by Major Robert Treat "of a great body of Indians gathered up ye Hudson. He feared that the blazing starr in the winter, and reports of Guns and Drums heard by some, and ye Earthquake forewarned some great judgement or other change neare." Nothing seems to have been done beyond referring the matter to a committee, for it was shown to be a false alarm. Nevertheless, so long as Canada was held by the French, the English colonies felt in danger from their Indian allies, who might be stirred up by the enemy to come down upon them.

Military organization was kept up in time of peace. The General Court particularly recommended the small plantations to procure one or two "great artillery" at the town's cost and for the town's use. Training days were held, and on these days officers were chosen by the military companies, to be confirmed later by the General Court. A disputed election showed the control of the colony over the local militia. In 1691 Wallingford had trouble over choice of new officers for the train-band, with a small majority and great dissatisfaction. The General Court refused the necessary confirmation of the choice, and ordered the old officers to serve until further notice. Wallingford continuing to "sit uneasy * * * since their looking towards military officers," a committee of the General Court was appointed to hear the controversy. The result was the order for a special meeting of the train-band to make a new "orderly choyse." Other cases might be given.

When the train-bands of all the towns in the county gathered for general training, the companies belonging to the county town took precedence. According to the report sent to England in 1680 there were in New Haven county 623 trained soldiers, and a major who commanded the militia. These foot soldiers were armed with musket and pike. Each county was reported also as planning to raise a troop of about forty "horss," the horsemen to be armed with pistols and carbines. About this time the General Court made additions to the law "title Suddain Exigents," explaining the duties of the Major of the county militia. These were to see that the towns had their legal supply of arms and ammunition; that the county had its stock of ammunition; to require

military watch in each town as needed. To carry out these duties he was given "full power in the county where he lives, to direct, order, regulate and improve the militia in such county as he shall see cause for the defence of the County and to quitt the enemy." He was obliged to take oath, and to report from time to time to the Governor, Council or General Court. Capt. John Nash was appointed sergeant major of New Haven County in 1683; Captain Moses Mansfield in 1694 and 1697; and 1704 Ebenezer Johnson. The first lieutenant-colonel for the county was Robert Treat, given a commission in 1687 by Sir Edmund Andros as colonel of the militia within the county of New Haven, and captain of a troop of horse or dragoons to be raised in New Haven town.

CHAPTER II

INTER-COLONIAL WARS

From 1689 to 1713 England and France were engaged in war, with an interval of four years (1698-1702), conflicts which continually involved their respective colonies in hostilities. In these, as in King Philip's War, the territory of Connecticut was not invaded or devastated. Her share was either to come to the defense of her neighbors, New York and Massachusetts, or to take part in the offensive campaigns for the reduction of the colonies of the rivals of the mother country. Connecticut engaged in these activities with alacrity and willingness, spending much money, and sending far more than her share of men for reasons connected with the preservation of her independent position. The recent disappearance of the charter, and restoration of charter government, were followed soon by a refusal of demands to give up the control of her soldiers, and it behooved her to be politic in her actions.

At the beginning of the next war, England tried to take measures to secure some coöperation among the colonial forces. With this in view, Governor Fletcher of New York and Governor Phips of Massachusetts were authorized to take over the command of the militia of Connecticut. Governor Phips did not try to enforce this part of his commission, and it was soon withdrawn, but Governor Fletcher made a serious attempt in October, 1693. The Connecticut authorities refused to give over the command, citing their charter rights, until they should receive orders from England definitely setting aside the charter. It is to be noticed that Connecticut at different times has always taken a similar stand. They were, however, willing to act with the other colonies, and immediately offered £600 for the garrison at Albany, or the services of fifty men there for several months. Governor Fletcher tried to get his way by strategem, offering Robert Treat a commission, but he would not accept it. Appeals to England, carried by Fitz John Winthrop, as agent, resulted in compromise,—Connecticut to keep the command of her militia, but to furnish 120 men to serve under Fletcher during the war. Thus in 1697 New Haven was called on to furnish its quota of the 120 men to assist Governor Fletcher against an anticipated attack from the French. The force was organized in two companies, the New Haven men in the one commanded by Capt. Ebenezer Johnson of Derby. Governor Dudley of Massachusetts and Governor Cornbury of New York later tried to get some control of the Connecticut militia.

King William's War, 1689-1697

With the outbreak of hostilities in 1689 the colony put itself in a "posture of war." This meant formation of a council to act in the intervals between meetings of the General Assembly, and greater care in the customary military regulations. The requirement that all males over sixteen years of age must serve in the military watch or provide a substitute if absent at sea or otherwise, was made to include old men, and widows with estates of fifty pounds. Every seventh man in each town, except the frontier towns, (Derby and Waterbury so considered in this county), was to be listed by the commission officers, to be used if necessary in a flying army of dragoons. Their officers in New Haven county were John Miles, captain, Silvanus Baldwin, lieutenant, and Steven Bradley, ensign, the towns to provide ten pounds of "good biskit" for each dragoon. These men were soon disbanded and returned to their former foot companies.

The various towns took measures to guard themselves against possible attacks of Indians, for though the war was not in Connecticut territory there was fear that the local Indians would treacherously direct hostile Indians against the English, or at least not oppose their advance. New Haven renewed military watch; ordered the soldiers to carry their arms to meeting on Sunday; directed mounted scouts to go out each day; and appointed a committee to see that certain houses were fortified. Wallingford built a fort around the meeting-house, and Guilford fortified Mr. Eliot's house. Waterbury "voted to fortify Ens. Stanley's house and if it should proue troublesome times and ye town see that they have need, two more should they be able. Att ye same meeting ye town agreed by uoate for ye building ye fort about ensign Standly's hous that the town go about it forthwith, al men and boys and teams yt are able to work and to begin tomorrow, and he yt shall neglect to go on with the worck till it be dun shall forthwith pay to the aduantage of ye worck 2s 6d for a man and 6s for a team a day." Fortifications were made by building a log wall all around the house, a short distance away, ten or twelve feet high, with openings for discharging muskets.

Connecticut's own frontiers were kept in a state of continual fear. In New Haven county, Derby was growing out of the condition of a frontier settlement, but Waterbury was still in an exposed position, with no habited place to the north, and distant from the protection of the older towns. The town was small, with not quite forty men to defend it, and described itself as living "remotely in a corner of the wilderness." Two men were employed as scouts, a duty fulfilled by the citizens in turn. It was on the line of march between Hartford and Albany, and was called on frequently to furnish entertainment for the troops on their way to the assistance of Albany. Mr. Peck, the minister, in asking help from the General Court in building the meeting-house said that Waterbury had "far more trouble than other towns in the Colony by the soldiers passing to and fro, and their often entertainments with us."

To furnish the necessary supplies for the first military expedition the selectmen of the towns and the assistants were recommended "to moue their inhabitants to lend the Colony what prouissions or grayn or other estate they can afford for the carying on of those affayres, upon the pub. fayth of the Colony to be repayd again in ten months." Later the General Court ordered, because of "feares of suddain surprizalls of the enemie which may occasion suddain marches of the souldery to repell the enemies of their maties and a prouission of biskit to that end is necessary", that fifty bushels of good winter wheat be impressed in each county to be made into biskit as soon as possible and kept in a convenient place.

A commissary was soon appointed for each county, Mr. John Winston for this county, reappointed in 1692, and arrangements were made for a stock of ammunition to be sent to the county towns, to be divided among the towns in proportion. It was a law that each town should have a barrel of good powder, 200 weight of bullets and 300 flints for every 60 listed soldiers, and after that in proportion. Thus Waterbury voted in 1703 that "ye town desired ye townsmen to prouid a town stock of aminition according to law as soon as they can conueniently and if need be to caus a rate to be mad for to purchis sd stock."

The object of the French was to drive the English from the middle and northern colonies, and of the English to dislodge the French from Canada. Special places of conflict were Lake Champlain for the English offensive, and defence of the region around Albany. Connecticut repeatedly sent men, and again the counties were called on. In October, 1689, a force was sent to Albany, New Haven County's share fifteen men and a lieutenant, proportioned among the towns as follows,—New Haven six, Milford four, Guilford three, Branford two, and Wallingford one. It is interesting to notice that in 1692 Guilford's town supply of arms consisted of three swords and one musket. In the spring, because of the "necessity of utmost endeauors to prevent the French of attacquing or setling at Albany," two foot companies were sent, made up of sixty-four English and forty Indians. One of these companies was from the counties of Fairfield and New Haven, with Ebenezer Johnson of Derby as captain, a man who had great influence with the Indians. He was to "beat up the drum for volunteers" and press men if necessary. Many such companies were sent to this region, and at times all the train-bands were also to be "compleat in their armes well fixed and fitted for service," and half of them ready to march on alarm. Men were also sent to help guard the frontiers of Massachusetts.

For the offensive, in 1689 two commissioners were appointed to meet those from the other colonies to consult about the war, Mr. James Bishop of New Haven being one of them. They planned an expedition through the wilderness against Montreal, which was begun, but not carried out. Connecticut, according to plans, sent men to the rendezvous at Lake Champlain but found that few Indians had arrived, and no canoes or suitable provisions for transportation of the troops had been agreed on.

Sickness attacked the men, and there was nothing to do but retreat to Albany. The commander of the Connecticut forces, Fitz John Winthrop, was arrested by the New York authorities. He was later vindicated, given £40 and further employed in public service.

In this war Connecticut lost few men, but it is estimated that she spent £12,000. Some payments in money were made after the war to ex-soldiers who had been sick or wounded. The case of Ensign Joshua Hotchkiss is interesting, as it was finally worked around to something like a pension. He was wounded in the right arm, and at first was given a definite sum, £5 and release from payment of rates for the year (1698). Continued weakness in the arm caused the General Court to give him another £5 six months later. Finding his arm still "disenabled from his labour and not likely to obtain a cure," he asked (1699) for a reasonable annuity and was given £4 for the present year, and himself and estate to be left out of the lists for the future. The next year the General Court gave him £3 for the year, and two years later finally granted his request for an annual allowance by giving him twenty shillings a year and the remission of his country rates for life.

Queen Anne's War, 1702-1713

"Warre being daily expected" by the General Assembly in 1702, soon broke out between England, France and Spain, and of course involved their colonies. Connecticut took the familiar measures of defence,—scouts, forts and garrisons, provisions for assembling supplies of food and ammunition; adding to the equipment dogs, snow shoes and Indian shoes, besides the usual powder, knapsacks, belts, hatchets and "biskit." A council of war was formed, and given power to impress soldiers, and send them away, though the number was restricted at first to sixty except in case of actual invasion. Connecticut forces were sent out as before on expeditions to Canada, and to the help of Massachusetts and New York in guarding the western frontier, and, as before, her territory was not invaded.

Though the measures were similar, certain points are of particular interest. During the course of the war Connecticut became unable to continue to raise enough money by taxation to pay the expenses of the various campaigns, and for the first time was obliged to issue bills of credit. She also declined to join Massachusetts in an expedition against Nova Scotia, on the ground (among others) that "They have not been of council in nor had opportunities of consent unto the said expedition." In 1704 a War Council was established, consisting of the governor, deputy governor, and one assistant from each county; and committees of safety to look out for the particular defence of the county frontiers. The one in this county consisted of seven men,—the deputy governor, Robert Treat, Mr. John Alling, Maj. Ebenezer Johnson, Mr. Jeremiah Osborn, Mr. Thomas Clerk, Capt. Nathan Andrews and Capt. Samuel Eels, any three of them to act. Mr. Ebenezer Johnson, appointed sergt.-major of the county, retired 1709 in consideration of his age and long service, was succeeded

by Capt. Samuel Eels of Milford. Mr. John Winston was commissary. General orders were given for the fortification of towns, the details left to the towns themselves, or in case of their refusal to do anything, their civil and military officers should take such action as seemed best. Another duty of the local authorities was to keep over sight of the "friend Indians." Any Indians who were fit for war and wished to go were to be allowed to do so as they would be very serviceable in ranging the woods, and finding the enemy, though with some restriction as to numbers. It is interesting to note, in view of measures passed against "Indianizing," that for their encouragement all persons in the forces were to be given £5 for every scalp. A letter from Fort Edward in one of the later Indian wars of the period (1755), written by a soldier to his "honoured Father and Mother," said "Captain Rogers of New Hampshire came in from a Scout with a frenchman's Scalp 2 or 3 Days ago which was taken in Sight of Crown Point."

Perhaps fearing that people would recall the directions given at the time of King Philip's War, to abandon the frontier towns and act accordingly, the General Assembly issued special orders that such towns were not to be deserted without application to the Assembly and permission given to leave. This regulation applied also to all male inhabitants over sixteen years of age. Individuals who left were to forfeit their estates. The eight frontier towns received special attention in provision for their defence. A garrison of ten men was put in each of them, and the men to be raised in 1704 from these towns were to remain there until drawn off to repel the common enemy. One of these frontier towns, Waterbury, received extra help. In consideration of their great losses in recent floods, the charges of fortification of the three houses required, were allowed them out of their country rate, £15 being given them for this a few months later.

Waterbury did her part. "June ye 23-1707 ye town by uoate considering our troubles and feere of an enemies do agree to lay a sid cutting busshis which was warned for this day till after micalmast, and this day to go about finishing and rapayring ye forts, and to finish them by wensday at night." In 1708 there were three forts in Waterbury, two built by the colony and one by the town, located in such a way as to be easily reached by the scattered population. In 1710 the General Assembly appointed certain men "upon consideration of the remoteness of the town of Waterbury in the county of Hartford from their county town and the committee of war appointed thereby, * * * in case of danger or the approach of the enemy, to raise and send men thither from the county of Newhaven, for their relief, by scouting or lying in garrison there as occasion may require." Before the next war Waterbury had been transferred at her own request to the county of New Haven.

In 1710 a man was killed in the south part of the present town of Plymouth, and the only capture by hostile Indians in this region, that of

Jonathan Scott, occurred near Waterbury. While he was eating his dinner in the fields, with his two little boys (14 and 11) near-by, Indians approached stealthily and captured him. Making him believe that he would be killed unless he recalled the boys who had run away, he did so, and all three were taken to Canada. In order to prevent successful resistance, the Indians cut off his right thumb, and for further precaution against escape, bound him at night by poles laid across his body, on the ends of which the Indians slept. After peace was declared the father and eldest son returned. While he was away his wife, Hannah Scott, received some help from the colony, her country rate being remitted in 1710 and 1711. On his return Scott asked for relief and was given release from his country rate and £10 from the treasury. Hannah Scott had been in a tragic situation, left with a girl of nine, and three younger boys. Her mother, brother and wife and three children were killed at Deerfield, and her only sister, made captive, died on the way to Canada.

This war, like the preceding one, was marked by attempts against the independence of Connecticut. Governor Dudley of Massachusetts, who had been on the council of Andros, and Governor Cornbury of New York tried to influence the authorities of England to take away the charter. Complaints were made against Connecticut, such as encouragement of piracy, and harboring fugitives from justice. Fortunately the colony and her agent in London, Sir Henry Ashurst, were able to bring proofs of the falsity of these charges, even including a letter from Governor Dudley praising her zeal in carrying out preparations for war.

Besides defending her own frontiers and sending men almost constantly to Massachusetts and New York, Connecticut participated in three expeditions against Canada. In 1709 her part was to help in the reduction of Montreal. Great preparations of all kinds were made. Three hundred and fifty men were to go from the colony, with a chaplain, physician and surgeons; Mr. Durand of Derby was one of the latter. The proportion of men to be raised among the towns was as follows,—New Haven, seventeen; Milford, fourteen; Guilford, thirteen; Wallingford, twelve; Waterbury, four; East Haven, five; Branford, nine; Derby, four; Durham, two; eighty in all. The rendezvous was at Wood Creek near Lake Champlain, but the English forces never came. The "sorrowful circumstances" were increased by sickness in the troops, and the expedition was abandoned, a failure, as costly in men and money as if there had been actual combat.

Officials of the counties were called on to help in settling the accounts. Every person who had done any public war service was to send in his account to some assistant, justice of the peace, or commission officer before a certain date. These men were to look over the accounts, check and send them to the judge of the county court. The sheriffs of the counties and constables of the towns were to make lists of things



GURDON SALTONSTALL
Governor of Connecticut
Colony 1708-1725



(Courtesy of The Milford News)

OLD BRIDGE OVER THE WEPAWAUG RIVER
Predecessor of the Memorial Bridge

impressed for war and also send them to the judge of the County Court. Captains of military companies were to do the same. A committee appointed by the General Assembly was to receive all these accounts from the judges of the county courts, examine and pay them, the committee to be under oath and paid for the work.

Attacks on the French colonies were renewed, and in 1710 Port Royal was an easy conquest. Rev. Samuel Whittelsey was chaplain of the forces and he was requested to act as such the next year in the expedition against Montreal. It is interesting that in settling the problem of transportation, advice and assistance was asked of the Captain Belcher of Boston, who owned the Manor of Meriden. In 1711 the rendezvous for the colony forces against the French was in New Haven, and the march was started, only to be given up when the coöperating English fleet was wrecked. Accounts sundry inhabitants of New Haven rendered for billeting and victualling the soldiers, pasturing and keeping cattle and horses, and other services, must have helped mitigate the "sore disappointment and frustration of the expedition." These accounts amounted to £189 12s 6d. Another local condition, which was to be repeated in the Revolution, was "the hazard of the coast and coasters by reason of the French privateers."

The historian Trumbull said that after the pacification with France in 1713, the Indians buried the hatchet, and peace, with her olive branch, once more gladdened the colonies. The period of peace between England and France lasted about thirty years, but the colonies were frequently in trouble with the Indians. In 1722 Connecticut sent troops to the Massachusetts frontier, in 1724 there was brief trouble in Waterbury, and in 1725 men were sent from the shore towns, including Branford, Guilford, and Wallingford to protect the frontier town of Litchfield. In the next war that town, and not Waterbury, was on the frontier.

In 1739 all the military companies were formed into regiments: Branford, New Haven, Guilford, Milford and Derby in the Second Regiment; Waterbury, Wallingford and Durham in the Tenth. There had been steps in this direction before, described for the colony as follows in Burpee's "Military History of Waterbury." In 1689 the office of lieutenant-colonel was created, of equal rank to that of sergeant-major, and subject to the call of a committee of safety appointed for each county. "In 1697 where companies were near enough together to form a general organization called a regiment, sergeant-majors were made majors, with power to call together commissioned officers once a year to discuss the management of the militia. In 1702 it was decreed that several companies in each town should be counted as one post on general muster. One more step toward general consolidation of the colony's forces had been taken in 1708 when the governor was made regularly the commander-in-chief.

* * * In 1722, the regimental offices of colonel and lieutenant-colonel were established, though there were still no regiments as such. * * *

The management of so many train-bands even when brought together

by counties had become so difficult that at the October session in 1739 the General Assembly decided to establish regiments and the number was fixed at thirteen. The militia numbered 3,480, divided into forty-seven companies. * * * The colonel was to exercise the power previously granted to the major of each county and the governor should be captain-general. * * * To further facilitate the handling of the militia the office of brigadier-major was established in 1759."

King George's War, 1739-1748

War broke out again in America because of conflict in Europe between England and Spain, in which France joined later. There were two main campaigns in which Connecticut forces took part, the expedition against the Spanish colonies in the West Indies, and that against the French at Louisburg. Two hundred Connecticut men went at the beginning of the war in the colony sloop *Defence*, to join the English forces in the West Indies, but with little success to their arms in comparison to the fearful ravages suffered from yellow fever. Only one-tenth of the Connecticut men returned home.

The New England colonies were especially interested in the strong fortress of Louisburg, at the entrance to the Gulf of St. Lawrence, a place from which privateers and men-of-war issued to prey on colonial fishing and trading, capturing vessels and returning to Louisburg. The expedition against this place in 1745 originated with the New England colonies and was carried out by them with help from England at the last minute. The Connecticut sloop *Defence* was again in service, bringing 500 men from the colony, and another ship, the *Hector*, must have been, from its name, of particular interest to the men from New Haven. The "Gibraltar of North America" capitulated after a siege of forty-nine days, a terrible blow to French power in this continent. David Wooster, grandson of Edward Wooster, the wolf-hunter of Derby's early days, took part of the prisoners to France for exchange, and then went to England, where he was given a captain's commission.

It was proposed the next year to advance against Quebec, while another force went from Albany against Montreal. Connecticut sent 1,000 men, offering a bounty of £30, but the English force did not arrive, and the expedition was given up. Though the treaty of peace gave Louisburg back to France, the English were beginning to have the idea of conquering Canada, while the French were equally determined to gain the territory west of the Alleghanies.

It is difficult to tell much in detail of the service of men from this county, for many muster rolls are lost. Waterbury men served at Havana, and at least in the garrison left at Louisburg after its capture. Colonel Andrew Ward was at Louisburg with a company from Guilford, and the names are preserved of nine Wallingford men who died there. Familiar names are found among the New Haven men,—David Wooster and Nathan Whiting.

The Old French War, 1756-1763

The mother country entered the fourth colonial war in person, with the plan of sending a commander-in-chief and regular troops from England. The first leaders were incompetent, one of them, Abercrombie, derisively called Mrs. Nabbycrombie by the colonials. England also paid for her supplies, for which there was a constant demand, contracts with the British commissary amounting to £4,000 in Connecticut. The ready money gave great impetus to trade after the cession of Canada, and incidentally accumulated wealth which helped at the time of the Revolution. Another result of these wars was that men became acquainted with the Berkshires and the country to the north, and a movement of population began in that direction. Forty Connecticut names in Vermont tell the story, the following from towns in this county,—New Haven, Fair Haven, Guilford, Waterbury, Wolcott, Woodbury, Derby and Orange.

War was formally declared in 1756, but in 1755 expeditions were planned against Fort Duquesne, against Niagara, and against Crown Point, the latter the one in which Connecticut forces participated. This region which figured so constantly in the colonial wars, was one of great importance, as indicated by the Indian name of Lake Champlain, "the lake that is the gate of the country." A narrow channel at Ticonderoga connects it with Lake George, described thus in a letter of Colonel Whiting to his wife, "Ticonderoga of the Narrows where this Lake falls into the waters that come from Wood Creek." The channel was commanded by a fortress at Crown Point, situated on a bluff on a peninsula.

The expedition of 1755 was planned by the colonies of Connecticut, Massachusetts, New York, and New Hampshire. William Johnson of New York, the Indian agent, was put in command of the army against Crown Point, partly because of his great influence with the Indians, who were to join the expedition in force. The second in command was Phineas Lyman, colonel of the Third Connecticut Regiment, who had many connections with New Haven County. Born in Durham, (then in the county), he was graduated from Yale in 1738, was Tutor for a time, and married an aunt of Timothy Dwight, afterwards president of Yale. Another officer under Johnson was Nathan Whiting of New Haven, Yale, 1743. He had been in the expeditions to Louisburg in 1745 and 1747, and had so distinguished himself that he was promoted to the rank of captain in the British Army. He was in business in New Haven when this war broke out, but accepted a commission from the colony as lieutenant-colonel, with command of the Second Regiment raised for the movement on Crown Point. General Ward of Guilford, who had served in the preceding war, was one of the lieutenant-colonels, Joseph Wooster was a major, and Samuel Ely of Durham one of the three physicians. Dr. Leverett Hubbard of New Haven, who had been on the Louisburg expedition in the previous war, went as head of a company of volunteers. The regiment was made up of both volunteers and men drafted from the militia. It assembled in New Haven and before its departure marched into the meeting-house and



THE BLACK HOUSE, GUILFORD

Painted black in 1793, when the owner, Nicolas Loysel, a Frenchman, learned of the beheading of Louis XVI of France. Never repainted until recently



THE ACADIAN HOUSE, GUILFORD

Here several Acadian peasants from Grand Pré, Nova Scotia, were sheltered by the town, having been put ashore from British ships in 1755. Built about 1670

heard a sermon by Rev. Isaac Stiles of North Haven on "The Character and Duty of Souldiers."

The army went first to Albany, then to the "Great Carrying Place," where a fortified store house was built, Fort Lyman, later called Fort Edward in honor of the Duke of York. Six weeks were spent in this part of the expedition. An advance of fourteen miles, cutting a road through the forest, brought them to Lake George. Here they placed their supplies in an unfortified camp on the shore and began to build Fort William Henry. Meanwhile news was brought that the enemy was advancing to Fort Edward, and Johnson sent back 1,200 men, Provincials and Indians, to reinforce the garrison, with Lieutenant-Colonel Whiting as one of the commanders. The French leader, Dieskau, wished to attack this fort, but changed his plan because of further information and the wish of his army, to an advance on the unfortified camp on the lake instead. The two armies therefore met on the road through the woods between the two places.

The French, realizing the state of affairs first, put the Canadians and Indians in front, in a concealed position, on the sides of the ravine, and the rest of the army on the main road, forming a cul-de-sac about a half-mile long in the shape of a horseshoe. The Americans, taken by surprise, were thrown into confusion and panic under the deadly fire from the hidden forces. The Indian leader and the American officer in command were both killed, but Colonel Whiting took command, was able to bring the troops, most of them inexperienced, to order, and make a retreat whose skill was admired by Dieskau. He caused enough delay to give Johnson, who had heard the noise of the battle, time to make some rude fortifications at the camp. The fight there when the enemy came up was conducted by General Lyman, as Johnson was soon wounded. The enemy was driven off in a fierce conflict, "thunder and lightning and pillars of smoke." Johnson, however, not only forbade following up the enemy, but misrepresented the affair, and never gave credit to the Connecticut men, Lyman and Whiting. He himself was knighted and given £5,000 by Parliament. The General Assembly of Connecticut next year made Whiting colonel, and he served during the rest of the war. Lyman also served further in the war, but his life ended in wretchedness. This was the only English success of the year, and as it was not followed up did not save the expedition from failure. The strong fort finished on the site was called Fort William Henry, but the French were established at Ticonderoga, a stronger position, and nearer the English settlements.

A journal of the time, kept by Hannah Heaton of North Haven, shows the war from the side of those who stayed at home. "Now it being in September, 1755, * * * one Saturday night about midnight I was waked out of my sleep by a 'larum of war.' One rid by and cried, 'Wake, Wake, Wake.' The drum was beating, guns was shooting, the bell a ringing (probably referring to New Haven). Now my first thought was that the French and Indians was at my door coming to kill me, for our New

England Army was gone to Crown Point, and we was fearing day by day how it would be with them. My husband went out and brought the news; it was supposed all our army was cut off and more men must go. Now we had certain news from our camp there had been a fight at Crown Point, and some of our men was killed and O, how terrified everybody was with fear that New England was going to be destroyed."

During this war there was an unsuccessful movement against Louisburg in one direction, and against Havana in another, and Montcalm took Fort William Henry; but later abler commanders came, Wolfe, who captured Quebec, and Amherst to whom Louisburg and Montreal surrendered. Canada was conquered for the English. This freed the colonists from fears of attacks from an enemy from the north. Men from New Haven county served in these various campaigns and "alarms," and perhaps their experiences may best be illustrated by one or two individual cases. In the Fort William Henry alarm of 1757 soldiers were sent in haste from Waterbury among other towns. When the fort was besieged by Montcalm, an English general, Webb, at Fort Edward, fourteen miles away, instead of help sent a letter by one of these Waterbury men to the colonel in command advising surrender. After the surrender of the fort the man, Israel Calkins, was taken by the Indians to Canada, redeemed by a French gentleman, sent to France as a prisoner of war, and then to England to be exchanged. He got back to the colonies in the summer of 1758, only to find his property gone, and himself and family in great destitution. Appeals to the General Assembly for help brought him a grant of £30.

Other armies were sent to Crown Point, Ticonderoga and that region, in the succeeding years. Peter Wooster of Derby stated in a memorial to the Assembly that he "being an ensign in Colonel Whiting's regiment at Wood Creek, on the 8th of August (1758) had six musket balls shot through him; his left elbow, wrist and hand broken to pieces by the blows of a hatchet, till he was killed, as the enemy supposed—on which they scalped him, and stripped him, and left him on the ground; that being taken up by his friends, he has recovered a considerable degree of health; but that his arms are so disabled as to prevent his working." The General Assembly could not do otherwise than grant him £40. It was about this time that Madam Clap of New Haven wrote to her son-in-law, Colonel Whiting, "I am sincerely afflicted at the sore and fatall disappointment and Loss our army has sustained in the Late strange and unfortunate engagement. Our affairs Look with a most gloomie terrible appearance." The service of Lieut. John Griffin of Derby is no doubt typical of many. He spent his summers in the army, returning home during the winter, for three campaigns, serving at last under Wolfe at Quebec.

In the winters of 1757 and 1758 British troops were quartered in Milford at the town's expense. Some votes of the town show that side of war activities. "Nov. 29, 1757. Voted by the town to have two houses provided for the king's troops if they should be wanted, and that a rate

of 2 d on the pound be levied for that purpose. April 26, 1758. Voted that those who kept the king's troops with all necessaries the winter past shall receive 2 s pr week for each private. Nov. 24, 1758. Voted to provide a guard room and a house for a hospital and to furnish it with proper bedding and also to provide wood and candles for said guard room and hospital." In 1758 a company of the troops living in the town house had a revel, in the course of which the house was burned. The government sent over money towards building a new one.

During this war discontent was felt over the treatment of colonial troops by the British officers. Some letters from Colonel Whiting to his wife show this and the feeling of one soldier at least on this matter. In 1755 he wrote, "I had a great fatigue for my own Share, as all the Charge Lay upon me of all the Large Artillery & good part of the powder." In 1759 he wrote, "I am left at the Landing to disembark the Cannon & Stores & forward them & throw up some of the Works," and in 1760 from camp below the rapids of the St. Lawrence, "I remain here with my regiment as a cover to the Rear, & though I should much rather be near the principal Seat of action must content myself, as it seems a Settled point for the Provincials not to share much in the Principal Honor of the Action, their Honor Seems confined to their Alertness & care in promoting & forwarding Such things or matters as the Principall action may depend upon." It is even said that in the expedition to the West Indies in 1741 "The colonial contingent were subjected to insults by the English officers; menial duties were assigned them, they were placed with the Jamaica negroes to construct trenches, and on bombarding expeditions were required to carry scaling ladders and grenades for the English grenadiers."

In 1760 however, Colonel Whiting wrote of the joy at high pitch in the army because "all Canady was yesterday Subjected to the King of Great Britain, whose troops entered and took possession of it yesterday."

SECTION V—THE ESTABLISHED CHURCH

CHAPTER I

CHURCH AND STATE

DOCTRINE AND DISCIPLINE—THE HALF WAY COVENANT—THE SAYBROOK PLATFORM

It is obviously impossible to give the religious history of a region like New Haven county in even fairly adequate detail in anything short of an encyclopaedic account. The four churches of the four towns have increased in number to several hundred churches in many towns and hamlets, each with its own interesting history. Thus Waterbury, at the time of the celebration of the 250th anniversary of its founding had nearly forty churches; New Haven at its corresponding anniversary had nearly sixty, and now has more than one hundred. In many of these churches the first little meeting-house and its congregation would be lost, while the value in money has increased in New Haven, for instance, from the £500 invested in the first building to millions of dollars worth of property and equipment.

A study in itself is that of the church buildings, which fall into various chronological groups. The first rude and rickety square buildings gave way to larger oblong structures that, as President Dwight said of one of the churches of this type in Wallingford, "but for some windows, half glazed, would be mistaken for a barn." This style, in turn, gave way to various modifications of the Greek orders, when again President Dwight commented, "We have, it is true, no cathedrals. These vast and magnificent edifices * * * have not yet begun to ascend the American shore." The succeeding years, however, have seen buildings of cathedral-like proportions arising in every adaptation of the Gothic style of architecture.

Not only is there the expansion in numbers due to growth of the population, but the one Congregational "order" has increased to a dozen different beliefs, and the English language to a Babel of tongues. Movements of deeper significance than physical growth should be included:—changes in ideas as to church establishment, that is, the place of the church in the life of the state; changes in ideas of the relationship to one another of different forms of belief and practice, that is, toleration; changes in ideas as to the function of the church itself, that is, develop-

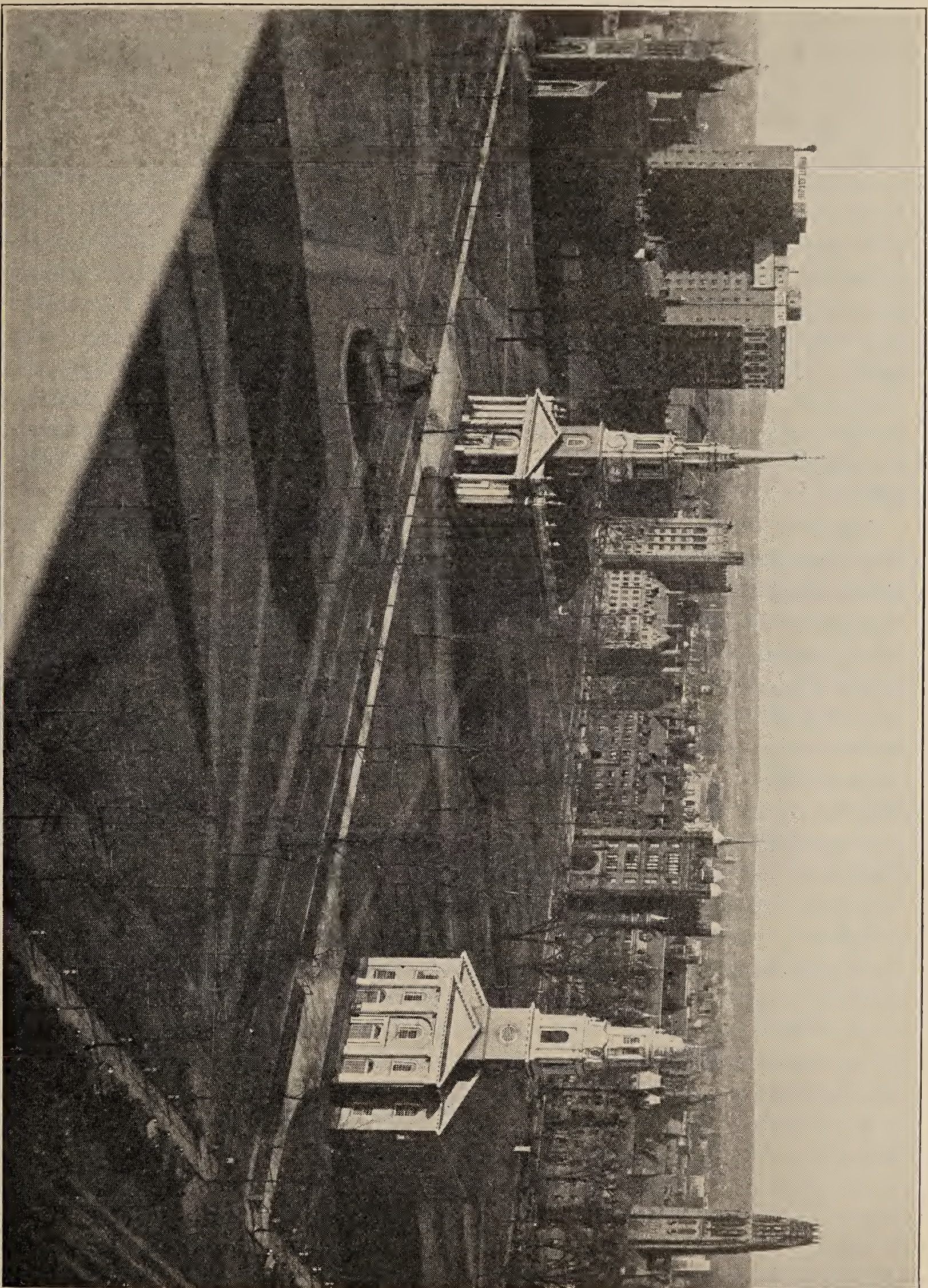
ment of missions and social service. Involved with all these, and indeed one of the primary causes for them all, is the great movement of immigration.

The best that can be done, therefore, is to try to select enough that is typical to illustrate the general trend of church history as exemplified in the experiences of the churches in New Haven county.

While the population was spreading out into new settlements, and the intercolonial wars were determining the ownership of the colonies, religious problems were also being worked out. The colony of New Haven held, as has been shown, that the men fitted for citizenship and office were "such men as are most approved according to God; and these are church members." Restriction of the franchise to church members was automatically removed at the union with Connecticut, but this did not mean giving up close relations between civil and religious affairs. Maintenance of religion was regarded by Connecticut as well as New Haven as one of the main ends of government. On the one side was the idea of the state church as of value and protection to the body politic, and on the other, the stability of the church was to be promoted by the connection. Every one must go to church and pay his share towards the support of the Gospel.

This method, like the New Haven system of suffrage restricted to church members, presented difficulties though either might succeed in groups of persons with practically unanimous desires and beliefs. When people came into the community who were outside the church, but enforced supporters of the ecclesiastical institution, questions were bound to be raised as to their rights in practical matters in which they were interested as tax payers, such as the choice of a new minister or building a new meeting-house. This was particularly true in the case of members of the established church of England, who were not thereby considered members of the church in Connecticut, as they might reasonably expect. Such persons might naturally ask what constituted church membership in a colony belonging to England. There were also questions as to the relations to each other of churches supported by law which, according to Congregational polity should be independent of each other and of outside authority in the management of their affairs. These problems were occasions of trouble, dissension and legislation until the separation of church and state by the Constitution of 1818.

It may be well to mention the measures which modified the old New Haven practice and set up this establishment, leaving detailed discussion to be given in other connections. A Ministerial Convention in 1657, of men from Massachusetts and Connecticut, followed by a Synod of 1662, recommended a plan of admission to church membership known as the Half Way Covenant, which came to mean practically all persons of respectable lives. It was never accepted by all the churches and could not be forced on them. In 1697 the General Court enacted a law that minister's rates should be levied in every town according to the general lists



CHURCHES ON NEW HAVEN GREEN
In the background Yale Dormitories and Harkness Tower

of that town; that collectors should be appointed; that persons must pay or be distrained; with provision for redress in case they were assessed too much. A major vote of the town, plantation or society should call the minister.

In 1708 another synod passed the Saybrook Platform, outlining a uniform plan of church government through county ecclesiastical organizations. These bodies were to examine and license ministers and settle questions of difficulty. Though this platform, like the other, could only be recommended to the churches, only those adopting it were to be supported according to the provisions of the law. Because of English laws, it was necessary to state that persons "soberly dissenting" might worship according to their beliefs, but toleration went no further, and they must pay the ecclesiastical tax, besides supporting their own church voluntarily. In 1721 it was enacted that "whatsoever person shall not duly attend the public worship of God on the Lord's day in some congregation by law allowed, unless hindered by sickness or otherways necessarily detained * * * shall incur the penalty of five shillings for every such offence."

In 1727 members of the Church of England attending their own churches were exempted from having the money they paid in the tax used to support the Congregational Church. Two years later this provision was extended to Quakers and Baptists. Many joined the latter because their doctrines and church discipline were similar to the ones held by those Congregationalists who believed in the strict independence of individual churches. Churches in the establishment itself disputed its authority in particular cases, and occasions for such disputes were given through the practice of the Half Way Covenant and dissensions following the Great Awakening of 1740.

Another line of development to be noticed in this period is in connection with the growth of population and its spreading out into new communities. As a result, more than one church was formed in a town, leading ultimately to the subdivision of the old towns and formation of new ones. This was done by a method different from the ones followed in the organization of earlier settlements. There were definite steps in this procedure,—first the request for "winter privileges" by people living at a distance from the church, that is, permission to use the money they paid for the support of the Gospel for a minister to preach in their own neighborhood during the months when it was difficult to travel a long distance to public worship. The next step was to have their own church throughout the year, that is to become an ecclesiastical society or parish; and finally to be made an entirely separate community, a new town.

Connection between civil and ecclesiastical institutions was manifested in several ways. Churches must deal with the towns, the County Court, and the General Assembly. Early towns and churches were almost identical, and in a new plantation, or in the "winter privilege" stage, or in a parish before the church was organized, the same body managed

religious affairs,—choosing the minister, providing for his support, building the meeting-house,—and transacted the necessary civil business, such as buying lands of the Indians, admitting new inhabitants, arranging for schools. One even finds entries like this in North Haven in 1718, “Agreed on by ye society that they will move forward in order of having a military company started among them.” Inter-relations of civil and ecclesiastical matters occurred also in the management of schools, and are shown by a request granted by the General Assembly to Wallingford, for liberty to use the school money for two years “towards the support of their aged minister there, and settling another minister among them; provided they shall take effectual care that their children be learned at their own charge.”

Over churches supported by public tax, and organized as societies for the transaction of business, the General Assembly must obviously have some control, and assurance as to a few points. New societies could not be formed without its consent and authority, for it must be satisfied that the income from the church tax in a given locality would be sufficient to “maintain a minister and uphold the ordinances of Christ;” that the church so supported would “walk according to ye Congregational way,” as shown by the approbation of neighboring churches. It must definitely give the right to lay the usual tax, or to change the method of taxing the people, in order to get something from unimproved land or absentee land-owners, a frequent request; it must state or approve the bounds of the parish; and establish the proper officers, treasurer, recorder and clerk. A new society formed within the limits of an older one must be properly freed from its obligations to that body, and provision made for division of property and public duties. Statement must be made as to what constituted a legal voter, that is persons having voice in ecclesiastical affairs, and penalties laid for failure to obey the laws concerning religious matters, such as not attending public worship or disturbing a meeting. The General Assembly on occasions by special act took specific action in given cases, as in fixing the site of a meeting-house when the society could not agree on one. Thus the society which later became the town of Cheshire petitioned the General Assembly as follows: “That having made some essays to fix the place for the Setting the first meeting-house for S^d worship and finding our endeavors of that kind to be attended with some difficulties and dissatisfaction among ourselves, we have unanimously agreed to address the Honble assembly and do accordingly thereby pray that a Committee Chosen be appointed by this assembly may fix and determine the place for building the first meeting-house in our society.”

One of the powers of the colony was to determine the qualifications of ministers. In 1702 a request was made for definition of the terms “able and orthodox minister of the gospel.” The Assembly set forth the requirements of one they considered “called and qualified according to gospel rule, to be pastor of a church, and in an orderly way settled in that office and work.” The Assembly granted powers to ministers, as in 1694,

allowing them to perform marriages for those who requested a religious rather than a purely civil ceremony. It laid restrictions on them, as after the Great Awakening, forbidding them to preach in another parish than their own, except on the invitation of the minister of that parish, without forfeiting the right of having their salary collected by law.

The County Court as well as the colony legislature had certain duties in connection with the religious establishment. Offences were tried there. For a time that was the place where permission was given to "sober dissenters" for "worshipping God in a way separate from that which is by law established." It had other duties, as in the case of a vacant parish, and in locating meeting-houses.

In communities with close connection between civil and ecclesiastical institutions, uniformity of church discipline was desirable. But this had been the very reason for the departure from England. "Our pious ancestors," said Mather, "transported themselves with regard unto Church Order and Discipline, not with respect to the Fundamentals in Religion." The colonists accepted the Westminster Confession of Faith, but differed from the church's government and discipline.

Various attempts in this direction were made before an act was finally passed. In 1666 the General Court issued a call for a Synod of the preaching elders and ministers of the colony "to bring these Ecclesiastical matters that are in difference in the severall Plantations to an issue." The subjects of discussion were to be the relations of church and town, of churches to one another, and to their own members. The following is a good example,—*"Whether the Church her invitation and election of an officer or preacheing Elder necessitates the whole Congregation to sit downe satisfied, as bound thereby to accept him as their Minister though invited and settled wth out ye Townes consent."* Because of the independent feelings of the churches, it was necessary to change the name of this meeting from Synod to Assembly, and soon to bring its sessions to an end as unlikely to act in accordance with the wishes of the Legislature.

Four years later another attempt was made towards the "promooating and establishing of peace in the churches and plantations," when the General Court summoned a meeting of four ministers, one from each county, (Mr. Joseph Eliott from this county), to find a way for the churches to walk together "notwithstanding some various apprehensions amonge them in matters of disipline respecting membership and bap-tisme." The ministers held their meeting and made a report to the General Court, but the report has been lost.

The condition of independent churches with varying customs was displeasing to many orderly minds. Rev. Samuel Mather declined to come to Milford for the following reasons, "First, the smallness of their maintenance; second, they being of the perswasion wee call antisynodalianer," or to use words of fewer syllables, against government by synods. Some ministers had long wanted more system in church affairs, and there was in fact inconvenience arising from this independence, such as no uni-

form method of introducing candidates to the ministry, and no provision for consultations or conferences of ministers.

Worldly considerations were not absent. Politicians wished to bring the churches into shape where they could be more easily managed, as would be the case with a compact body.

It happened that one of the men "more inclined to synods and formularies than any other minister of that day in New England," the Rev. Gurdon Saltonstall, became governor of the colony in 1707 on the death of Governor Winthrop. The confusion in ecclesiastical affairs was displeasing to him, and to remedy it he called the Saybrook Synod in 1708.

The call of this Saybrook meeting was also by counties. The General Court "ordeined and required, that the ministers of the churches in the several counties of this government shall meet together at their respective county towns," with the messengers of the churches, to consider and agree upon rules and methods of ecclesiastical discipline, and to appoint two or more of their number as delegates to a meeting at Saybrook at the next Commencement, to "compare the results of the ministers of the several counties," and draw up a form of discipline to be offered at the next General Court. The ministers from this county were Samuel Andrew of Milford, James Pierpont of New Haven, and Samuel Russell of Branford. The churches of the county sent no messengers. James Pierpont was a leading member of the synod, and is said to have drawn up the articles.

The conference consisted of sixteen men, eight of the twelve ministers trustees of the recently formed Yale College, and two of the four messengers from Saybrook. Its important work was embodied in Fifteen Articles of Discipline. The resulting platform was confirmed by the General Assembly, which ordained "that all the churches within this government that are or shall be thus united in doctrine, worship, and discipline, be, and for the future shall be owned and acknowledged established by law, Provided always, that nothing herein shall be intended and construed to hinder or prevent any society or church that is or shall be allowed by the laws of this government, who soberly differ or dissent from the united churches hereby established, from exercising worship and discipline in their own way, according to their consciences." Without this proviso, churchmen and Baptists would have made trouble in England, because of the English act of 1689. This platform had not been first referred to the churches, but though it could not legally bind them, it was difficult for them not to accept it, because of public provision for minister's support and the possibility of its withdrawal.

Various results followed. Up to this time all churches formed with the consent of the government and the approbation of the neighboring churches had been equal in privileges. Now those formed on the new platform only were established, and the ruling party insisted that new churches of the Congregational order could not be formed without the Saybrook Platform. Another result was to make the question of doctrine

more important than it had been. What did the act mean by sober dissent? For a time the Consociations and Associations formed in accordance with the platform freed the General Court of some of its supervision over ecclesiastical affairs, but after the Great Awakening the General Assembly began to enforce the old law that with it alone belonged the power of approving the incorporation of churches. While this ecclesiastical constitution took away much of the independence of the churches, it increased the power of the ministers.

The Saybrook Platform was finally silently repealed in 1784 by being omitted from the revision of the laws, though every one must still support the Gospel, and the Congregational clergy were still in a vague way the Standing Order. The churches were left to do as they pleased, but dissenters must "sign off," that is give a certificate that they were helping support some church.

It may be interesting to quote an example of the adoption of the platform, given in Eversull's "Evolution of an Old New England Church." In 1755 an East Haven church meeting, "called to discourse of church government, and of ye manner in which they proposed to be governed, Voted and agreed, that the Seabrook platform should be the constitution by which they, with their pastor, would be governed."

Civil support of the church made the conditions of church membership a matter of importance from the practical point of view. Another element entering into the situation was the decrease in church membership. Many of the later comers to the colony were moved to come for other than religious reasons, with the result that there were small numbers of members in full communion and large numbers of unbaptized children. A Boston Synod, as has been mentioned, tried to remedy this situation by introducing the Half Way Covenant, which was a matter of dispute for more than a century. As one minister said, it was "an uncouth way, and very unpleasant divinity."

What was the Half Way Covenant? It was the reception as church members of persons of good character, who had been baptized in infancy, and later owned the covenant thus made by their parents, by entering into it in their own persons through merely assenting to the doctrine of the church and joining its "watch and care." The children and even slaves of such persons might be baptized, on pledge given for their religious education. These persons were members of the church for discipline, and for everything but partaking of the communion. From the practice of baptizing children with only one parent a full church member, allowed by the Boston Synod of 1657 and sanctioned by the Connecticut General Court, came not only that of baptizing the children of non-church members who had been themselves baptized, but also any child for whom a satisfactory person (i. e. not of scandalous life), could be found to promise that the child should have regular religious training. Church membership with all privileges except admission to the Lord's supper thus came to be open to any baptized person not openly immoral, who was willing to give nominal assent to church doctrines and a few regulations. He need only make a general public confession of faith, belief in

Christianity, and a formal covenant with God, without special inquiry as to his own religious experiences.

Full covenant meant an actual experience and change of heart, with a public confession and "relation" of this experience. Such persons were in the "covenanted brotherhood of souls renewed by the experience of God's grace" and might receive both seals of the covenant, baptism and the Lord's supper. There were various modifications of belief. Some churches adopted the doctrine that the Lord's supper is itself a converting ordinance, and admitted to full communion all who were of decent outward deportment, and seekers after inward grace. The New Lights believed in the entire sinfulness of man and the need of conversion; others said that all men born in a Christian land were believers, and as such had a right to have the seal of the covenant placed on their children. Some allowed private "relation" of experience.

Expressed in terms of church organization, it meant a colony church, the "parish way," to which all moral persons belonged, versus the independent church, with its own confession of faith and practice. The question was more than academic, both because people in general wanted church ties, and also because they were required to support some church. The authorities were confronted with a real difficulty. If they refused to follow the practice of the Half Way Covenant, the missionaries of the the Church of England were ready to baptize children upon assured watch and instruction in Christian faith by some member of their fellowship. Some ministers practiced it. It is thought that the large number of baptisms in the New Haven Church after Mr. Pierpont came was probably because he introduced it. Among others he baptized "James Davids," the Regicide. The way it worked out numerically in one church is suggestive. The minister in a Guilford church (the Fifth), admitted forty-one members on the Half Way plan, fourteen of whom became communicants. Some ministers refused to practice it, and were dismissed; others met with immediate loss of families to the Church of England.

"Ye Reverend and learned" Mr. Samuel Andrew (1656-1738), has been described as the perfect example of the man produced by this age of systems and observance of forms. He was a scholar, spending most of his time in his study, and rarely visiting his people. A speculative theologian, he liked the Saybrook Platform, with its system of Consociations and Associations, and in fact was a member of the synod which produced it.

It may be well to put with this the confession of faith made by Mr. Dana at the time of his installation in the New Haven Church. "Baptism is the only form of admission into the Christian Church; nor do I find either precept or example in scripture for professing the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ a second time, as a term of communion at his table. It is agreed that there is but one covenant, one faith. In the churches where the practice of owning the baptismal covenant obtains, there is no objection to the admission of the person covenanting to full communion. The objection is only in his own mind. This practice was introduced in condescension to tender consciences."

CHAPTER II

THE MINISTER A TOWN OFFICIAL

TOWN RATHER THAN CHURCH SUPPORT—MINISTER'S LANDS—PARSONAGE—
CHOICE OF MINISTER—CHURCH MEMBERSHIP—QUALIFICATION OF VOTERS

Even before the adoption of the Saybrook Platform, a movement in the direction of civil control of the church had started in another way. Since the New Haven colony was founded by flocks under the leadership of those whom they already wished to have as shepherds, the first practical difficulty and change was not over the choice of ministers, but over their maintenance. In New Haven colony ministers were supported by voluntary contributions, with no contracts or legal claims, but money was given for their "encouragement." Several of the first ministers were men of property, and sharers in the enterprise of the plantation, as John Davenport, with one of the larger estates in the Quinnipiac venture.

The method of voluntary support of the Gospel soon proved insufficient and unsatisfactory. The remedy tried first, adopting a suggestion of the United Colonies in 1644, was for each person to state a definite sum he would give for this purpose, and if he refused to make such a statement, he should be rated according to his possessions and compelled to pay. Examples of these statements have been given. In some places the money was brought to the deacons, in others collectors were appointed by the town. It was found to be of little use to receive statements of the amount of contributions with no means of enforcing payments. The next step was to transfer the management of this business entirely to the authorities of the town. A rate or tax of a certain amount was laid on the general list of the town, and whatever came in was given to the minister. This was the method reported to England in 1680. "For the maintenance of ministers it is rayased upon the people by way of rate," and varied in amount from £50 to £100 a year. Thus the first tax ever levied in Wallingford (1671), was for the ministry, "according to every man's proportion of land allotted to him on the river; the twelve acre lotts to pay 30s, and the eight acre lotts to pay 20s."

In 1667 because of the difficulty in getting sufficient support for the ministry, it was proposed in New Haven that church officials be made town officials, and paid accordingly, but the town paid no attention to this. When the suggestion was made again in 1677, the town saw its necessity and voted a yearly tax of 2½d on the pound, on all the inhabi-

tants. The process of making the minister a paid town official was not complete at once. At a later meeting two men were appointed collectors and empowered to prosecute failure to pay. This tax was paid separately as late as 1692, but by this time probably directly into the town treasury instead of to separate collectors.

For ten years after the death, in 1674, of Mr. Street (Mr. Davenport's successor), New Haven had no regular minister. By the time of Mr. Pierpont's settlement, in 1684, the town not only collected the minister's salary, but was asked to help choose the candidate. When the church had decided on Mr. Pierpont, a deacon went to town meeting and desired "that the town would concur with them in encouraging him, and that there might be maintenance provided." The town appointed a committee to visit Mr. Pierpont.

The amount paid the minister was still not fixed. It depended on the rate laid, which was usually one, two or three pence on the pound. In 1697 a further change was made, the payment of a definite salary. In the case of New Haven it was £120 in provision pay, that is, grain or flesh, at fixed prices; a supply of firewood; a "settlement," consisting of a house and lot, with the amount of meadow and upland usually belonging to such a lot; and free-will offerings to build the house. When Mr. Pierpont agreed to the change to a regular salary, he stipulated that the "offering be brought into the house of God without lameness or reflections on the ministry in the respective years." In other words, it was a contract, and should not depend on the feelings of the people at the moment. Mr. Andrew of Milford, at about the same time, was given a salary of £100 in provision pay, and £12 for wood. These amounts were increased from time to time until he received £200.

Other churches in the county were going through the same development. In 1683 the village of East Haven raised £50 by tax for Mr. Harri-man; even earlier Guilford "propounded that a rate of 3 d per pound might be layed for the supply of the ministry the year ensuing, wch was accordingly granted." In 1664-5 men were appointed to "auditate the books of accounts belonging to the Towne, both Towne and Minister's Books of accounts & the account about the mill." In 1677 the town, perhaps in arrears, paid part of the salary from the "Mill Corne." This source of income was used on several occasions for being "helpful in the ministry," sometimes during a vacancy, again to supply an increase in salary, and on one occasion, to buy a bell for the meeting-house.

About 1690 Waterbury engaged to pay "mr Jerimy Pecke acording to our yerly grand leuy etch of us our proportions of sixty pounds by the yere to be payed fifty pounds in prouition pay and ten pounds in wood and thus to doe yerly." In 1698, because of Mr. Peck's poor health, it was necessary to get an assistant. This, too, was paid for by a town tax. The next year "ye Town granted to mr. John southmeat (South-mayd) for his worck in ye ministrey amongst us for what we haue had and if he continue amongst us till ye first of march next a rate of too

penc on the pound according to our gran leuey," with other considerations. It was the "town" of Wallingford that voted Mr. Street in 1696 a "recompense of his labour in ye works of ye ministry," £100 in provision pay and the privilege of buying his firewood at a certain price and at a certain time.

So too in the autumn of 1673 the "inhabitants" of Derby agreed "that they will cause to be paid to Mr. Bowers After the first year, from year to year, the full and just sum of £35 in such Ways as may best suit his needs, either in work or otherwise, they still maintaining him with firewood such as may be comfortable from time to time." This amount was increased at intervals, until he was receiving £60, (but no wood). A vote many years later is interesting as showing the changed circumstances under which a similar action was taken. "Again the town made choice of Mr. Abiram Canfield and Mr. Samuel Botsford to cast Derby list for the year 1739, exclusive of the rates of Churchmen and what was granted to farmers (the north farmers,) to find what sum on the pound on said list will make one hundred and forty pounds which is granted to Mr. Humphreys. Voted and passed, Dec. 10, 1739."

An interesting detail in carrying out this plan is shown in the arrangement made by Mr. Stiles when he came to North Haven in 1722. He stipulated that his salary was to be increased annually from the initial sum of £70, at the rate of £10 a year, until it became £100 and never to be less. From that point it was to "rise in proportion to ye rising in the List till it amount to £120 annually and firewood." Mr. Hall of Cheshire had a similar arrangement, "for his salary forty pounds money or grain att ye markit price yearly untill the above sd five years are expired. After said term of five years to ris in addition to his salry as the list of sd sositaty rises after sd five years untill it makes Eighty pounds."

The result of these measures of shifting the support of the minister from the church to the people in general, was to make him a town official, in a parish whose rights, duties and bounds were established by civil authority. This was a reversal of the New Haven policy of suffrage restricted to church members, but resulted in close connection between church and state. It should be remarked again that the civil body voting these various measures was not always a town in the strict sense of the word. A group of people living together in a community and desiring their independence in any degree must satisfy the General Court that they would be able to support a minister. A man often preached in a community several years before the church was organized or a town formed. But during this time the people were allowed to tax themselves for his support and to pass necessary measures. A good illustration is the description of the meeting which took action in Derby on building a house for the minister, which called itself "a lawful meeting of the inhabitants of pagasett together with those proprietors of Stratford and Milford that have some land in improvement there, november 18, 1673."

For a time the minister's rate might be collected with the county rate, if he so requested, but this provision was repealed 1710.

A case taken to the General Assembly in 1724 will show the working of the system in one instance. Several inhabitants of Branford represented that the collectors of the minister's rates had turned over £70 to the selectmen of the town for Mr. Russell, the minister. They refused to give him the money, because of the wording of the receipt he offered. A town meeting voted that they should give it to him, which they still refused to do. The General Assembly, on this representation, sent an order, signed by the secretary, to be delivered by one of the deputies from Branford, to the selectmen to pay Mr. Russell the £70, and twenty shillings to one of the deputies to be paid the secretary.

Besides their salaries, the first ministers received land and a house, which was to become their property after a certain length of time. Thus in Milford Mr. Prudden was given his choice of lands, and liberty to take up as much as he wanted, in addition to the division to which he was entitled as a planter. In 1659 Mr. Newton was offered, if he should settle there, a house and home lot, fourteen acres of meadow, and as much upland as he should want. In the same way, Mr. Andrew, the next minister, was first offered thirty-two acres in different places, and later other land was given him, and the use of the sequestered lands of the church. The succeeding ministers were offered settlements in money, as of course the supply of land could not last indefinitely. This money was often used to buy a farm, which was supposed to furnish a considerable portion of the minister's income.

The reason for this custom was that a minister's connection with a parish was expected to be permanent, and that it was, in many cases, is shown by the large number of "half-century" ministers. It sometimes led to complications, however, in dismissing a minister. Mr. Sherman of Mount Carmel, a younger brother of Roger Sherman, was dismissed (1771) from his parish in a way he considered unjust and against the contract of his settlement. In coming to the parish with the expectation of spending his life there, he had incurred expenses, and felt that he should receive some compensation. When the society refused to give this, he carried the case to the courts, and finally to the General Assembly. For ten years the Upper House passed the bills for his relief, but they were always lost in the Lower House. By 1781 his support of the Revolution had turned people in his favor, and his claim was paid.

In Waterbury £150 proprieties were given the first two ministers. Mr. Ruggles of Guilford on his settlement in 1694, was given forty acres of upland, and in the next division of land one hundred acres more. The East Haven minister received fifty-four acres of land in different places, to be his "if he performs the work of the ministry so long as he is able; or if it be our fault that he is forced to leave us, it shall be his. But if it is his fault or he leaves the place, or is hindered in the work, then the property is to return to the village." There was usually some provision of this sort, which may have helped make long ministries. Mr. Moss of Derby was given, if he remained, a home lot, the hillside adjoining it, the

use of all the parsonage land and meadow, and forty acres of land. "Further; voted the town grant to the said Mr. Moss and his heirs forever the aforesaid housing and lands on this condition, that he live and die with them in the work of the ministry, but if he see cause to leave the town and desert that work, the aforementioned house and barn, home lot and pasture to revert to the town again."

Many ministers, it may be added, left large estates. Mr. Southmayd, for example, who died in Waterbury in 1755, after a long ministry, left an estate worth nearly £2,000, about three-fourths of which was in land. He had accumulated 818 acres, by grant, inheritance, purchase and from his share in the divisions.

When Mr. Samuel Andrew settled in Branford in 1686 the town gave him 300 acres of land, and later gifts of several hundred acres more, besides the use of the Society lands at Indian Neck and in other places. At the close of his life when he was unable to do all the work of the church, the society was arranging for an assistant, and wished to know how much he would allow from his salary for the purpose. In the course of his reply, he made arrangements concerning his further use of the church lands, "And so for my support the little time I have to live among you, I am not much concerned about it. I only say this about it, that I incline yet to hold the improvement of the 'half acres' at Indian Neck, during my life; and will now relinquish to the Society the meadow at 'Scotch cap.' I conclude you will not think it unreasonable to find me fire wood while I live. As for yearly salary for my support, you may do just as God may incline your hearts. I leave it wholly with you, depending not on an arm of flesh, but on the Living God for my daily bread, and all other necessities of life; and am not at all afraid but that He who feeds the young ravens when they cry, will provide for my support."

Towns not only paid the minister his salary, and gave him land or a settlement, but provided a lot "to set the minister on it," and built his house. Milford in 1659 gave Mr. Newton (Mr. Prudden's successor) a house and lot belonging to the town. Mr. Higginson, the second minister in Guilford, had come from Salem in 1641, and built one of the four stone houses of the town. Consequently when he succeeded Mr. Whitfield as minister he was already supplied with a home, and asked only for the "building of a cow house." When he left the town bought his house and lands "in order to be disposed for another minister's accommodation," and gave them to Mr. Eliot, the next minister. All they had to do was to repair the house. To his successor, Mr. Thomas Ruggles, Sr., the town gave forty acres of land on his settlement in 1694, one hundred acres more in the division which took place the next year, and built a house for him, even laying a tax later to pay for adding a porch.

In Wallingford in 1673 "itt is ordered that Mr. Street's house be Raised at the Towne's charge." For the next minister, in 1709, "The town voted and Laid a Rait of eight pence upon the pound for the caring on the work of mr. Sam'll Whittelsey hous four pence upon the pound to

be paid upon this year's List and fore pence to be paid upon next year's List." The house was to be "forty-two feets in Length and twenty feets in breadth, tow stories hye, with a porch and back kitching and finish it deasantly the said Samuel Whittelsey to provide glass and nayles: which house is to be built within tow years."

About the time of the union with Connecticut, soon after the departure of the Rev. Abraham Pierson, Branford bought a place for a minister, and later built a barn. But for several years there was no settled minister, and the minister's house and lands were let out "at an outcry by a piece of candle," that is, the place was put up for auction until the candle burned out. When Mr. Samuel Russell was settled in 1686 the town gave him the house and lands if he should remain with them. He lived in a house built in 1690, the famous one connected with the founding of Yale College.

The little community of Derby had to build two ministers' houses within twenty-five years, one in 1673 for Mr. Bowers and one for his successor, since it had been agreed that "after the term of six years Mr. Bowers hath full power Of the disposal of the above said house." The exact time of his dismissal is not known, but since he had remained long enough to own the house, in 1690 the town began to build one for his successor. It arranged with a carpenter "to fall the timber, hew it, frame it and raise it, and to get all the clapboards and shingles; to dress and lay them," etc. Mr. James came in 1694, with a similar agreement as to ownership after a time of residence. In 1706 his health failed, but the town record said, "The town have freely granted and given Mr. James the house wherein he liveth and the barn and the lot whereupon his house and barn standeth whether he live or die in the town." He sold his house and lot to the town, but another was bought for the next minister.

The various votes in Waterbury in this connection are interesting. The town voted to offer a new minister "to build him a hous 36 or 38 foots long and 19 foot wide; build two chimbleys from ye ground a chamber chimbley; make or dig and ston a sellar clabboard ye hous and shingel it." A rate of eight pence on the pound was laid and each man was "to do his proportion in worck and he yt fayls haueing his worck appointed or called to worck by ye commity shall pay in prouition pay or yt which is equeuilent." A few months later another rate was laid, one half penny on the pound "to be payd in currant siluer money or yt which is equiulent bareing its own charge to ye merkit for to bye nayls and glass for ye minister's hous." The town also granted to the ministry "40 pounds in labor wth what is don al ready for fencing and clearing ye hous lot and other lands for ye aduantage of ye minister yt shal settel amongst us." Subscription papers give a list of names of men who gave "wheat for ye mason to pay after harvest" and "wheat for nayles and glass to finish ye ministers hous." Two years later the town ordered a well made for Mr. Southmayd. If men refused to work on it, their estates were to be distrained. This house was one of those fortified in 1708 during the inter-

colonial wars. The next minister, Mr. Leavenworth, bought a house, and was given a settlement.

In East Haven one of the conditions set by Mr. Jacob Hemingway in 1706 before coming was, "That you build me a good convenient dwelling house, within two years time, or give me money sufficient to do the same, one-half this year ensuing and one-half next." A tax of four pence farthing was levied, and the town promised to hire a house for him meanwhile. They built one forty by twenty feet large, on a five acre lot on the southeast corner of the Green.

An example is given of an order from a justice of the peace for the collection of a society rate in Wolcott in 1806.

"To Selah Upson, Collector of the Society Rate in the Society of Farmingbury, in Wolcott, in New Haven County, Greeting:

By authority of the State of Connecticut, you are hereby commanded forthwith to levy and collect of the persons named in the annexed list herewith committed to you, each one in several proportion as therein set down of the sum total of such list, being a tax or assessment granted or agreed upon by the inhabitants of said Society of Farmingbury, regularly assembled on the 27th day of October, 1805, for defraying the ministerial and other charges arising within the same, and to deliver and pay the sum and sums which you shall so lay and collect, unto the Treasurer of the said Society, at or before the first day of March, 1806, and if any person or persons shall neglect or refuse to make payment of the sum or sums whereat he or they are respectively assessed and set in the above list, to distrain the goods or chattels of such person or persons, and the same dispose of as the law directs, returning the overplus (if any be) unto the owner or owners; and for want of goods or chattels whereon to make distraint, you are to take the body or bodies of the person or persons so refusing, and him or them commit unto the keeper of the gaol of the said county within the said prison, who is hereby commanded to receive and safely keep him or them until he or they pay and satisfy the said sum or sums assessed upon him or them as aforesaid, together with your fees; unless the said assessment, or any part thereof, upon application made to the County Court, shall be abated.

Dated at Wolcott, this 28th day of February, 1806.

Isaac Bronson, Just. Peace."

The list contained over 180 names, of which several belonged to women. The largest sum was \$8.06 and the smallest .02, with eleven persons paying less than ten cents.

After the town undertook the support of the minister, the next step sooner or later, would naturally be to claim some share in choosing him. An illustration of amicable arrangement in early days may be given from the procedure in New Haven in choosing a successor to Mr. Street. He had become pastor after having served as colleague to Mr. Davenport. For a time after his death, the church had no regular minister in spite of attempts to get one. In the course of these efforts the church agreed

on a Mr. Moody, who seemed a worthy candidate, as he had just been let out of jail in another colony, for a stand that would particularly appeal to the people of New Haven, that of maintaining the church's independence of civil authorities in managing its affairs. This choice was reported at the next town meeting with a request for the town's "loving concurrence" in the matter. After some debate this was given, the town leaving the church to carry out the business.

A committee of the church was appointed, and when Mr. Moody declined the call, the committee, without awaiting further instruction proceeded to invite Mr. James Pierpont to come to New Haven as a candidate. He had been recommended to them as "a godly man, a good scholar, a man of good parts and likely to make a good instrument." On hearing the report of this action, the town, after some discussion, ratified it. Mr. Pierpont preached as candidate for a time to the satisfaction of the church. Again the church reported to the town meeting, that they wished him as minister, and asked the town to concur in the choice and to provide for his maintenance. "After some moderate debate," the town appointed a committee to desire Mr. Pierpont to stay, "that the Church and himself may have such experience and trial of each other, as to proceed in convenient time to settle in office in the church in this place, if it may be the good will of God."

At the end of the century the General Court enacted that in calling and settling a minister, the action of the major part of the house-holders of a town, by major vote in a meeting legally warned was binding on the whole in the choice of a minister. People living within the bounds of a society as laid down by the General Court must pay their share to the support of the minister.

In 1706 the minister of Derby was obliged to leave on account of his health, both town and church taking action, as shown by the following record. "Mr. James having at sundry times signified and declared unto the church of Christ in Derby and also to the town that he is unable under his disabilities to attend and discharge the ministerial work unto and amongst them * * * and the church of Christ; and also the town * * * are freely willing to set him at liberty. * * * The town and the church with Mr. James desire the council of the neighboring churches and elders in this affair and matter." The town then appointed a committee for this, and sent a man to treat with a successor to Mr. James, agreeing that in case this man "cannot be prevailed with, the townsmen are a committee to set out for some other as they shall be advised."

In Waterbury Mr. Southmayd's resignation was addressed "To the Deacons and Townsmen In Waterbury to communicate to the Church and Inhabitants of said Town." Apparently a special town meeting was called to consider this matter, which voted to call another minister and asked Mr. Southmayd to serve them as long as he could. A committee was chosen to find another minister, as had been done in the case of

Mr. Southmayd's call in 1704. He had a claim on the town for unpaid salary, and made an offer to settle it which the town accepted, though as a matter of fact it was never fully paid owing to opposition of some Churchmen. About this time other societies were formed in the town, each managing such affairs for itself, and at the same time services of the Church of England were being held, but unfortunately all the records of this period are lost.

When the minister of Wallingford, Mr. Street, (son of the New Haven Mr. Street), became infirm, the following action was taken. "July 26, 1708. The town voted that they apprehended it was their duty to take care and look out to geat another minister. * * * The town voted that they would choose a commetie to Seeke out and to take the advice for the procuring and bring in a minister to seattle in the place." A few months later "The town by a unanimous vot did confiearme the comities agreement with mr Saml. Whittelsey in order to his Seatelment in the work of the minestry in our town."

Thus the choice and dismissal of a minister was not in the smaller group of church members, but in the larger body of the society and the town. What this might mean in figures is shown by the case of New Haven. In 1716 the church, the only one in the town except that of East Haven, had about three hundred members while there were about seven hundred people living in the part around the central square. In 1705 the church in Waterbury had twelve male members, and the town in 1708 had fifty taxpayers. In the particular case of Waterbury, there was no trouble or friction, as shown by the fact that after his resignation, Mr. Southmayd held many civil offices. He was town and proprietor's clerk from 1721 until his death; in 1741 he was appointed justice of the peace; again in 1747, holding the office until his death; he was justice of the quorum from 1742 to 1746; and a deputy to the General Assembly from 1740 to 1744 and again in 1754. This was the system at its happiest, but a church might be saddled with an obnoxious minister, resulting in withdrawals and separations. Under this system a minister, once settled, was supposed to be located for life and was in a great degree, independent of the people. The temptation to perfunctory work is obvious. Defiance of large dissatisfied minorities in churches will appear in connection with some of the famous cases of church difficulties.

In the earliest days there had been great care in admitting inhabitants to the plantations, and in maintaining the purity of the church by strict discipline. Both towns and churches had become careless in these matters. In 1746 the ecclesiastical ballot was defined as belonging to members of the established churches with a certain amount of property, but the churches were becoming more democratic by the use of the Half Way Covenant. Such a body might even, as occasionally happened, choose an unconverted person as minister.



CHAPTER III

THE TOWN AND THE CHURCH

CHURCH LANDS AND FUNDS—THE MEETING-HOUSE—ITS OWNERSHIP—DIGNIFICATION—KEEPING ORDER

The Reverend Mr. Peters said in his History that "The New Haven colonists flattered themselves they were founding Christ's Millenium Kingdom, which was to extend from sea to sea, and that their city would be the seat of the empire and that Christ would eventually come to live with them for a thousand years, but it does not appear from the early records that they ever reserved a building for his palace."

This sarcastic observation is not quite true. Many towns reserved lands in the beginning for "pious uses," besides that given the ministers. This was the case among others for example, in Milford, East Haven, New Haven, Waterbury and Wallingford. An interesting case in connection with church lands has just been decided in the courts. Branford at different times bought lands directly of the Indians for the church. These lands at Indian Neck have been let out on long leases, but, as church lands, were not taxed. The property, as a summer resort, has become very valuable, and neighboring owners thought they were bearing an unfair share of public burdens through their taxes. They tried in various ways to get relief, through the Branford Board of Assessors and Board of Relief. The requests were denied on the ground that church property is exempt and that lease holders cannot be taxed. Test cases were brought in the courts and appealed finally to the Supreme Court of Errors, which upheld the decision of the lower courts. There is, however, a low rate of taxation on the land now.

Many churches also have funds acquired in different ways, from sale of lands reserved at the settlement of the town, from legacies and from subscription. To give a list of these would be impossible, though some of the individual gifts are interesting, as those for the support of the communion, in order that the poor of the church may feel free to come to the Lord's table. Later, banks were sometimes incorporated by the Legislature with a clause in the charter allowing an ecclesiastical society a certain proportion of the stock if it wished.

When growth of the population necessitated division of a parish, or new denominations arose, there were sometimes difficulties over the church property, each group claiming a share. An action of the kind

in Waterbury is an illustration. The Churchmen tried to get a portion of the ministerial lands, or money from their sale, but were outvoted in town meeting. A few years later their numbers had increased, and uniting with some dissatisfied persons from other parishes than the First or oldest, which claimed the property, they were able to get a favorable vote. The First Society protested, and the matter became, in the words of Anderson's History, "the Town of Waterbury vs. The First Church and Society." The church claimed such a vote to be "against law and equity and the most important rites and interest of this society and against the common sence and practice of mankind, and request the same may be recorded in the office of the town clerk of Waterbury." They especially protested against the vote "that a certain party called the church of England, (which had no existence in sd town when sd lands was granted to the use of the ministry therein) shall have their equal proportion of sd moneys, all which votes are an affringement on the property of the first society of sd Waterbury and contrary to the laws of this Colony." An appeal to the General Assembly brought them no redress, but the stand of the Churchmen in the Revolution caused the repeal of the town meeting vote.

These points will be illustrated in other connections.

Another manifestation of town management of church affairs was in building the meeting-house. The first ones in New Haven colony were naturally put up by the town, since only church members were voters. The result was the same in the reversal of the situation after the support of the church was undertaken by the civil authorities. Procedure during the early period when there was only one church or parish in the town was comparatively simple. Occasions for differences were in minor matters of the style of the building, or its location, though the latter question sometimes led even to divisions of a church. Later complications arose when there was more than one group in the town, either geographically or through differences of belief.

When it became necessary in New Haven to build a second meeting-house, in 1668, "the town was acquainted that the committee for the meeting-house had agreed with Nathan Andrews to build a new meeting-house for £300" and the old building. In 1670 the town laid a tax to finish it. In 1681 the town bought a bell for it and made arrangements for ringing it "for the town's occasions on the Sabbaths and other meetings, as it was wont to be by the drum and also to ring the bell at nine of the clock every night."

Derby in 1680 voted that "all the inhabitants of the town should have liberty to put in their votes, where the meeting-house should stand," and with ten absent the vote was eleven to four in favor of a certain place. A year later the town decided on dimensions of the building and made other arrangements for its construction, including a change of site. "Further it is agreed that the charge and cost of building the aforesaid house shall be done according to every man's estate in the list. In case

any man neglect or refuse to work when he is called, he shall pay two shillings and six pence to the work, having had two days warning, those that work when called to have two shillings and six pence per day." Derby also asked for and received from the General Assembly release from the country tax for two years. In 1719 began a series of acts extending over several years over this matter. It was voted that "the town will build a new meeting-house, * * * Granted a six penny rate for defraying the charge of building the meeting-house; and every man to have liberty to discharge his own rate in labor, provided he can labor in any way to advantage the building * * * the whole town will come together when it is a convenient time and raise the meeting-house without bringing the charge of it into any town rate; and that the town will be at the charge of buying six gallons of rum for the above said occasion and that to be all the entertainment which shall be upon the town cost." It was necessary to grant another rate in 1722, of two pence on the pound, for the meeting-house. When repairs were needed in 1738 it was done at the town's charge. An interesting vote is this, "Again the town order the said committee to build a convenient seat for the negroes on the beams over the front gallery, and stairs to go up, on the town's charge."

Waterbury in 1691 petitioned the General Assembly for release from its country rate as a help in building its first meeting-house. Three years later the town voted to use for this purpose money from the sale of wild or unbranded horses. Later it made regulations and gave permission for changes in the building, agreed on a gallery at one end and laid a rate to pay for it. In 1726 the town decided to build a new meeting-house, stated its dimensions, appointed committees "to order the affair of building A meeting-house as we have agreed and to Receive the money of the Committy when they have sold the proprietors Lotts that were Devoted to the design and to Agree with the workman that shall be set About the work." Other votes followed from time to time concerning the work and laying rates to pay for it, until it was finished in 1729. Money to help build it also came from the sale of four proprieties, from gifts and from the sale of a disputed "Bachelor" propriety.

Other examples might be given, each with its variations of the general plan, both of procedure and design of the building. Thus Guilford decided to build a new house in 1711, with galleries and some pews, as well as seats, a new fashion at this time. This building had other unusual features, a steeple, belfry, clock and bell. To raise money the town sold staves, and the glass and materials in the old house. This building was used until 1830, and its successor has just celebrated its 100th anniversary. Milford raised part of the money for its meeting-house of 1728 by the profits of a flock of sheep kept by the town. At the end of the century Branford got money for a steeple and clock by selling trees from the Society's lands, making and selling salt at Indian Neck, and from various subscriptions. It also laid a rate of seven pence on the pound for town charges and for building the new meeting-house.

In 1676 the town of Wallingford "agreed to have a meeting-house built * * * and desired the townsmen together with Mr. Moss, St. Doolittle and the constable to consider itt, treat with some workmen about ye price, and make Report to ye towne in order to further proceeding about the matter." Two years later they made final decision as to dimensions, and that it is "to be comfortably and comleyly fitted up with doers and windows & flower or florrs and al things needful in order to the end propounded." The work was slow, and there are votes from time to time on details. In 1717 the town of Wallingford "by their voat signified that they thought it was there Duty to begin about a new meeting-house & chose * * * a committee to manage the affaire & carri on the work about the new meeting house * * * And the forms of the house to be like gilford meetinghouse and be left to ye committee to make some little alteration if they see cause; And layed a rate of eight pence on the pounce for the careing on the metting-hous." This town also sold staves, as many as will load "vessell and they chose Capt Hall to make a bargain for ye town in ye disposall of ye staves, they obliged themselves to git:—in buying glass and nales." A bargain was made with a glazier of Wethersfield. In 1716 "the town voted and gave liberty that particular men may build a steeple to our meeting-house," but this was not done for some time. This house was used until 1824.

Before the parish of Amity, which was the beginning of the town of Woodbridge, was organized either as a church or a town, action was taken concerning a meeting-house. "At a meeting of the Parish of Amity, in the town of New Haven, legally warned, met on the twenty seventh day of October 1758 and at said meeting made choice of Capt. Isaac Johnson for their Moderator, secondly, by vote made choice of Ebenezer Peck as their society clark, and sworn according to law, thirdly, and some more than tue thirds of said inhabitants convened, voted to build a hous to meet in for the worship of God and none dissented there from said intention."

When the town and ecclesiastical society were no longer synonymous, either through division of the town into more than one parish, or because of the rise of other denominations, questions arose over the ownership and use of the meeting-houses. It might be said, by the way, that ownership of property by the ecclesiastical society rather than by the church led to a kind of Half Way membership of another sort. Women, for instance, were members of the church and not of the society. Women joined with men in forming by "voluntary compact" the society of the rebelling White Haven church in New Haven in 1748, probably because they were property holders or heads of families, and could be taxed. They probably never voted and that element was dropped out of the society some time later. They first voted in the First Church in Waterbury in 1917. The somewhat awkward division into church and ecclesiastical society has led to a recent movement, under the late S. E. Baldwin, for merging the society and the church.

Under all the circumstances it was natural to use the meeting-houses for other than religious purposes. Town meetings were held in them, and on stormy days even the drill of the militia and inspection of arms. Secular notices were placed on the doors. The different attitude of Churchmen towards the use of their buildings seems to have had an influence on Congregationalists. In Guilford, for instance, they voted (1769) "that the church be not used for any other purpose" than public or divine service, without the consent of the major part of the "conformists." In North Haven, during the course of a militia drill, the suggestion was made that it would be a fair arrangement to hold the next drill in the Episcopal Church. This was refused, on the ground that it was not a proper use for the edifice, a point of view which seemed equally applicable to the meeting-house, and as a result drills were no longer held there. A few years later (1823), a similar action was taken in Meriden. The selectmen were prohibited by the society from holding town meetings in the meeting-house. They however made the claim that the society could not take such action, as the building was really part of the town property. The outcome of the dispute as to titles to the property is not known, but when a new church building was put up it was arranged that the town meetings were to be held in the basement.

The civil authority also managed the matter of seating the people in the meeting-house, and appointed committees for that purpose. There were various ways of determining how this should be done, but in general it was "according to Office, Civil, Ecclesiastic, and Military, and according to Rates." Dignity of descent and public service were also considered. The vote of the town of Wallingford (1720) on this matter will sufficiently illustrate the principles of procedure. "Ye rules that sd committee are to attend in ye work of seating are as followeth viz. to have respect to ye aged amongst us that has been servisable in ye town, this to be left to ye committee to do in ye matter as they shall think most just decent & reasonable & yt sd committee shall have respect to those men that do & have borne commissions as they are to have respect to ye aged as above sd, that is to say what is just decent and reasonable & voated the general rule for ye committee in seatting ye meeting-house shall be the lists on which ye charge has been raised heads only exempted."

In adjusting the claims of age and estate rules were laid, as in Waterbury. In 1719 one year in age was considered equal to £4; in 1729 to £2; and 1826 to \$10. In Anderson's "History of Waterbury" is given a description of the church's one extant complete record of a seating. It was necessary also to determine the desirability of the various seats. East Haven decided that the first short seat should be reckoned equal to the second long seat, and so on. In Waterbury a short seat in the gallery was equal or next to the short seat below. There might be those whom the towns wished to honor particularly, as the Worshipful Ebenezer Johnson in Derby. In 1707 the town "voted that Major Johnson shall, according to his desire, sit at the end of the pulpit in a short seat alone, and that the

town be at suitable charge to make it handsome and convenient to entertain the Major honorably." Mrs. Johnson sat with the ministers' wives in the seat next the pulpit on the women's side "which is made with banisters like a pew. * * * Voted that the town will have the rest of the meeting-house seated according to rates." It may be remarked that a few years earlier Mr. Johnson had been given another favor,—he was allowed to buy one and one-half acres of land from the Indians, "it being unsuitable for the Indians and very aduantageous to the sayd Johnson to set his fence upon it, allso haueing some meadow on it." Women, however, were not given favors if they happened to own extra property, but were kept in their place. Derby "voted that the wife of John Tibballs shall sit precisely according to the list of her husband's ratable estate." An interesting use of this custom of seating was made by a veteran of the Revolution in applying for a pension. He said he did not know any record of his age "unless it be found in the seating of our house of public worship which is made according to age & in which I am the next tier after the octogenarians."

The honorable entertainment of Major Johnson was not the only case of special consideration in this matter. Ministers were usually given a choice of seats, and kept them for life. One man in Wallingford seemed to have been dissatisfied with the seat assigned him, and "The town by their voat gave Capt. John Hall, liberty to make himself a pew in the new metting-hous, near the east Dore, on men's side on his own charge." Later when people were signing off to other denominations this privilege might be used to mutual advantage. In 1801 in Meriden a man promised to pay the yearly tax for the support of the Presbyterian religion if he and his family were given seats according to his standing in life. The offer was accepted. It was not unusual to give people permission to build pews for themselves, and thus they would escape the periodical dignification of seats.

The meeting-houses built in the first part of the eighteenth century, usually the second in point of time, began to be built with pews instead of long seats, at first around the walls, "pewed round the side," as one town meeting expressed it, and perhaps an outside tier on the square body of the building. Special pews were built for individuals, or for groups such as one in Guilford near the pulpit "for the aged widdows to set in." The permission given individuals to build pews at their own charge had various advantages besides the one already noticed. One man in North Haven put a stove in his pew before there was one in the church. He may have been like the men in another town of the county, who had to put mittens on top of their bald heads and stamp their feet, in the effort to keep partly warm at least. Another advantage of pews was that families were allowed to sit together. Perhaps the earliest example of men and their wives being allowed this privilege was in Guilford in 1713. Waterbury voted in 1769 to allow this. The long seats in all the churches were gradually changed to pews and the custom of dignifying

given up. In putting up new meeting-houses pews had been sold, sometimes for more than enough to pay for building the house. These pews became the private property of the buyers and were handed down like pieces of real estate. By gift and purchase the churches gradually acquired these privately owned pews, which were then rented and helped supply money when the ecclesiastical tax was taken away in 1818. One was deeded to the United Church in New Haven in 1893. The custom of seating the church was kept up in single cases in the county well into the nineteenth century. The last seating in the Waterbury church was in 1836.

Good order was kept during church services by civil authority. The method of seating the people which broke up families and sent young people up into the galleries early led to the necessity of devising means for keeping them in order. Individuals, later called tithing-men, were appointed to this duty. In New Haven order was kept at first by the marshal and corporals. The methods employed were quite direct. In 1678 two men were appointed to "take a stick or wand, and smite such as are unruly, or of uncomely behavior in ye meeting, and to acquaint their parents." Wallingford at about the same time appointed a man to "looke to ye boyes on ye Saboth, that they keep good order at meeting." In 1721 the General Assembly ordered each town to choose annually two or more tithing-men to keep order, under oath for the faithful discharge of their duty, with a penalty for neglect or refusal to do so. These were town, not church officials. Thus the New Haven town meeting in 1728 chose tithing-men, two for the First Society, one for the West, one for the East, and one for North Haven. Later it chose them also for the Methodists, Baptists and the Society of Mishkan Israel. Waterbury in 1768 chose eight tithing-men. After 1865 they were appointed by the ecclesiastical societies.

The methods said to have been employed by these officials to keep order would seem almost as disturbing to worship as the original offense, and must have been a constant temptation to the "boyes." The following description is from personal recollections in Derby. "Sometimes he (the tithing man) would simply rise from his seat and stare the culprits in the face. Sometimes he would rap loudly with his knuckles. Sometimes he would leave his seat and take the irreverent boy by the collar and drag him to another seat in the house."

Grand jurors were also called on to help. In Waterbury a man was arraigned in 1760 on a grand jury complaint before the civil authorities, and fined five shillings and costs. In this case one feels sympathy for the culprit. He had fallen asleep in church, upon which the minister paused in his sermon to call out, "Wake up! Wake up!" The man answered back and said in his defense that he had told the minister that he should do so, that if the minister ever "spoke to him in particular in time of worship to wake up, he would tell him that it was none of his business." Doubtless the minister felt that he could not ignore such a gage of battle.

In New Haven it was voted in 1728 that constables and grand jurors do their utmost to prevent disorder in going up and down stairs in the meeting-house. After 1719 Yale students had seats in the gallery, and this may have been a disturbing element. At another time "The Constables are desired to take notice of the persons that open the Meeting-house windows in tyme of public worship." North Haven voted that "the grand jurors and tything-men set anywhere in the meeting-house on the Lord's day where they shall think most suitable to inspect the assembly." In 1728 these officials in one church issued a statement of their aims. "It is a very wicked thing to go to meeting and make a disturbance in the House of God. * * * We wish * * * that every person both old and young would keep from whispering and all kinds of play or anything that has any kind of tendency to Disturb the Public Worship." Milford voted (1717) "that the selectmen, Grand Jurors, Constables, Listers, Ensign Beard and Ensign George Clark take turns to look after the boys at meeting for public worship." Other duties were sometimes given the tithing-men, that of seeing that only communicants came to the Lord's table, that people kept awake, that every one was present. They were also to see that the Sabbath or any day of public fast or thanksgiving was properly observed throughout the town, and were paid for time spent in prosecuting offenders.

CHAPTER IV

THE ECCLESIASTICAL CONSTITUTION

ASSOCIATIONS AND CONSOCIATIONS—EARLIER COUNTY MEETINGS OF MINISTERS—THE COUNTY COURT AND RELIGIOUS AFFAIRS

In conformity with the recommendations of the General Assembly, and to form the machinery of the ecclesiastical constitution, a convention or council of ministers and churches was held in each county soon after the adoption of the Saybrook Platform by that body. The New Haven County meeting was held in Branford, 13 April, 1709. Five elders were present, and the five churches were represented by eight messengers. Three elders and their churches were not present, East Haven, Guilford and Wallingford. East Haven however was admitted to the Consociation in 1711, on the formal organization of the church. At the Branford meeting the Saybrook Platform was voted on, and the Consociation formed on county lines. It is said that the churches of this county instructed their messengers to "take care to secure their Congregational privileges," insisted on a written interpretation of the platform in that sense, and refused to adopt it until they had recorded their liberal construction of its provisions.

Meetings of ministers of the county had been held before this time, though they were purely voluntary and informal. County meetings had been held every week after the resolution of 1680. In 1692 in the New Haven town meeting "A proposal in writing, presented from the Rev. Elders of the county, for a lecture to be carried on in the several towns, was read and thankfully accepted, and the conditions thereof well approved." In 1706 proposals of an English company to promote the conversion of the Indians were received. The General Assembly recommended the ministers at their county meetings to consider the best methods for carrying out this project, and to present them to the next session of the Assembly. In 1708 ministers were recommended to preach election sermons. Notice of this recommendation was to be sent, not to them individually, but to their county meetings.

Two organizations in this "ecclesiastical constitution" were formed in each county, Associations of ministers, and Consociations of churches. If necessary there might be more than one in each county. The former were for the consultation and conferences of ministers, to look out for pastorless churches, and to take over the business of examining and

licensing candidates for the ministry. Very casual procedure had been followed before this time, with no regular or uniform method of examining and settling young ministers. The possession of a B. A. degree had been thought a sufficient guarantee of his qualifications. After finishing his college studies and considering himself prepared, a young man found some friendly minister, his own pastor or instructor perhaps, to introduce him in the pulpit, and he thus began to preach. He gradually found his way to the acquaintance and confidence of the churches without any examination or recommendation from any body of ministers or churches. Under the new system rules were made by the Association for examining candidates and certificates were given them.

The Association also gave advice and information to churches needing ministers, recommending candidates for their consideration. Churches preparing to call a minister usually appointed committees to ask the Association to send them a probationer and give advice. Many examples of such action might be given from churches throughout the county.

The New Haven Association has been divided at various times. The first division was in 1787, into the New Haven East and New Haven West Associations, the Quinnipiac River forming the dividing line. In 1853 the New Haven Central Association was formed. It is interesting that among the votes at the first meeting of the New Haven West Association which was held in Wolcott, was the recommendation for an annual election sermon at Hartford.

The Consociations, somewhat like the Presbyteries in the Presbyterian Church, ordained, installed, dismissed and disciplined ministers, and acted on difficulties in the churches. These bodies, though containing lay members, were really dominated by the ministers, and became ecclesiastical courts with large jurisdiction and powers. They claimed the right to organize and discipline churches and revise their decisions.

This ecclesiastical constitution brought about two results—a closer union of the churches, and of the church and colony. President Clap of Yale College said consociated churches were “an excellent plan, collected from the word of God,” but as a result New Haven county was the scene of many battles, with famous controversies in Guilford, Branford, Milford, Wallingford and New Haven, besides smaller causes. Edwards would seem to have spoken truly when he said “Great controversies, contentions, separations, and confusions in our state prevail in many parts of the land.” Dr. Bacon said that for the first half century the Saybrook Platform made more quarrels than it healed, though with its later Congregational construction he considered it salutary.

In the later form, ordination, dismissal and deposition of ministers was done by councils invited from the churches. If there is a consociation it is a standing council for the churches and consists of pastors and delegates. In un-consociated churches, the councils are formed by pastors and delegates of the churches whose aid is requested. In ordination the vote of the church is the important thing. Before the end of the nine-

teenth century the Consociation existed in name only, and Dr. Munger described its position thus: "When pastors of non-consociated churches are invited to a council called to install a minister over a consociated church, the first question they ask is: 'What meaneth the presence of the consociation here?' and being meekly assured that it means nothing except that the standing moderator of the consociation shall preside they proceed as though such a body did not exist."

An illustration of the procedure may be given. The church of North Madison (then called North Bristol) was organized in 1757. A committee from the church met the Consociation at Guilford when it was convened for the ordination of the Rev. Amos Fowler. The committee presented the act of the Assembly making them a legal society, and a certificate of the regular formation of the church, and requested the Consociation to ordain their pastor, which was done.

The controversies are confusing, because a change of the majority of the Consociation from Old to New Light beliefs changed the attitude of the organization in different cases. Another source of confusion is the fact that three men of the name of Whittelsey figured in the cases, Samuel, Sr., Samuel, Jr., and Chauncey; and that there were two Wallingford cases.

A recommendation of the General Assembly passed in 1714 will show the aims of the ecclesiastical constitution of the colony, and the place in it for the county organizations. "This Assembly,—taking into their serious consideration the many evident tokens that the glory is departed from us, the providences of God are plainly telling us that our ways do not please him, and knowing the great obligations that we are under, not only for the suppressing of all prophaneness and immorality that so greatly threatens the ruin of the land, but also to encourage piety and virtue,—do pray the Honble the Governour to recommend to the reverend elders of the General Association, at their next meeting, that they give direction to the reverend elders of each particular association throughout the government, that the state of religion be strictly inquired into in every parish throughout the government, * * * that thereby all possible means may be used for our healing and recovery from our degeneracy."

These bodies usually met once a year, but might be called oftener, and there might also be general meetings of both organizations for the entire colony. It may be mentioned that before this time matters had been managed by the churches, either without outside assistance, or by councils agreed on by both parties, selected for the occasion, and with only advisory decisions. An important general meeting of the consociations was held in Guilford in 1741, which led to the passage of the laws against unlicensed preachers.

It was a question of interpretation as to how far these bodies took away the independence of the churches, and made them Presbyterian. The interpretation was generally made by the laity in a Congregational

way, and by the clergy in a Presbyterian way. Many churches were called indifferently by one name or the other. The system was for a century a peculiarity of Connecticut Congregationalism.

The county court had a place in the system. In 1708 the Assembly passed a law as part of the Saybrook Platform in which it was "enacted, for the ease of such as soberly dissent from the way of worship and ministrie established by the antient laws of this government, and still continuing, That if any such persons shall at the countie court of that countie they belong to, qualifie themselves according to an act made in the first year of the late King William and Queen Mary, granting libertie of worshipping God in a way separate from that which is by law established, they shall enjoy the same libertie and priviledge in any place within this Colonie, without any let, hindrance and molestation whatsoever." This function of the county court will be illustrated in connection with the formation of particular churches. It may be said as to method of procedure, that to qualify under this act persons must appear at the county court and take the oath of fidelity to the crown, deny transubstantiation and declare their sober dissent from Congregationalism. This privilege was repealed 1743 as far as Congregationalists were concerned.

Disturbance of religious worship, or misuse of any preacher or teacher was to be tried at the county court, with a penalty of twenty pounds to the colony treasury upon conviction. Fifteen years later (1723), the county courts were given the trial of cases of offenses by which "whatsoever person, not being a lawful or allowed minister of the gospel, shall presume to prophane the holy sacraments by administering or making shew of administering them, to any person or persons whatsoever." When the law against itinerant preachers was passed in 1742, the county court was to try infractions.

The relation of the county court to the ecclesiastical system may be shown by the following case. Although a separate church was set up in Guilford as a result of differences in the First Society, the latter apparently tried to tax young men without consideration of the church membership of their fathers. A test case was brought in the county court by some who claimed not to belong to the First Society, but who had been rated there. The court seems to have decided in favor of the First Society, but it soon freed the men from paying rates.

The county court had a share in the frequent disputes over the location of meeting-houses.

In 1727 the parish of Meriden went about the business of building a meeting-house, deciding on a site after some disagreement. The building materials were collected at the appointed place, but were moved in the night by the dissatisfied group to the place of their choice. The town meeting compelled them to return the materials to the first place, and the meeting-house was duly erected. In 1750 a new building was needed, and again there was difference of opinion as to its location. This time, instead of appealing to force, two men brought a memorial to the county

court "praying the court to appoint a judicious and disinterested committee to repair to sd parish and view the same and affix a place." This committee fixed their "stake and stones" at a place displeasing to some of the society, who thereupon appealed to the General Assembly to set aside the decision of the county court, and appoint another committee. The Assembly heard both sides, and refused to comply with this request.

In 1769 East Haven decided to build a new meeting-house, "if we can be suited with the place." This they were unable to do, and neither could a committee of non-resident and impartial persons settle the matter. In 1772 it was decided to ask the judges of the county court to fix the place, but this was changed to a committee of two judges of the county court and "another judicious man." This committee made a decision which required both parties to compromise.

By the end of the century all societies, whether dissenting or of the church established by law, must have the site of their building fixed by the county court. If building operations should be begun before such application was made, the society was liable to a fine of \$134. Procedure may be shown by the acts of the society of Wolcott, then Farmingbury, from extracts from records given in Orcutt's "History of Wolcott." At the first society meeting, November, 1770, after having voted a rate, chosen a school committee, a committee to divide the society into districts, choristers, grave digger and collectors, it was voted to build a meeting-house. "Joseph Atkins was chosen Agent to go to the County Court for a committee to stick the stake for said Meeting-house. Capt. Enos Brooks, Capt. Enos Atwater, and Col. Hall were nominated a committee to stick the stake of said Meeting-house." At two later meetings it was voted to abide by what the committee did in fixing the place for a meeting-house. The county court appointed the three Wallingford men named by the parish as "a Committee with full power to repair to the Said Parish of Farmingbury, Notify the Inhabitants of Said Parish, View all circumstances, and hear all Parties, and affix a stake upon some convenient spot of ground in said society, for the Inhabitants thereof to Build a meeting-House upon for the Purpose of Divine Worship, and make a report of their doings herein to us at the next Court." The committee issued the proper notice to the inhabitants, went there, "heard all parties, and viewed all circumstances, and there affixed a Place in said Society, and erected a stake thereon, with stones about it, viz.: on a Beautiful Eminence and on the line Dividing between the Towns of Waterbury and Farmington," etc. The parish proceeded to business in a whirlwind of votes. "Voted to go about building a meeting-house forthwith. Voted to build said house 58 feet in length and 42 feet wide. Voted to have said house 24 feet between joints. Voted to face said house to the south. Voted to board the body of said house. Voted to shingle said house with chestnut shingles. Voted to clapboard said house with 'drent oak'." Another meeting "Voted that Abraham Woster should be master builder on said house."

Mr. Orcutt in his "History of Derby," quotes an account of the action of the First Church of Derby in this matter as late as 1820. "On the 30th of March, 1820, a vote was passed that 'all former votes respecting the location of a house of worship be rescinded.' It was then voted, two-thirds concurring, that the house should stand on its present site, and a committee was appointed to wait upon the county court to procure its approbation of the location selected. The decree of the court 'appointing, ordering and fixing the said place' was given at the March term of 1820."

Another vote of the society of Farmingbury is of interest to the history of county officials and procedure. "Voted to have the Society measured by a County surveyor * * * Voted to lay a half penny rate to pay for measuring the Society, and that said half penny rate be paid by the first day of February next. * * * Sargent Samuel Smith and James Warner and Daniel Bronson were chosen chainmen, and Lieut. Ashbel Potter, County surveyor."

In 1737 Isaac Bronson of Waterbury was brought before "one mr justice Timothy Hopkins" for being guilty of servile labor on the Sabbath day, and was sentenced to pay fine and costs, or go to prison. The offence was letting his sister ride home behind him from meeting Sunday night after a stay with her sick mother. He appealed to the General Court, since he was not only recorded as guilty, but was also "put of from Recieuing the sacrament on that account, and there upon prays this Honourable assembly to make void the sd judgment if they in their wisdom can think it just, or grant him Liberty of a hearing of the whole matter before the County Court to be holden att New Haven in November next, and order the sd justice to furnish him with a copy of his proceedings in the case in order to his hauing a fair Tryall at the sd Court, or any other way grant Releaf."

CHAPTER V

THE SYSTEM IN OPERATION

CASES:—RUGGLES, NOYES, WHITTELSEY, ROBBINS, DANA—MINOR CASES

The first, in point of time, of the celebrated controversies in the county, occurred in Guilford, and before it was over, brought in committees, councils, consociations, county court, associations and the General Assembly,—all the machinery of the ecclesiastical constitution. A letter of one of the councils to the First Church of Guilford said that it engendered “uncomfortable things, unsuitable heats and speeches, among divers of the members of the society, in this day of temptation.”

In 1728 the Rev. Thomas Ruggles, Sr., died and the First Society in Guilford proceeded to the matter of calling a probationer for “settlement” as his successor. The first one so called was Thomas Ruggles, Jr., but opposition immediately developed, apparently partly because there was another possible candidate, son of one of the leading families. The minor party, about three-eighths of the members of the church petitioned the church for dismissal, which was granted, though they must continue to pay taxes to the first society until the General Assembly made them a church. They rated more than £3,000 in the list.

The ordination of Mr. Ruggles took place in spite of this strong opposition. The “minor part, yet uneasy,” appealed to the General Assembly to be made a separate society, but that body wished to reconcile the two parties, and to that end appointed a series of committees and councils, both of ministers and laymen. Neither side was anxious for such councils, for both were against the Saybrook Platform. The Guilford church had never come into the Consociation, preferring to follow its own rule and faith.

The minority next appealed to the County Court to be qualified according to the act of William and Mary for the ease of sober consciences, declaring themselves “of the Congregational profession according to the practice of our fathers in primitive times * * * which greatly differs from what is established by law in this Colony.” They began to hold meetings before the county court took action, a procedure which laid them open to presentment by the Grand Jurors as “disorderly.” Such action was started, but never followed up, and a few months later the minority were allowed to take oath at the county court as “sober dissenters.”

They then began to build a meeting-house on land presented them in return for choice of a free pew. At the next session of the General Assembly they petitioned to be made a society of dissenters in order to be freed from taxes to the First Society. The General Assembly released them from the taxes, but still hoped to reconcile the two parties, and did not grant their request to be made a society. Instead more councils were held, and committees appointed by all parties. As a result of the advice of one of these councils, the First Society, claiming that only the particular individuals who appeared at the county court were freed from paying taxes, collected rates from the minority by distraint, and the dissenters, now forty-six in number, were suspended from church membership. During the course of events a meeting of delegates selected by the Assembly from three Associations of the colony was also held in Guilford, but their combined wisdom brought no settlement. After failure of all these efforts the Assembly concluded that it was impossible to unite the two parties, and "for the peace of the town and the interests of religion," established the minority as the Fourth Society of Guilford. Their minister, Mr. Ward, was ordained in 1733, more than five years after the death of Mr. Ruggles, Sr.

The "uneasy party" received much advice in the course of affairs from the Rev. Joseph Moss of Derby, advice which has interest beyond the case itself, as containing arguments foreshadowing those used in the opposition of the colonies to the authority of Great Britain. Mr. Moss, who had bought "The Clerk's Guide," and Henry Care's "English Liberties," said that setting up a pastor over a church in opposition to so many of its members was "a breaking in upon the natural liberty, which belongs to all churches and Christians." To deny their petition, he said, "will amount to persecution and that, under colour of a law which is contrary to the Law of England—so contrary to the charter & contrary to the laws of Christ also." One of his last communications said that "Mr. Thomas Ruggles hath not a pastoral care over those ancient members of the church at Guilford, who were never active in choosing and calling him, but always protested against it."

"This," said the historian Trumbull, "affords a solemn caution to churches and societies, and to ordaining councils, against settling ministers where there are large and respectable numbers in opposition, and forcing ministers upon them by majorities."

In 1736 a revival, "a flourishing of religion," occurred in New Haven. It was connected with the revival started in Northampton by Jonathan Edwards, and was followed soon by reaction and declension. Four years later came the visit of the English Whitefield, and the "Great Awakening," in which Connecticut was especially moved. An awakening was much needed, for observance of the Half Way Covenant had filled the churches with members who had little or no religious experience. Great excitement marked the latter revival. The first preachers were followed by a body of lay exhorters and itinerant preachers, many of whom were

untaught. Their efforts were marked by "intemperate, indiscreet zeal, imprudences and heats," and roused the opposition of many of the established ministers. The New Lights, as they were called, were sometimes so boisterous that the constables interfered in their meetings.

Magistrates and leading citizens in general were against these meetings. The ministers of New Haven county were especially hostile to the movement, and made themselves so unpopular by their repressive measures that in 1749 when the General Association met in New Haven only four members came. The laws passed to suppress "enthusiasm" went far towards nullifying the toleration granted in the act of 1708, and it was hard for dissatisfied Congregationalists to get permission from the Legislature to worship apart. They did not have the same amount of toleration that Churchmen enjoyed.

Suggestion for passing these measures is said to have come from this county. The General Consociation met at Guilford in 1741 and voted to forbid itinerant preaching,—no minister to preach or administer sacraments in any parish but his own unless invited by the minister of that parish. In 1742, partly at least under the influence of the New Haven Consociation, and with the conservative Jonathan Law of Milford as governor, the Assembly passed an act making these regulations a law, and was thanked by the New Haven County Consociation and Association. It was provided that an intruder in a parish would forfeit his right to collect a salary, and would be liable to be put under bonds. No assistant or justice of the peace should sign a warrant for collecting a minister's rate until he was sure that nowhere in the colony was lodged a certificate with the society clerk that he had entered a parish and preached without permission. Firm measures were sometimes taken to prevent such uninvited preaching. "Then was chosen by the church in Amity as their representatives for said church with the pastor to order for the opening and shutting of the pulpit door, and for giving leave or prohibiting any persons preaching or exhorting in said society publicly according to the law of the government on that occasion, 'That no one shall preach or exhort publicly without the liberty of the Pastor and Church and Society'."

The next year the provisions against sober dissenters were changed, and instead of qualifying at the county court, they must go to the General Assembly. Measures were passed regulating the orthodoxy of the schools. All these went too far, and were left out of the revision of the laws in 1750.

When Whitefield made a second visit in 1745, the New Haven Association said, "We can in no wise approve his Itinerancy, in going from county to county from Town to Town, and from one Place to another, under the pretence of preaching the Gospel." On his first visit he had been welcomed by the ministers, but this time he was not invited to preach in the church, and did so from a platform in front of Mr. Pierpont's house, to an immense congregation. He could not preach in the New Light White Haven society's building, for it was not yet finished. It would have been

a natural place, for that church was founded in "love of evangelical doctrine, of ecclesiastical liberty, of revivals of religion." In later years he stopped at its parsonage, when Mr. Bird, his warm personal friend, was living there.

The "religious commotions" of the revivals were followed by "religious contentions," to borrow the expressions of Dr. Bacon. There were forty years of contests over religious questions in the "Church Militant," with the formation of many dissenting churches. Old churches were divided, not because of growth of population, as in the case of daughter settlements and the formation of new parishes, but because of church quarrels.

One minister who became itinerant and made much trouble in New Haven was, by a curious chance, the Rev. James Davenport (Yale 1732), great-grandson of the first minister. He was one of the revivalists who "gave an unrestrained liberty of noise and outcry, both of distress and joy, in time of divine service." The pastor of the church here at the time was an older Yale graduate, of the class of 1709, Joseph Noyes, described as discreet, cautious, and scholarly. He belonged to one of the ministerial family relationships. His father was a distinguished minister, he himself married the daughter of the Rev. James Pierpont, and had both sons and grandsons who were ministers. President Stiles had called him one of the "pillar tutors and the glory of the college." At the time of the Great Awakening he had been preaching here nearly twenty-five years, to everyone's satisfaction. Mr. Davenport attacked him publicly in the most extravagant manner, as an unconverted man, "a hypocrite, a wolf in sheep's clothing, and a devil incarnate." Mr. Noyes, on his part, with "his love of old steady times," was unfriendly to the revival, and approved the measures of repression.

A minority of the church, as a result of the revival, came to be dissatisfied with his doctrine and his preaching, which is said to have been not very enlivening, and "with increasing age grew more dull and dry and non-committal." They asked for a separation, which was refused. They thereupon asserted that the church was not under the Saybrook Platform, not wishing to have the matter taken to the Consociation for settlement, since a majority would favor Mr. Noyes. Perhaps it was true in a literal sense that the church had never formally adopted the platform, for no records of such a vote are to be found, but its pastor James Pierpont, had been one of the leaders in drawing up the Articles, and the church had been consociated in its action. However at this time it formally joined the Consociation.

The minority organized themselves as a church, claiming that they were "re-establishing" the original church on the original foundations, "firmly adhering to the congregational principles and privileges on which said church had been founded." They said that the First Church, by adopting the Saybrook Platform, had really formed another church and excluded them from their ecclesiastical privileges. Though the ostensible reason now given for separation was refusal to recognize the Consocia-

tion, the real reason was dislike of Mr. Noyes. Forty-three persons, the number soon increased to more than seventy, formed a society. They were constituted a church by a council of four ministers from the Fairfield County Association, and subscribed publicly to the covenant and confession of faith which had been used in the original church at its beginning, "vindicating our ancient rightful powers and privileges broken in upon." This is the official action, taken according to provisions of the law.

"At a County Court Held at New Haven by Adjournment on The Last Tuesday of January anno Domini 1741/2.

"James Pierpont of New Haven and Divers others of New Haven to the Number of sixty persons Having by an Instrument under their hands Declared that they Do sincerely and soberly Dissent from the way of Worship and Ministry Established by the Antient Laws of this Government and still Continuing and Desireing of this Court that they Might be Admited to Qualify themselves According to one Statute Law of this Colony Made in the seventh year of Queen Anne by takeing the oaths and Subscribing the Declaration Directed to in the act of William and Mary Made in the first year of their Reign as by their Memoriall on file is more fully set forth, and the Place in sd Memoriall assigned for publick Worship is thee House of Timothy Jones in sd New Haven. Which prayer was Granted and Thereupon James Pierpont [et al] * * * Took the Oaths and Subscribed the Declaration according to the Direction of the Acts Aforesaid before this Court."

There were thus two groups claiming to be the original church of New Haven. As Dr. Munger said, the legality of their position was doubtful, but morally their action was right. "Their secession was in fact an impeachment and breaking down of the union of Church and State. * * * The church hindered the growth of those seeds of freedom and popular government which had been brought from England, and the state choked the currents of spiritual life in the church. * * * It was not easy for these complainants to extricate themselves from a church with which they no longer sympathized; the only way out was an attack on consociation; as a few years later the colonies declared their independence on the ground of grievances, scarcely one of which was really felt,—the real motive being to secure liberty." One precedent for separation was in the fact that recently a new church had been formed in Guilford by act of the General Assembly.

The First Society tried to placate the minority by offering to call a colleague pastor, but the man first recommended by the Association declined to come and no further serious effort to get one was made. Meanwhile the minority, feeling that nothing would be done about a colleague, began in 1744 to build a meeting-house. In the effort to settle the affair councils were called, and application made to the General Assembly. The situation of the minority was made difficult by the opposition of Mr. Noyes, of the New Haven County Association, and of the

officials of the college, who forbade the students to attend its services, and expelled one for so doing. For eight or nine years they had irregular preaching, or none at all. Under the law against itinerant preachers, one of the men who preached to them, Mr. Finlay, later President of Princeton, was arrested, carried as a vagrant out of the colony, and even thriftily required to pay the cost of his transportation. It may be remarked by the way, that this church seems to have been particularly attracted to men who became college presidents. The pulpit was supplied the first few months by the Rev. Eleazer Wheelock, afterwards founder of Dartmouth College. Samuel Austin, second minister of the Fair Haven church, (an off-shoot which re-joined the church), became president of the University of Vermont; Jonathan Edwards became president of Union College; Mr. Sawyer of Central College, Ohio; and the Rev. S. W. S. Dutton declined a college presidency.

Rev. Mr. Bird arrived in 1751 as preacher, a popular and successful minister. He had not been in jail like Mr. Moody, but had been expelled from Harvard College just before his graduation, for advocating New Light theology. The new organization began to show signs of outnumbering the older one to which it belonged, and the latter began to wish for a peaceable settlement. In 1757 an enrollment of names was started, that a division of the society might be made according to preference. The New Lights, the former minority, were now found to be a majority, whereupon they voted not to separate, but to call their minister, Mr. Bird, as pastor, and to hold worship in their building. Mr. Noyes, however, continued to preach in the new building of the First Church, and a colleague with him was chosen, Mr. Chauncey Whittelsey. He, like Mr. Noyes, had been tutor in Yale College, and was appointed colleague pastor against the protests of the New Lights. He was therefore chosen by the church, not by the society as a legal body, for there the New Lights were in a majority. A committee of the society objected to his ordination, but a council of ministers decided against them. New Lights were now in a majority in the Consociation also, and that body voting that Mr. Noyes and Mr. Whittelsey were "disorderly persons" and not fit to sit in any ecclesiastical councils, the First Church was now alienated from the Consociation.

It might be added concerning two minor matters, that the First Church had not been able to get the two-thirds majority of the society required by law for building a meeting-house, and had taken the method provided for such circumstances, and petitioned the General Assembly for special permission. Mr. Whittelsey's support also had to be provided for in some special way. This was done by the church, helped by some members of the congregation, who joined in a subscription. It might also be mentioned that the council which decided against the New Lights in the matter of Mr. Whittelsey's appointment was made up of the ministers of the following churches of the county,—Cheshire, North Haven, North Branford, Meriden, Milford, East Guilford, West Haven and Amity.

President Stiles said of Mr. Whittelsey at his funeral, "In this candle stick he has shone as a burning and shining light. * * * He was a Boangeres, a son of thunder, a Barnabas, a son of consolation." The result of his appointment as colleague pastor so strengthened the Old Light party that they were able to have a formal division of the society made in 1759, seventeen years after the first separation from Mr. Noyes, and eight years after the installation of Mr. Bird. Each church had a new building, on which legally both had claims, besides the old meeting house. The property was divided, except the bell which could not be, and was held as the property of both societies, to be rung for both.

Mr. Bird left the White Haven Church a few years later (1768), and Jonathan Edwards became his successor. There was opposition to his settlement on the part of a large number, due to his stand on the Half Way Covenant. A third church was formed by secession of these dissatisfied persons, called the Fair Haven Church, but in 1796 the two were reunited.

In this controversy also, besides its general revolutionary character, phrases were used that appeared during the Revolution. Mr. Noyes, for instance, said a certain council was inconsistent with the constitution and the light of nature. It is of interest that Nathan Beers, who was murdered by the British in 1779, came to live in New Haven at this time in order to join the White Haven Church. So bitter was the feeling against the New Lights that he could not find any one to transport his goods from the vessel in which they were brought, and was obliged to hire a farmer to do it.

In another long controversy, the Whittelsey-Prudden case in Milford, the minority followed a different plan in order to get their way. In 1738 the Consociation of New Haven County ordained Samuel Whittelsey, Jr., Yale 1729, as colleague pastor to Mr. Samuel Andrew, in spite of the opposition of a large minority. They said he was not preaching the Gospel, but a system of morals; that his preaching savored too little of Christian experience. Official pressure carried the day in the ordaining council. Mr. Whittelsey's father, minister in Wallingford, was a man of great influence; Governor Law of Milford and his brother-in-law, Mr. Hall of Cheshire, were both in favor of the candidate, as were Mr. Noyes of New Haven and Mr. Stiles of North Haven.

A compromise was effected by which the minority, if still opposed at the end of six months, might choose a colleague who should preach half the time. The minority listened to Mr. Whittelsey for two years under this arrangement, and still felt such objection that they applied both to the church and to the town to carry out the agreement as to a colleague. This was now refused, on the ground that the request had been too long delayed. No help could be obtained from the Association, which said it had no advice to give. The dissenters qualified according to law at the county court in 1741, and also received permission to build a meeting-house on land they bought after the town refused them a site

on public land. Finally, breaking away from the Congregational Church entirely, they declared themselves Presbyterians, and put themselves (1743) under the Presbytery of New Brunswick, New Jersey. They were still obliged to pay taxes and other charges to the First Society, but in 1750 were released by the General Assembly and given certain parish privileges.

They had great difficulty in getting preachers. Mr. Finlay of New Jersey tried to preach to them, as to the White Haven Church in New Haven, and was arrested as a disorderly transient or vagrant, and taken from constable to constable until he was out of the colony. One man, Mr. Benajah Case, was arrested and sent to prison for preaching to them. This sentence was passed by Governor Law, who was a member of the First Society. One man was called before the General Assembly for the offense of preaching to them, and attempts to arrest two others failed, because they could not be found. Mr. Whittelsey refused the use of his pulpit to five ministers, though it was not being occupied by him at the time. One of these men preached on the door-stone to a large assembly.

At length, by a coincidence similar to that which brought a descendant of John Davenport into the controversy in New Haven, they got as first minister Mr. Job Prudden, Yale 1743, great-grandson of the first minister in Milford. He was settled before parish privileges were granted, and was ordained (1747) by the Presbytery of New Brunswick, "as pastor of a separate church in his native town." This action was displeasing to the New Haven Association, which passed a censure. Mr. Prudden died of smallpox thirty years later, leaving all his estate to the society. The second pastor, Josiah Sherman, was also a great-grandson of one of the first settlers of the town.

In 1760 the General Assembly made them an ecclesiastical society, with full privileges, known as the Second Society, and ten years later they received their share of the parsonage lands.

Several cases arose under the law of 1742 which forbade ministers to preach in another parish without the consent of the minister of that parish. The most important was that of Mr. Robbins of Branford. In 1732 young Mr. Philemon Robbins, recently graduated from Harvard (1729), destined to become one of New Haven county's half century ministers, came with a friend to attend a Yale commencement, and "to see the Wooden College." At this time Branford was without a minister, and hearing of the young man, invited him to preach a few times. The results were so satisfactory that Mr. Robbins finally remained in that capacity.

In 1742 during the Great Awakening he was invited to preach to the Baptists of Wallingford, (within the bounds of Mr. Whittelsey's parish), which he did twice, although advised against it by some persons of Mr. Whittelsey's congregation and by Mr. Hemingway of East Haven and Mr. Stiles of North Haven, both strict Old Light men. Complaint was made against Mr. Robbins to the Consociation, (signed by the way by

Theophilus Yale, bearing two names familiar in New Haven history). He was said to have preached in a "disorderly manner, in contempt of the authority, of this Consociation, without the consent of the Rev. Mr. Whittelsey," etc. Another complaint was made of incorrect doctrine, to which he remarked, "my disaffected neighbors were very attentive." One of the numerous articles of false doctrine was his opinion of the "state of infants, dying in infancy, declaring they was as odious in the sight of God, as snakes and vipers were to us; and left it wholly in the dark whether there were any saved or not." The holder of these opinions is described as "a most inoffensive gentleman; mild, peaceable and a peace maker."

He was, however, the center of a controversy which lasted several years. During the course of this controversy, the Branford church tried to throw off the yoke of the Consociation by renouncing the Saybrook Platform; Mr. Robbins was deprived of his seat in the Consociation for his disorderly preaching, and later was deposed from the ministry and from the communion of the church. A society meeting of his church voted "That we desire the Rev. consociation and association not to send any councils or committees among us, unless the society desire it. * * * That we cannot submit to the acts or conclusions of any councils respecting the ministry among us, that are made without the vote and consent of this society."

The meaning of the word "parish" also was brought into the discussion, a new question risen since the organization of more than one church in a town. Did it mean an ecclesiastical body of people, a society, or a circuit of territory? Might a territory be inhabited by persons belonging to different churches? That is, when Mr. Robbins preached to a recognized body of Baptists in Wallingford, was he in Mr. Whittelsey's parish? Those who differed from this opinion said that for a number of years taxes had not been gathered from this group for the support of the First Society, and that in other ways they had been recognized as an independent body. The controversies in this county were bringing about the organization of the first parishes in New England, based on persons rather than geographical area, that is, "poll parishes."

The Robbins case was also brought before the Association of New Haven County, in which he was not allowed to sit. Various attempts were made to get from him a confession of wrong doing that would be satisfactory to both ecclesiastical bodies, the Association and Consociation, but in vain. He also had to appear before the Assembly.

The Branford church denied the "pretended government and jurisdiction" of the ecclesiastical bodies, and voted "That we renounce the Saybrook Platform, and cannot receive it as a rule of government and discipline in this church;" that we declare this church to be a Congregational church. Mr. Robbins also denied that he had been settled under the Saybrook Platform. He continued to work and to preach in his church and parish, choosing for his text the first Sunday after he was sentenced

by the authorities,—“For the necessity is laid upon me; yea, woe is unto me, if I preach not the Gospel.” Many of his flock had come to meeting that day in doubt as to the attitude they should take, but were moved by his words to support him. Support meant more than sympathy, since for more than three years the payment of his salary was a voluntary matter on their part. It was continued during this time, and even increased.

The situation was allowed to adjust itself by gradual reconciliation, and in 1755 Mr. Robbins was invited to sit with the Consociation at the ordination of Mr. Street. As in other controversies, ideas were expressed that are significant in view of the impending Revolution. The Consociation, representing established authority, reproached Mr. Robbins, “That he hath spoken evil of dignities; that the leaders and rulers of this people, were opposers of the glorious work of God.” “That he hath been a promoter of schismatic contentions, separations and divisions. That he hath led off a party with him to rise up against and separate from the ecclesiastical constitution of this Colony, under which this church was peaceably established; reproachfully insinuating, in a church meeting, that under Saybrook platform it was King Association, in opposition to Jesus Christ, the only King of the church.” Mr. Robbins said, “As to my saying I had rather be under a bishop, than under our Association, it is probably true, and I see no reason to alter my mind.”

The Rev. Samuel Whittelsey, Sr., pastor of the Church of Wallingford, died in 1752. After being about six years without a pastor, owing to divisions of opinion and feeling about various candidates, the church applied to the neighboring ministers for advice, and were recommended to seek it in Cambridge. The candidate suggested there was James Dana, Harvard 1753, said to be a studious young gentleman, who would probably “distinguishingly shine among his Brethren.” He came, preached as a candidate, and was called. Owing to doubts some people had as to the soundness of his faith, he was visited on various occasions, but is said to have given an angry and disdainful refusal to be questioned, the surprising answer that he was too young to be examined, and the query as to why they did not ask his views on Aesop’s Fables and Bunyan’s Pilgrim’s Progress. This treatment not unnaturally did not remove the opposition to him, and the vote was 140 to 62.

The committee of the minority then wrote to the Consociation of New Haven County, setting forth his heterodox views, asking them to meet, hear these grievances, and “determine the whole matter,” thus beginning the Wallingford controversy. The Consociation, Old Light in sympathy, met at Wallingford, with the council of the minority; the other party, with their council, representing the church and society, the elders and messengers of seven churches, some outside the county, declining to submit to the Consociation, saying that it had no jurisdiction in the case. Mr. Dana took the same position. Against the decision of the Consociation, and in spite of the protest of the large minority, Mr. Dana was

ordained. The ordaining council "looked upon it, that we were called of God to ordain Mr. Dana." In the eyes of the New Haven Consociation, and of the Hartford Consociation, which was called into the case, this action appeared in a quite different aspect, as "a scandalous attempt," and "disorderly breaking off." Communion was withdrawn from Mr. Dana and the church for their "sinful conduct," and the minority was declared to be the consociated church in the First Society in Wallingford. Fortunately for Mr. Dana, his adherents were in the majority, and laid rates for his support.

Neither had Mr. Dana, who came from Massachusetts, been examined and recommended by the Association of New Haven County, which had hitherto been strict in observing this method of procedure. Mr. Dana and the ministers who ordained him formed an association of their own, which lasted until 1772, when overtures of peace were made by the Consociation. Ten years earlier some men in Meriden had complained that their pastor had exchanged with a man suspected of being unsound (Mr. Dana of Wallingford), but the Consociation would hardly listen to the complaint.

The minority had trouble over finding a place to meet. At first, following the advice of the New Haven County Association, they held separate worship in the meeting-house when it was not in use, coming together after the regular morning and evening services. Mr. Woodbridge, who preached to them, was arrested on a grand jury complaint for disorderly conduct. His sentence of fine or imprisonment was removed by the General Assembly, which also released the minority from taxes to the First Society in 1759, and allowed them to worship by themselves. In 1763 they were made a separate society, the Wells. The First Society tried to stop them by an injunction from putting up a building, and when this failed by the more primitive and direct method of a fight over the foundations.

For several years petitions were sent to the General Assembly over taxes and repairs of the building of the First Society on the one side; and on the other, that the First Society should pay the Wells Society a certain amount towards their meeting-house, in return for their interest in the property and building of the First Society. In adjusting the question of property and taxes a case was taken into the courts. By 1787 the Wells Society became financially unable to continue, and the next year voted to rejoin the First Church. Some members returned, and some went to other denominations. The Episcopalians acquired their building about 1831.

Mr. Dana was called to New Haven in 1789, as "bishop" of the First Church, to use the expression of President Stiles. As in the case of Mr. Robbins prejudice against him had gradually worn away, especially after he took a patriotic stand at the time of the Revolution. Also Mr. Dana, who in youth had been "that great heretic Dana," a New Light, in old age was against the new divinity of the time, and consequently was re-

garded as orthodox. He was the last of the preachers identified with the Old-New-Light and Half-Way-Covenant controversies. His establishment was a triumph of the principles for which the New Lights had been contending.

Mr. Hart of Saybrook wrote of the Dana case,—“the rights and liberties of all our consociated churches are at stake; and that it was clearly the duty of their ministers to undertake their defence, when they were invaded by any of their own order, or when our associations or consociations go into measures, under pretence of constitutional power and authority, directly tending to destroy the balance between power and liberty, and to turn consociational power into tyranny, and introduce slavery into the place of liberty.”

Three or four minor cases of discipline in the county are worth mentioning, for various points of interest. In 1774, a Mr. Jonathan Lee, supposed to be in sympathy with the new religious movement, was ordained over a church in Salisbury. Three ministers of New Haven County, from Derby, Waterbury and Northbury, respectively, assisted in the ordination, and were suspended from the Association. One of them, Mr. Leavenworth, had been obliged, when he came to Waterbury, to give a bond of £500 if he should “become a churchman, or by immorality or heresy render himself unfit for a Gospel minister.” About ten years later this bond was removed, and was required in the first place because of fears of the spread of Episcopacy.

Mr. Humphrey of Derby, father of General Humphrey, offended the authorities. He was a zealous dissenter from the Saybrook Platform, went out of his parish to preach to a Baptist society, and was twice suspended from the Association. The charge against him is interesting as an example of procedure.

“To the Clerk of the Parish or Society in Derby in which the Reverend Mr. Daniel Humphrey doth belong these may inform that the said Daniel Humphrey, contrary to the true intent and meaning of the law of the Colony of Connecticut entitled an act for Regulating abuses and correcting disorders in Ecclesiastical affairs, has presumed to preach in the Parish or First Society of New Haven.

“Dated at New Haven Sept 24, 1742

“Signed per

“Samuel Bishop, Justice of the Peace.

“John Hubbard, Justice of the Peace.”

The church at Meriden was not without its case before the ecclesiastical authorities. In 1767 it invited Mr. Hubbard (Yale, 1744), as minister, without consulting the New Haven County Association, to which body a minority appealed. Mr. Hubbard denied its jurisdiction, and the majority called a council to ordain him. The Consociation met at Meriden the same day, at the invitation of the minority. There were sessions for four days of each organization, with letters, resolutions and remonstrances sent back and forth. The ordaining council thought best not to proceed

under the circumstances. The minority appealed to the General Assembly, which released them temporarily from their taxes, and advised calling a council of ministers and lawyers, which was named. The majority would not comply with this arrangement, and got together a council made up mostly of ministers from outside the colony, which was willing to ordain Mr. Hubbard. For two years there was controversy over taxes, during which some of the church seceded and held meetings in private houses, but gradually all returned.

The Rev. Timothy Allen of West Haven, a man of strict morals and a fervent preacher, imprudently said concerning reading the Scriptures without the influence of the spirit of God, that it would not convert a sinner any more than reading an old almanac. This displeased the Consociation so much that he was dismissed from the ministry. Mr. Allen apologized for the manner of his expression, but in vain, and he was obliged to go to a parish elsewhere. This was the occasion on which the Consociation said they had blown out one New Light and would blow them all out.

The effect of ministers and churches excommunicating each other was certainly not favorable to the progress of religion, even if it tended to uniformity of discipline. One minister remarked of an election sermon preached by Mr. Stiles, which contained a bitter attack on ministers who approved of revivals, "he had never before seen the artillery of heaven so turned against itself." On the other side must be placed things like the vote of the Consociation in 1788, that the slave trade is unjust, and that every justifiable measure be taken to suppress it.

CHAPTER VI

SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND TOWN

DIVISION OF TOWNS AND PARISHES

The expansion of population, division of churches, and growth of sects, led to the need and existence of more than one parish in a town, and ultimately in most cases, to the division of towns as well as churches. This did not mean giving up the idea of the state church, and civil support of religion, but was yielding to the necessity of separate groups under separate officers and the separation of the church from the town. The General Assembly still had its ecclesiastical authority over all.

In the system of one parish co-extensive with the town, every one had an interest in the church. This meant, in the period of bringing about separation, practical difficulties as to ownership of the building, etc., and often led to controversies. Arrangements also had to be made for collecting the rates of those belonging to other ecclesiastical bodies. Collectors of the rates of Churchmen were appointed by courtesy in town meeting, since, as purely voluntary organizations, they had no right to collect taxes, and as voters they attended the annual meetings of the established ecclesiastical society. After 1784, when every one could worship where he wished, but must support the Gospel, somewhere, both by his attendance and by his contributions, Churchmen appointed their own collectors, and voted their own rates on their own list. A system was developed of making sure that every one actually did support some church by requiring certificates from those who worshipped elsewhere than the established church, in which they stated exactly where they worshipped. This was known as "signing off."

The following is an example of arrangements with churchmen signed by a missionary of the English society. "To the Collectors of the Ministerial charges in Waterbury. Then Received of the Professors of the Church of England in Waterbury the Areas of what is Due of their Ministerial Taxes to my satisfaction and Request you will Give them a Discharge. I am

"Your Humble Servant,
Jonathan Arnold."

East Haven voted in 1789 that "we were willing to hear some proposal that the Churchmen would wish to lay before said meeting. Voted we will appoint a Committee to treat with the Churchmen, relative to a settlement, on account of their dissenting."

Congregationalists of independent beliefs, finally received the same indulgence that was granted to other denominations, but they, too, must pay for the support of some church, and sign off if they did not go to the established church. "This may certify that the subscriber differs in sentiment from the worship and ministry of the Ecclesiastical Society in said town and has chosen and joined himself with the First Strict Congregational Society in said Hamden." When persons signed off, the minister remitted from his salary an amount equal to their tax. Sometimes he had to leave a parish in consequence, because he could not live on the amount of salary left. President Stiles said of one such case in the county, Mt. Carmel, "He dies a martyr to New Divinity."

Subdivisions of parishes, even without controversies, but due to growth of population in outlying places, necessitated changes in methods of management. With only one society in a town, the same officers might act for both, but with several societies each had its own clerk, officers and meetings. Thus a parish meeting in Meriden (while it was still part of Wallingford), appointed its school committees, laid a tax to support the schools, mapped out the school districts, appointed a grave digger and sexton. Another society, that of Mt. Carmel, at its first meeting, chose a clerk, moderator, society's committee, and collector; at the third, appointed a school committee; at the fourth, a committee for money; and at the fifth, one for building the meeting-house.

When a town was divided into several parishes, but joining in the same town meeting it might cause inconvenience, each regarding its own interests. In Waterbury men even nominated town officers in their own parish meetings. In 1748 the town meeting voted that nominations brought in by two societies were not to be regarded, "it being the proper work of this day to nominate and choose officers as the law directs." In 1765 it was stated that "no regard should be paid to society nominations for town officers." A detail of the separation was that different books of records were kept for the town and society.

School privileges were usually included in the first stage of the separation, that of winter privileges of worship. It was as hard for children to go to school at a distance every day as for their parents to go to public worship on Sunday, and for town meetings and training days. An example of a petition for winter privilege may be taken from one of the parishes formed in the town of Waterbury. In October, 1732, a number of people presented the following petition to the General Assembly. "That whereas a Considerable Number of families in the Northwest Corner of the bounds of Waterbury town, by Reason of their Great Distance from ye meeting house which is to Seuerall nine miles and to those that are nearest about three and Exceeding bad way and more Especially by Reason of a great Riuer which is called Waterbury Riuer which for Great part of the winter and Spring is not passable, are debared the hearing of the word preached to the number of aboue thirty families, hauing mett to Gather Sepr 1732 and appointed in behalf of us Your memorialists the

Subscribers then and there to petition to the town of Waterbury for an abatement of our parts of the ministers Rate for the space of four months, Viz. the three winter months of this present winter coming and the month of march next in Case we Should hire a minister on our own Charge to preach the word among us which they the Rest of sd town Refusing we haue appointed Deacon Samuel Brown and Lieut: Samuel Heacock our committee to Represent and Lay our Dificult Surcumstances before this Honourable assembly and the Humble prayers of Your memorialests." The petition was granted for four years. This winter parish, even before the end of four years, took the next step, and asked to be made a distinct ecclesiastical society. The town resisted the demand, and the winter privileges were extended over a longer period, but after several petitions, it was incorporated in 1783 as the society of Westbury.

The course of the development of a settlement into a town may be further illustrated in outline by one or two examples. Meriden was allowed winter privilege in 1724; the next May it became a separate society; in 1727 it began to build a meeting-house; in 1728 it got a regular preacher; the next year the church was organized and the minister, Mr. Hall, ordained; in 1786 it petitioned to become a town; this was not granted until 1806. At intervals in the twenty years from 1786 to 1806 various petitions to be made a town were presented, and opposed by Wallingford. Meanwhile Meriden had lost two pieces of territory, which had asked to be made part of Berlin, one in 1798 and one in 1803. This town had a remarkable first vote after the choice of officers had been made, that any person might wear his hat in town meeting, except when addressing the moderator.

Another example is the town of Cheshire, also taken from Wallingford. In 1715 the farmers on the west side of the river petitioned the town that they "have for sum considerable time many of us dwelt remotely from sd town & under great Disadvantages as to ye great Duty of Edicateing of our children & god haveing in his great goodness much increest our Number we Desire yt ye town would grant us our proportionable part of that money yt we help to pay in order to ye Edicating our children & ye time we are alowed we will keep a schoole according to Law & ye Bounds we Desire assigned is west from ye rever as high as Timothy tuttle," etc. This request was granted for a year.

There were difficulties for several years, and in 1718 the west farmers petitioned the General Assembly to "be a parish Cosiatty by ourselves & have ye privilege of setting up ye worship of god among us." They stated the bounds they desired, and asked that a committee of "indifferent, wise and judicious men" be appointed to "inspect and inquier into our deficaltys and circumstances, that as they in discracion shall think fitt or from other ways as this honourable court shall think best we may be furthered and privilaged with the advantage of the worship of god and good Edication among ourselves."

The town of Wallingford replied to the committee by an epigram that was doubtless unconscious, that "we believe ye great wisdom and

prudence of this assembly will never destroy a town to make a village." The committee reported to the General Assembly that "upon the whole matter we think it best that said farmers continue still with ye Towne of Wallingford as heartofore: espetially considering their deveided State and the smallness of their list."

Arrangements were soon made, however, for the school, the town voting in 1719 "that ye school shall be kept two monts over the river in ye most convenient place to accomidate the children to be sent." In 1723 the town gave them winter privileges for three months and a few months later agreed to let them become a village, with certain bounds. In May, 1723, the West Society held its first meeting and "by thair vot they Agree to perticion to the generall assembly for a conformation of what the tound has granted us in order for a vilag." The Assembly granted them "such liberties, powers & priviliges as other parishes in this Collony generally have & do injoy by law," on the favorable report of a committee directed to "view and consider the circumstances of said farmers, as to number of persons and estates, how capable they be of being a parish, and what limits may be most suitable for said parish."

In 1769 the parish of New Cheshire, as it was called, petitioned the town of Wallingford to "vote your free consent said society of New Cheshire should be made into a Distinct Town—with such Privileges as the General Assembly shall see cause to Invest them with." This was refused. Ten years later the parish renewed the attempt, this time with success. The town meeting accepted the favorable report of a committee appointed to look into the affair, and "Voted that the Parish of New Cheshire shall have our approbation to be made a town on condition the Committee hereafter to be appointed by said Town shall agree on the Dividing Line, Division of the Poor of said Town, Military Stores of sd Town & Bridges to the acceptance of sd Town in town meeting Legally assembled." Town and parish meetings agreed on these details, and a committee from New Cheshire appeared at the General Assembly with copies of the various votes and received a favorable answer to their petition, changing the name to Cheshire at this time.

It may be mentioned with regard to conditions of division, that the North Haven committee on a plan for separation from New Haven similarly reported "that the Estate, Stock, Soldiers in Continental army, town Poor, Bridges and other Burdens &c, be equitably divided." Milford in 1784 appointed a committee to meet with one appointed by the General Assembly to divide the town stock between the town of Milford and the newly formed town of Woodbridge.

Levermore, in an appendix to "The Republic of New Haven," gives extracts from the records showing the development of the town of Naugatuck from its beginning, as it passed through these various stages, an excellent example.

Other examples of this process might be given. It would be like preparing a genealogical chart, to show the descent of the present towns from



CHESHIRE SCHOOL AND CHAPEL, CHESHIRE

the four original settlements in the territory which is now New Haven County. There is now no geographical parish in the Protestant churches, and ecclesiastical societies do no civil business, such as the management of schools. The process of division and sub-division went on rapidly during the eighteenth century. Some parishes were on the borders of several towns, and their descent or pedigree is more complicated. Middlebury was taken from Waterbury, Woodbury and Southbury; Orange from New Haven and Milford; Prospect from Cheshire and Waterbury; Woodbridge from New Haven and Milford; Beacon Falls from Bethany, Oxford, Seymour and Naugatuck; and Naugatuck from Waterbury, Bethany, and Oxford,—to name some examples.

The process, from the often worried point of view of the older town, may be illustrated from the case of Waterbury. Church and town records were the same until 1738. After 1740 the town records contain no reference to church or ecclesiastical affairs. In 1738 the parish of Westbury, now Watertown, was set off; in 1740 Northbury, now Plymouth; in 1765, the winter parish which was the beginning of Naugatuck; in 1773, Farmingbury, now Wolcott; in 1790, Middlebury; in 1796, Oxford; in 1797, Columbia, now Prospect. Some of these were only partly made up of Waterbury territory, but it is no wonder that the town said on one occasion, in objection to a division, "the effect would be to cut us up into mouthfuls ready for the devourer." And in 1762, on the occasion of another petition for a parish, it was said: "The tenor of the memorial leads to distraction and not edification * * * and the granting of it would be as the letting forth of waters that would soon overwhelm us in ruin. * * * We (the committee) being concerned in making and collecting rates, have enough to do to keep from starving out the gospel, by collecting the moderate sums granted, which is a very difficult spot of work in instances not a few, unless we would drag men to jail, or destrain from them by force what we are sensible they know not how to do without."

Complete separation of town and church was marked in North Haven by the vote of 1834 that the town "would no longer pay for ringing the Presbyterian Church bell."

CHAPTER VII

MEETING-HOUSES

SINGING—SABBA-DAY HOUSES—ORDINATIONS—BURIALS

During this period the style of meeting-houses began to change. The first ones were usually square, with pyramidal roof and a belfry, sometimes built of logs, and perhaps with no glass in the windows. They had been enlarged from time to time, and patched and propped up, but finally it became necessary to build new ones. These were not quite square, but more or less oblong.

Guilford in 1711 appointed a committee of seven men to manage the affair of their new building,—the first in the new form. It was 68 by 46 feet in dimensions, had double galleries, the upper one “banistered,” and possessed the adornments of the first steeple, clock and bell. In 1717 Wallingford started to build a new meeting-house, its form to be like the one in Guilford. It, too, was three stories high, that is with two galleries, and “pues maid all round it and ye rest of ye hous shall be long seats.” It had a steeple and in 1728 a belfry.

Derby's second house (1721) also was not square, but was 40 by 32 feet; Waterbury's was similar, 40 by 50, and is said to have had some rude carved work on the interior. The parish of New Cheshire started to build its meeting-house in 1723, 40 by 30 feet, with galleries added five years later. In 1735 they voted to build a new house, having the two-thirds vote of the society required by law, and chose an agent to ask the General Assembly to appoint a committee to fix a site. This building was larger, 64 by 45. A few years later stone steps were put up, and “it was agreed to put on a good handsome painte on ye meeting-house: in order to preserve ye same from ye wether.” Milford, in 1727, built a new meeting-house, still larger, 80 by 65, but also with two galleries, a “Three Decker.” Like most of these buildings, it had three entrances and a steeple at the west end, 95 feet high. Benches were used until 1775, when pews were made. Branford meeting-house, built 1740, was 44 by 26 feet.

In 1750 the church in New Haven, that is the part remaining with Mr. Noyes, built a new house of worship, of brick, 72½ by 50 feet. It had a tower, steeple and three entrances. In 1758 the new society of Amity built its first meeting-house, 40 by 50 feet, with a row of pews around the walls, and on each side of the broad aisle. It had three entrances and a high pulpit. At first it was not painted, but later the society

voted to allow some persons the privilege of coloring it and building a bell chamber at their own expense. The New Light meeting-house in New Haven was painted the common lead or "blue" color, used on some buildings instead of the expensive white paint. There were several other buildings in the town of this color, one of them Yale College. Perhaps the red paint used more widely was not thought so suitable for a meeting-house. About this time Guilford Second Society had "Voted to collour our new meeting-house a lead collour." New Haven County has one of the three remaining examples of this type of church building, the old stone church of East Haven.

These, like the first buildings, were unheated, and so cold in winter that sometimes at communion the wine and bread were frozen, and the minister's voice almost drowned in the sound of stamping feet. Minister and people alike seem to have tried to fortify themselves as well as possible against the icy temperature, with mittens, muffs, mufflers and heavy coats. One minister protected his head with a fur skull cap, even while preaching. Mr. Merwin of New Haven wore overcoat and gloves while he expounded the word, and President Dwight's appearance in the pulpit must have been somewhat like a coachman, "wrapped in a heavy brown great coat, with three or four broad capes, and a stout belt closely buttoned around his waist." The minister in Hamden once preached from the text, "Who can stand before his cold?" ending his sermon with the remark, "Dear Brethren, I should be very glad to say much more on this deeply interesting subject; but 'who can stand before his cold?'"

Taken together with the early hours of service in some churches at least, eight o'clock in the morning for the first service, and the fact that there were two long services, it is no wonder that people coming from a distance needed a place of refuge and comfort. As early as 1686 a man in Guilford was allowed to use the schoolhouse between services, and ten years later six men were each granted two rods for small houses. Perhaps before this people from a distance had gone to the homes of friends between services. In 1742 permission was given for seventeen more Sabba-day houses in Guilford, and others were added from time to time. All the towns came to be adorned with these little houses near the meeting-house. There were at least thirteen in Meriden, one as early as 1727.

They usually had one or two rooms, a fireplace and place for the horses. Here people could warm themselves, have a lunch between services, and replenish the supply of coals in the foot stoves. Perhaps some member of the household had been sent ahead to start a fire, and it is said that occasionally some one left church during the service to go to the Sabba-day house. They were also used on training days, but when the meeting-houses were heated, they disappeared gradually. They could not have been an attractive addition to the landscape at best, and after their original use was gone were undesirable in many ways.

This period of attempts at securing uniformity of church government by consociations and associations saw also the introduction of singing by

rule or "regular singing," and a controversy between that and the older method or lack of method of singing by rote. This conflict of method, to do away with the conflict of tunes, was especially severe during the years 1720 to 1730, many regarding singing by rule as a first step towards popery.

One by one the parishes tried the new method. Cheshire, in 1727, "agreed to sing that which is called the regular singing: provided they obtain a vot in the church therefor." Sometimes it was necessary to compromise the matter, as in the Half Way Covenant and use of two pastors, one to please each party in the church. Wallingford voted, in 1731, "That this Society Desire and agree to sing in ye public Assembly on ye Saboth one half ye time in ye new and one half in ye old way for six Saboths; and after that wholly in the new way." One of the Guilford churches voted, in 1765, to "sing Dr. Watts version one half the time and the old version one half the time." Probably about 1725, President Clap wrote a pamphlet on the subject, entitled "Some considerations tending to put an end to the Differences that have been, about Singing by Rule," quoting the Scripture, "Let us walk by the same rule." Dr. Daggett, in the sermon at President Clap's funeral, said of him, "He thought, he acted, he lived very uniformly by rule." Naturally he wished to sing by rule.

For a long time the people knew only a few tunes, usually not more than five or ten. Men were appointed to "set the psalms on the Sabbath," using a wooden pitch pipe to set the key before a "full voiced conquest of the hymn at stake." There were few choirs until after 1750, one being first mentioned in the White Haven Church in New Haven in 1771, and one in Meriden in 1774. President Clap in his pamphlet made a plea for regular musical training. In 1731 Wallingford granted the use of the meeting-house for a singing school, and by the end of the century such schools were flourishing. Towns sometimes supported them, until the separation of civil and ecclesiastical affairs by the Constitution of 1818, or society meetings provided for them.

Mr. Marvin, in his account of "Early Woodbridge," describes that important event, an ordination, as managed in the case of the first minister in the parish of Amity. "The organization of the church and ordination of the minister took place on the same day. The council convened on the second day of November, 1742, and examined the candidate, and adjourned until the next day for the ordination services. It was customary to examine the candidate the day previous to the ordination, and on the following day the church met at the house where the entertainment was provided and formed a procession; the council leading, the church following, they walked two by two to the meeting-house. It was usual to have a bowl of flip passed around among the council before starting.

* * * The flip having been passed around, we can imagine the procession marching to the meeting-house, where those who were to constitute the church were embodied in church state, by assenting to the confession of faith and articles of discipline. The church being constituted,

voted to call Mr. Woodbridge as their pastor and the ordination service took place."

The young people of the parish often celebrated the event by an "ordination ball," and a dinner was given those taking part in the ordination, for which prodigious quantities of food were prepared, not to mention "Cyder, Metheglin and Rum." An ordination was an affair of interest beyond the immediate parish. About 1785 a young tutor in Yale College wrote in his diary, "Some time in August, made a party to the ordination of my friend Mr. Stebbins of Stratford. I took Miss Sherman into my carriage for a partner. Two others were in company with us. We were a little too late, the town crowded with company, & the meeting-house before we were dressed, was full. We were put to much difficulty to obtain a seat, till Mr. Lockwood politely made room for my partner. We dined at Esq. Brooks' & closed the day with a very good ball."

Expenses of an ordination might be considered one of the things proper to be paid for by the town. "October ye 7th: 1703 Serg Izaac brunson thomas Judd iunr and Edman Scott was chosen to prouide what was needful for ye entertaining ye elder's and mesengers for ye ordaining Mr. Southmaid * * * they (to) keep a fayr account of it and giue it to ye townsmen that it may be payd in ye town Ratt."

A grave digger was another society or town official appropriately considered in this connection. In 1683 Derby chose a man for this office, who was to receive two shillings for digging a child's grave, and six pence more for the grave of an adult. In 1691 the town of Guilford chose a man for "the making of coffins on all occasions of death," and a few years later allowed the grave digger four shillings for the grave of a grown person, and three for "lesser persons," he finding his own tools. The parish of New Cheshire about 1730 chose a grave digger, and set his prices at five shillings, a year later at six shillings, with seven for graves dug in the three winter months.

Slate and sandstone were commonly used for grave stones during this period, with rude carvings of winged heads to denote immortality. Common inscriptions were variations of the following,—

"Behold & see as you Pass by
as you are now so once was I
As I am now so must you be
Prepare for death & follow me."

"The sweet remembrance of the Just
Shall flourish when he sleeps in Dust."

Occasionally some theology is found, as on one stone of 1753 in Meriden.

"Remember well
death & Judgment
heaven and hell."

And another from the same place in 1752.

“For Sin Man being curst
His Body turns to Dust
But Christ will Raise
His Saints in endless Paradise.”

Town greens were still used in some places for burying grounds, perhaps a natural adaptation of the English custom of burials in the church yard. There were no family lots and the grounds were not kept in good condition. They were left either open or fenced with rough stone or wooden fences. It was considered proper to use them for secular purposes, though with some restrictions. East Haven voted in 1786 “The burying-place not to be fed with cattle or horses, but liberty to feed it with geese, sheep and calves.” And in 1792 “Voted That the Selectmen are authorized to let out the Burying Ground to the highest bidder to be fed with calves and sheep.”

SECTION VI—SOBER DISSENTERS

CHAPTER I

BEGINNING OF SECTS

CONVERSIONS TO EPISCOPACY—GENERAL COURSE OF HISTORY—OCCASIONS OF TROUBLE—LEGAL POSITION

Since religious reasons were the main motives for the coming to the new world of the New Haven colonists, the first period of their religious history is marked by very natural and logical efforts to establish and maintain the form of worship for which they and their fathers braved the perils and discomforts of the wilderness. Within the Congregational Church this effort has been shown by the cases of discipline, and by the regulation that new towns, that is new churches, must be formed according to the Congregational order.

The field at home had been left to the Church of England, so far as these colonists were concerned, yet for various reasons their colony had been entered by churchmen. They regarded this as an intrusion, and it might be recalled in this connection that when Samuel Eaton disagreed with John Davenport, and was nevertheless ready to submit to the will of the majority, his brother, Theophilus "advised him to a removal," and he left.

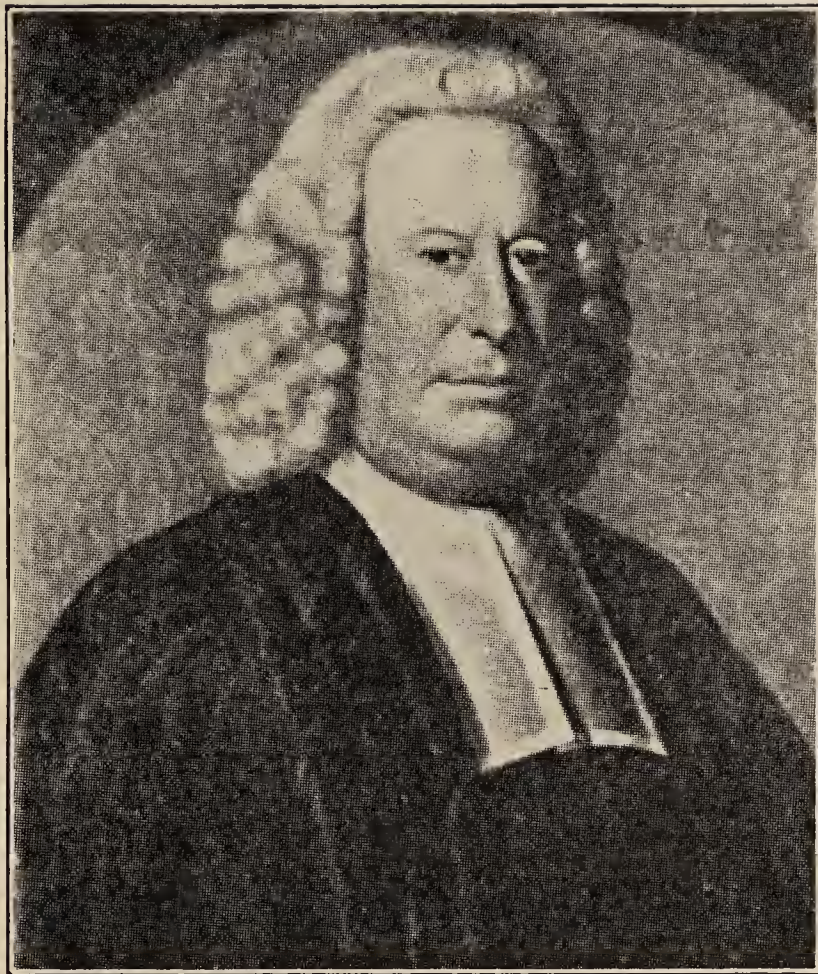
The next period was marked by the feeble beginnings of something like toleration, necessitated by the political fact that some of these later comers were of the established Church of England. Just as the New Haven colony had been obliged to submit to royal authority and lose her political independence under the charter of 1662, so now it was necessary to make some concessions to churchmen. Towards the end of this period of struggle for existence against greater or less hostility, Baptists, as well as Episcopalians, gained an appreciable degree of liberty and prosperity. The doctrines of Baptists especially, of equality of political privileges for all denominations, made them particular objects of dislike to the Standing Order.

Members of the other denominations did not come in bands, as the first settlers had, but gradually, and the number of people who were members of the Church of England was not so great in this county as in Fairfield. After 1701 their numbers were increased by the efforts of a missionary society, formed in England in that year, the Society for the

Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, probably the oldest missionary society in the world, and later known as the Venerable S. P. G. One of its first acts was to send missionaries to the colonies. Their duty was to travel about, find any place where a family showed a preference for Episcopacy, and visit and encourage it. Books of Common Prayer were furnished for free distribution, and the missionaries were paid as well as appointed by the Society, and made their reports to it. The first missionary in this county was the Rev. Jonathan Arnold, converted in 1734, ordained in England in 1736, and appointed missionary for a district which included West Haven, Derby and Waterbury.

Before this date had occurred the dramatic announcement at the Yale commencement of 1722 of the conversion of the rector of the college, Timothy Cutler, a tutor, Daniel Brown, and two Yale graduates, pastors of neighboring Congregational churches, Samuel Johnson of West Haven (formerly a tutor), and James Wetmore, of North Haven. Three other men joined with them in the early stages of their "apostacy." This had not been brought about by the efforts of missionaries, or clergy, for there were none at this time in New Haven. It was a movement among scholars, due to study of theological books by a group of friends. Six of the group were graduates of Yale, and three of them were class-mates, Brown, Johnson and Wetmore. It was especially grievous that Yale, set in the town founded by Davenport, who had dreamed of a college to keep up the supply of Congregational ministers, "should thus groan out Icha-bod," and that too from the study of books in its own library. The other members of this group of seven men, (again reminding one of the seven pillars), were Jared Eliot, Yale, 1706, of Killingworth; John Hart, Yale, 1703, of East Guilford; and Samuel Whittelsey, Yale, 1705, of Wallingford. It may be remarked that a large number of Yale graduates were among the early churchmen of this region, one in ten, according to the estimates of President Clap just before the Revolution. Students converted while at Yale furnished candidates for the Episcopal clergy. The first two bishops of Connecticut, Seabury and Jarvis, were graduates of Yale.

The authorities of the colony gathered themselves together to meet the crisis of this "grand defection" by a debate, under the guidance of Governor Saltonstall of Saybrook Platform fame. He was "a great man, well versed in the Episcopal controversy," an ex-Congregational minister, who had nevertheless entertained one of the missionaries as he passed through Connecticut, and allowed him to preach in his pulpit. A war of pamphlets followed the debate. According to the view of churchmen, the upholders of their side in the debate, who had been studying the question profoundly, seemed to be having the best of the argument, so it was brought to a close. The Congregationalists, on the other hand, felt, or at least said, that their side was superior in the argument, and were much satisfied with its course. At any rate, three of the seven were saved to the Standing Order by this and other measures. It is thought that other



(Courtesy of The Yale Alumni Weekly)

SAMUEL JOHNSON, YALE, 1714

conversions would have followed had not Rector Cutler and Tutor Brown been "excused" by the trustees from further service to the college, after some little time and consultation as to how to meet the situation. To prevent the recurrence of such a happening, future members of the college faculty were required to subscribe to the Saybrook Platform. The account of the inauguration of President Stiles in 1778 says, "the President Elect publicly gave his assent to the Ecclesiastical Constitution of this Government." Mr. Wetmore was soon dismissed from the North Haven Church, and his successor, Mr. Stiles, was offered a settlement on condition that he did not vary "from ye articles of faith or church agreement agreed on at Saybrooke by ye Rev. Elders of this government."

Cutler, Brown and Johnson shortly after this sailed for England, Wetmore following soon, in order to receive ordination. Brown died there of smallpox. One can imagine the feelings of these men, particularly impressionable because of their recent conversion, accustomed to the rude, bare meeting-houses and plain services of New England, on attending, soon after landing, service in Canterbury Cathedral; and picture their ordination a few months later in St. Martin's in London. They were ordained by the Bishop of London, under whose jurisdiction the colonial church in New England was placed. The only one of the three to be stationed by the society in Connecticut was Johnson, who was sent about 1724 as missionary to Stratford. From that place he served the surrounding towns of Fairfield County, and came occasionally to West Haven, and perhaps to his native town of Guilford. In 1754 he was made president of King's College in New York and became a leading light for many years among the clergy. President Dwight says he may be considered the father of Episcopacy in Connecticut. Some idea of the extent of his influence may be gathered from the following statistics. At the time he left Connecticut he had baptized eighty-one adults, and 913 infants, and had admitted to Holy Communion 442 persons, fourteen of this number men, who afterwards went to England to be ordained.

The other three of the group who had signed the first paper stating doubts, Eliot, Hart and Whittelsey, thought the sacrifice of conversion too great, and indeed had probably not been stirred so deeply as the others. They had only doubted, while the others went further, and were "more fully persuaded of the invalidity of the Presbyterian ordination in opposition to the Episcopal." It is to be remembered that the early ministers of the New Haven colony had received lay ordination only, at the hands of members of their flocks, and they in turn had acted in subsequent ordinations. "Dr. I. Mather prayed; much bewailed the Connecticut apostasie; that Mr. Cutler and others should say there was no minister in New England."

Of course the conversion of four prominent men, "reputed men of considerable learning, and all of them of virtuous and blameless conversation," caused great excitement and fears of worse to follow. One man wrote, "I apprehend the axe is hereby laid to the root of our civil and

sacred enjoyments, a doleful gap opened for trouble and confusion in our churches. The churchmen among us are wonderfully encouraged and lifted up by the appearance of those gentlemen on their side; and how many more will, by their example, be encouraged to go off from us to them, God only knows. It is a very dark day with us; and we need pity, prayers, and counsel."

The early history of Episcopacy in New Haven County is that of a struggle for existence, when a few churchmen met in private houses, having no buildings for public worship, and were served by lay readers, with only occasional preaching and service of baptism and the sacraments by the missionaries. This was followed, in the age of beginning toleration, by freedom from some of the burdens of the established church of the colony, and of combinations of parishes and sharing of ministers because there were not enough men for all the places; and finally the age of independent life and liberty.

To a great degree the history of Episcopacy is that of the other denominations, Baptist and Methodist, a history of small scattered beginnings, "persecutions," and gradual growth to a position of strength. The growth of all these denominations was helped materially by the quarrels between the Old and New Lights, and disputes of various kinds among the Congregationalists, though the Episcopal clergy took no direct part in these controversies. "If these dissenters will but confute one another," one of them remarked, "it will save us the trouble." In fact, they tried to keep from becoming entangled, "and little ruffled by such disorders, grew in numbers and reputation." Secessions were often due to other things, payment of the minister's salary, discontent with the candidate chosen, building and repairs of the meeting-houses, as well as the larger questions of church government and discipline.

Increase was greatest soon after Whitefield's visit and the reaction against the excesses of the Great Awakening, and just before the Revolution. As Johnson said of the effects of the words of one of Whitefield's followers,—the church "is increasing. I am a feeble instrument in the hands of God; but thanks be to him, he has placed my left handed brother Gold here, who makes six churchmen while I can make one." Natural love for the Church of England, the church of their fathers, brought many into the fold. During the Revolution, on the separation from England, and during the War of 1812, there was considerable loss.

Besides the natural hostility between churchmen and members of the established church of the colony, was the equally natural feeling on the part of the former that even to be taxed, as every one was, for the maintenance of the established church, or suffer the penalty of distraint and imprisonment for non-payment, was persecution. There was also trouble over fast days appointed by the Congregationalists, and Episcopalian observance of Good Friday. For example, in July, 1775, the General Congress in Philadelphia set a day for fasting and humiliation. The Rev. Samuel Andrews of Wallingford chose the occasion to deliver a sermon

from the text, "I hate, I despise your feast days, and I will not smell in your solemn assemblies." He had offended on similar occasions in the same way, and by not reading the proclamation for a fast, and riding his horse in town during public worship. There were, on the other hand, cases of coöperation. In 1754 the First Society of Guilford voted to let the Conformists have the bell rung on "their Feast & fast days or other Holy days, when it doth not interfere with any of the other days for public worship of the First Society (during the Society's pleasure) they paying the bell man for ringing the bell."

In 1791 a law was passed that public fasts must be observed. This law was of short duration, and the trouble was ended in a different way. Governor Huntington, a personal friend of Seabury's, named Good Friday as the annual spring fast day in 1795. This was done again two years later, and the custom became permanent.

There was sometimes trouble over children in the schools. In Waterbury the feeling became so acute in 1775 that children could not always be sent to the same school, and different ones were held for Congregationalists and churchmen.

A further difficulty in the position of churchmen was the fact that there was no American bishop. It was desirable to obtain educated Americans as clergymen, for they were the most successful workers, but many young men were unwilling to face the expense and dangers of the voyage to England for ordination. It was said in 1766 that of fifty-one who had gone to England for this purpose in a little more than forty years, ten had been lost. The missionaries were therefore constantly begging for an American bishop. Johnson wrote to the Archbishop of Canterbury in 1742, "I am persuaded at this juncture there are several dissenting teachers who would take orders, if they could have them, by riding, though it were three or four hundred miles, and would bring all their people with them that are not infatuated with this New Light." Perhaps this was too optimistic an opinion, but at any rate the lack of an American bishop presented real difficulties in this and in other things, as in the case of confirming baptized children. Another sentence in the same letter suggests one reason for the reluctance of England to grant this request. "I have been informed that the chief pretence against sending Bishops has been an apprehension of these colonies effecting an independency of our mother country."

According to law the Episcopal and all dissenting churches were purely voluntary associations, but they had, also by law, certain privileges, that of worshipping in their own way, and they were still members of the established society. In 1746 a law was passed excluding churchmen from voting in society meetings. They were permitted the same liberty of conscience as that enjoyed by dissenters in England under the act of William and Mary. It was a strange fate that made churchmen, in the words of one Congregational minister, "members of the Episcopal separation of church and state has already been described.

1760 of "the absurd notion of their (Congregationalist) worship and discipline being an establishment here, from which ours is a separation." In 1727 churchmen were exempted from taxes for the support of other than their own minister, and soon from those for building meeting-houses and were authorized to tax themselves for the support of their own clergy. The colony was, in fact, obliged to grant this, or get into difficulties with the mother country, which would not be likely to allow its own religion proscribed. Churchmen could force the issue by appealing to the crown, especially in Connecticut, as the home government was hostile to the charter colonies. So the Legislature had answered an appeal of the Fairfield County Episcopalians by this act of 1727.

A threat of this sort is distinctly mentioned in a letter of Rev. Dr. Johnson's to President Clap in 1754, written on the subject of forcing students belonging to the Church of England to attend the established Church of Connecticut. "Indeed, Sir, I must say, this appears to me so very injurious, that I must think it my duty, in obedience to a rule of the Society, to join with my Brethren in complaining of it to our superiors at home, if it be insisted upon * * * Tell it not in *Gath*! much less in the ears of our dear mother-country, that any of her daughters should deny any of her children leave to attend on her worship whenever they have opportunity for it. * * * It may also deserve to be considered that the Government at home would probably be so far from going into the formality of *repealing* this law, that they would declare it a nullity in itself, and not only so, but even the corporation that hath enacted it."

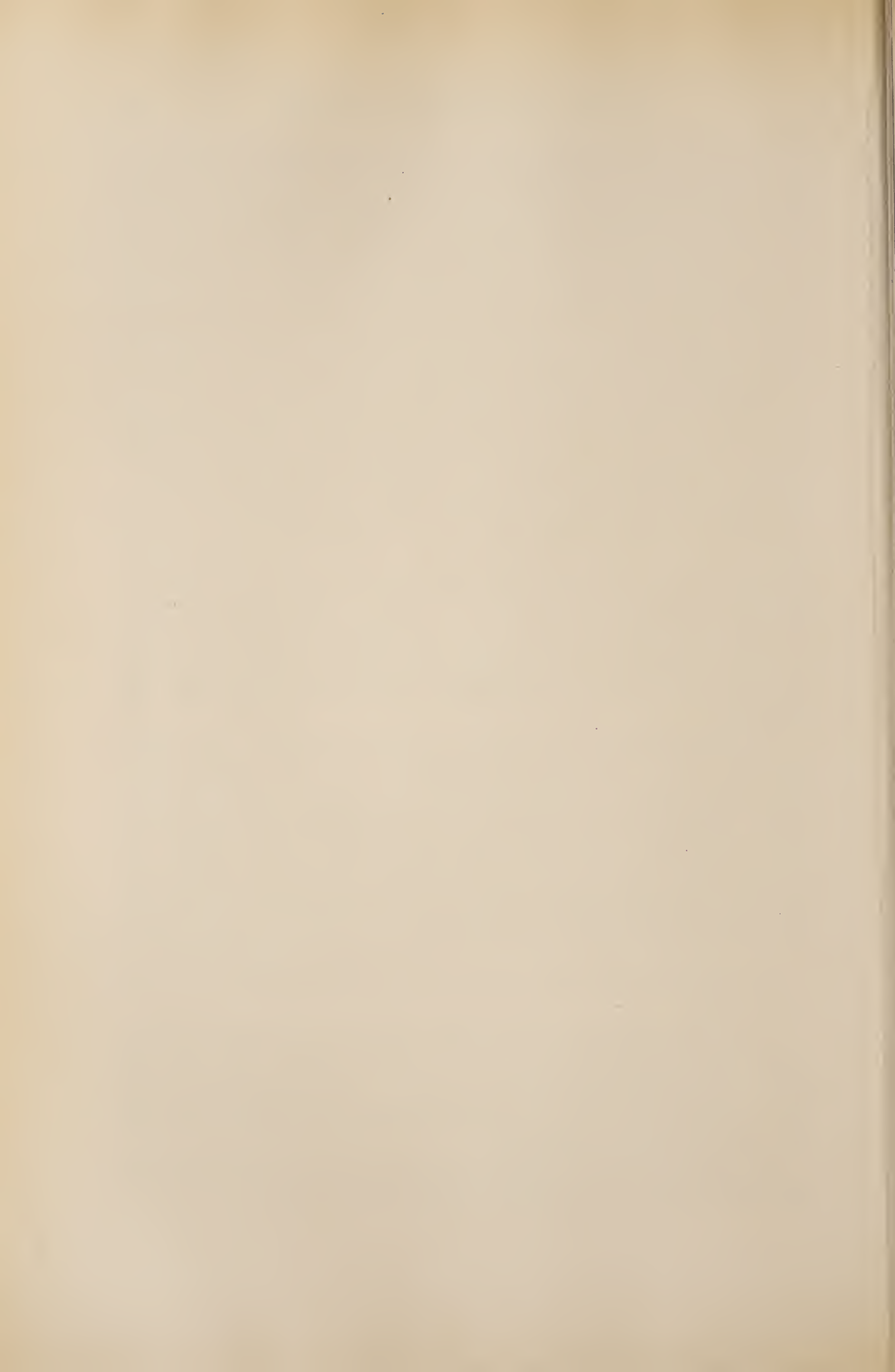
Since the authorities assumed that every one belonged to the Congregational Church, and believed that every one must support public worship, persons worshipping elsewhere must prove that they were so doing. They must present to the clerk of the established society a certificate of belonging to some particular church, signed by its minister and clerk. The following is an example of such a certificate,—“Derby, August 24, 1801. This may certify that Richard Holbrook, of Derby, has this day subscribed his name to the clerk's book belonging to the Episcopal Union society, and considers himself holden to pay taxes to said society.

Test, Samuel Sanford, Clerk.

The above certificate was received by me, Jonathan Lumm, 4th, clerk of this book.”

There were various modifications of this law as to details, until finally a man might write his own certificate, which must be filed with the church of the established society where he lived and later with the town clerk. Legal quibbles arose as to how many absences prevented a man from claiming that he was a regular attendant, and doggerel certificates were made in derision of the law.

The part played by the various denominations in bringing about the separation of church and state has already been described.



CHAPTER II

UNION PARISHES—EARLY MISSIONARIES

CHURCHMEN IN THE REVOLUTION—LATER PROBLEMS—INFLUENCE OF DENOMINATIONS ON EACH OTHER

So few clergymen were available in the early days, that as little groups of churchmen were formed in different towns, they united for worship. These combinations varied from time to time, according to changes in the personnel of the clergy and growth of particular parishes. For instance, under Jonathan Arnold, the first missionary, and his successor in one district, Richard Mansfield, West Haven, Waterbury and Derby were combined, with preaching one-third of the time at each place. Arnold lived in West Haven and Mansfield in Derby. In 1740 Cheshire, Wallingford and North Haven joined in building the Union Church, Wallingford withdrawing in 1757 and North Haven a little later. Cheshire later served as a center for other towns, the minister, Reuben Ives, preaching two-thirds of the time there, and the rest of the time in neighboring towns. Ebenezer Punderson was another missionary who preached at several places, some of them outside New Haven County. A report he made to the Society in 1750 illustrates these conditions. "The 5th of September rode to Middletown, and preached there the next day; the day following, at East Haddam; on Sunday, at Middletown * * * the next day, in a small church in Wallingford; the day following gave private baptism to a poor, weak child, as I went to my native place, New Haven; the Sunday after the Commencement, preached in the State house in that town, to a numerous assembly, notwithstanding Brother Thompson preached the same day in the church at West Haven; the day following, at Branford; upon Tuesday, in the church at Guilford, to abundance; the next day, at Cohabit (North Guilford); upon Friday, at Millington (a part of East Haddam), added there two more to our communion; the next day christened three children. I travelled in this journey about one hundred miles; preached eleven sermons; christened seventeen children."

In 1752 it was reported to the Society that "The church is also gaining at Guilford and Branford, which, being but twelve miles asunder, purpose to join for the present, in procuring a minister." In 1801 Branford, Wallingford and East Haven were combined under Rev. Ammi Rogers, an individual who made much trouble for the church authorities. A later combination (1813) was that of Branford, North Branford, Northford and East Haven.

It is well to notice briefly some of the missionaries and pastors whose work was important in the first years of the Episcopal Church in New Haven County, names which appear over and over in the story of its beginnings in the different towns. One of the earliest of these men was Jonathan Arnold. He was successor of Rev. Samuel Johnson as pastor of the Congregational Church in West Haven, and by his conversion in 1734 that church lost its second minister to the Church of England. Both Johnson and Arnold were graduates of Yale College, the former in 1722 and the latter in 1734. Arnold soon went to England for ordination, and was appointed itinerant missionary for the colony. He lived in West Haven and went about in the neighboring towns, particularly in Derby and Waterbury. He had some money of his own and was able to serve without much financial help from churchmen, and indeed was able to contribute to the first building of the church in West Haven. He is remembered for his attempt to get land in New Haven for a building. He was an erratic person, and soon left the colony.

Arnold was succeeded by Rev. Theophilus Morris, an Englishman, who lived in West Haven, and later in Derby. He did not understand conditions in America, and Johnson felt that he was not adapted to "the disposition of these country people." He finally returned to England.

His successor in this region was an Irishman, Rev. James Lyon, another missionary whose acts were not always wise. He remained about four years and lived at Derby, as the central point of a charge which extended from West Haven to Waterbury.

The next missionary was an American, Mr. Richard Mansfield, son of a deacon in the church in New Haven. He was ready for college at the age of eleven, but college rules kept him out until he was fourteen. It is interesting that he received one of the Berkeley premiums, and that a study of the books sent by Bishop Berkeley to Yale led to his conversion. He was rector of Hopkins Grammar School for a few years, and while there was converted, without losing his place, but when he went to England for ordination his sister prayed that he might be lost at sea. On his return he brought a supply of Bibles, prayer books and other church works for distribution. He went to Derby to live, and when he was twenty-eight was married to Sarah Anna Hull of Derby, aged fifteen. His personality was such as to win people, and he served not only this region but made tours into other colonies. His loyalty to England during the Revolution once obliged him to flee to Long Island, leaving his wife and children. In 1775, for instance, he preached a sermon from the words, "Fear God, honor the King," which naturally created a bitter feeling against him. Various honors came to him later. In 1787 he was chosen to be sent to Scotland for consecration as bishop, but this he declined; in 1792 he was one of the clergymen selected to revise the prayer book; and that year he received the degree of D.D. from Yale, the first Episcopalian to be thus honored. He died in 1820, ninety-six years old, having been in the ministry seventy-one years. He was tall and venerable in appearance,

and always was dressed in the same style,—shoes, small clothes, large white wig, and broad, flat-brimmed hat. It was a time when ministers cultivated their land, and were interested in such things, and he brought back some English walnuts, from which trees grew.

Another early minister was Ebenezer Punderson, a native of New Haven, Yale, 1726, a Congregational minister converted in 1734, and ordained in England. He preached as an itinerant, and came to New Haven about 1753, serving Branford, Guilford and North Haven. So many places were under his care that the church in New Haven did not flourish. His want of "politeness" was said to have hindered his usefulness here also, and in 1762 he went to Rye.

James Scovill was a native of Waterbury, whose step-mother was daughter of "bishop" Brown, one of the early settlers and first churchmen. He learned the weaver's trade, but decided to enter the ministry, was graduated from Yale (1757), and soon went to England, where he was ordained in Westminster Abbey. He became one of the missionaries of the Venerable S. P. G. in the district around Waterbury. He remained in his parish during the Revolution, though some times threatened and obliged to sleep away from home. He went to New Brunswick afterwards, at first only for the summer, and without his family, but later he and all his family but one son removed to that place.

Another early clergyman was a descendant of William Andrews, one of the original settlers of Quinnipiac, Samuel Andrews, the youngest of eight sons, a graduate of Yale of the class of 1759. A class-mate was Benjamin Trumbull, noted for his activity in the patriot cause in the neighboring parish of North Haven, but the two are said to have been anything but friends. Samuel Andrews also went to England for orders and on his return was stationed at Wallingford, with the addition of Cheshire and North Haven. During the Revolution he was placed under bonds, and at its close went to New Brunswick, though he had signed the oath of fidelity in 1785. He was a handsome man with delightful manners, and was much beloved.

In 1774 it was estimated that Episcopalians formed about one in thirteen of the whole number of inhabitants of Connecticut. In New Haven, which then included East, West and North Haven, Hamden and part of Woodbridge, the total number was 942. The annual numbering of churchmen, carried on more or less carefully, is considered a contributing cause to the Revolution, through calling attention to the growth of the denomination, and rousing old fears of Episcopacy. Seabury wrote to the Society in 1775, "The charge against the clergy here is a very extraordinary one,—that they have in conjunction with the Society and the British Ministry, laid a plan for enslaving America."

Churchmen, and especially the clergy, were in a difficult situation at the outbreak of the Revolution, at once becoming objects of suspicion and vigilance; and their difficulties increased with the declaration of independence. Not all of them approved the acts of Parliament, but most

were loyal when it came to open revolt, and most felt that the colonies would not be successful. They felt bound by the oaths of allegiance taken at the time of their ordination, and by the fact that they were paid by the English society. One source of embarrassment was removed when the Convention of Clergy, held in New Haven in 1776, resolved to suspend public services, that is, cease preaching and reading the Liturgy. The minister might occasionally read a printed sermon and the Lord's prayer but nothing further, since they might not pray for either the King or the Continental Congress. In 1778 the Bishop of London sent over word to open the churches and use the Liturgy except the prayers for the King and the Royal Family. Some ministers kept up the organization of the church and continued to hold services throughout this period. Such a one was the Rev. Bela Hubbard of New Haven, who, though a Loyalist, was discreet and inoffensive, and was not disturbed. Mr. Hubbard also ministered to neighboring towns, as far inland as Bethany, and along the Sound from Fairfield to Guilford. He was in New Haven at the time of the British invasion, and was able to save considerable property to the inhabitants.

Peace, too, brought its troubles, for political independence from England cut off the support given by the Society, which was limited by its charter to colonies of Great Britain. Another problem, an old one in new form, was that of an American bishop, to take the place over them formerly held by the Bishop of London. Some churchmen and loyalists left to live in Nova Scotia, but several clergymen were still in their parishes at the close of the Revolution, among them some of the most prominent,—Hubbard, Mansfield, Andrews and Scovill in New Haven County. Ten of them met in Woodbury in the house known as the Glebe House, in 1783, to confer on church matters, especially the question of an American bishop. The story of Samuel Seabury's ultimately successful mission to Great Britain for consecration as a bishop does not belong in the history of New Haven County. It may be mentioned in connection with this mission that a convention of the clergy met in Wallingford and appointed a committee (one of whom was Hubbard), to get the assurances Seabury desired from the Connecticut Assembly then sitting in New Haven that a bishop would be allowed in Connecticut. Soon after Seabury's return to America in 1785 as bishop, he attended commencement at Yale College, his Alma Mater. It was suggested to President Stiles that he be invited to sit with the distinguished personages, but that patriot, with his memories of the British raid into New Haven, loss of college records, and that at that time he broke his "Fahrenheit thermometer which I have had since 1762," replied, "there were already several bishops upon the stage, but if there was room for another he might occupy it."

Congregationalists and Episcopalians could not live side by side, organized as societies under the same laws, without influencing each other in many direct ways. Congregationalists, for instance, took over the custom of dedicating their meeting-houses. The early buildings were not conse-

crated, and had been used and intended for secular as well as religious meetings. Change in this respect has been noticed in connection with discontinuance of military drill in them on rainy days. They also came to observe holy days, such as Easter, Good Friday and Christmas. At first this was in ways that have been mentioned, setting the spring fast day on Good Friday, and allowing churchmen the use of the meeting-house on Christmas. A little later people enjoyed attending these services. St. Andrew's in Meriden, for instance, was the only church in the town to observe Christmas, but people from other denominations crowded in to enjoy the decorations and music. Another illustration is the universal use today, by others than Episcopalians, of the word "church" for their houses of worship, instead of the more picturesque and historically accurate term "meeting-house."

There was mutual influence in regard to church architecture. Congregationalists added steeples and spires, and the admiration these aroused is shown by President Dwight's almost invariable remarks on the appearance of towns seen in the course of his travels. He seems to have judged their appearance and state of progress largely by the presence or absence of steeples. Of North Haven he said, "The churches (Presbyterian and Episcopal) stand upon a square in the center of the township. The Episcopal is without a steeple." Wallingford has an Episcopal church but no steeple; Meriden has an Episcopal church "which is a plurality. This church is also without a steeple." Guilford has an Episcopal church which "is without a steeple." One man calmed a town meeting in Derby on the subject of repairing or removing an old dilapidated meeting-house,—

"We've got an old church without a steeple,
A good pastor and quarrelsome people."

Manasseh Cutler on visiting New Haven in 1787, said, "Within the square and on the borders of others adjoining to it, are six steeples and cupolas on public buildings within a very small space compass of ground. These steeples, when you approach the city in whatever direction, have an agreeable effect."

Episcopalians on the other hand in their buildings usually followed the general style of New England meeting-houses, with minor changes, such as arched windows and ceilings. The reminiscences of a man in Waterbury describe the similarities in the houses of worship of the two denominations there, the more noticeable as both faced the Green. "I have been told that both buildings were 'raised' at the same time. The interiors of both were divided into square pews, with high railings, so that when the door was fastened the occupants were secure from intrusion. Each had galleries on three sides, and the small tub-shaped pulpits were elevated ten or twelve feet above the congregation. Both the meeting-house and the church had tall and slender spires, and before they were taken down both leaned from an upright position."

This type of building necessitated some changes in the form of the service. There was no chancel and the pulpit was often used for both sermon and prayer. Similar modification had been necessary during the period of holding services in private houses. There was also the thought of deferring somewhat to Puritan "prejudices." One of the missionaries, Graves, wrote for advice on this matter to the Venerable Society in 1765. "God forbid that we should vary from the rubric when officiating in our churches; but in houses I humbly presume it might be somewhat winked at, in order to wean the dissenters from their prejudices for the present, in hopes of winning them over to our more reasonable service in time. * * * My prayers, without books, earnestly engage their attention, and gradually wear away their prejudices when they find we can pray without a form, as well as their own formal teachers."

These modifications in external things are but indications of a fundamental change in the attitude of the denominations to one another, that was yet far in the future. The minister of East Haven (1817-1847) characterized in his pulpit the gown and bands of the Episcopal clergy as "heathenish garments, the rags of Popery." At the same period the rector of the New Haven Church, Dr. Croswell, wrote in his diary of the "absurdity of attempting to harmonize the different denominations of Christians," of the "ten thousand schemes which are invented to draw Churchmen into alliance with schismatics," and of the "impropriety of attempting to amalgamate religious denominations." The occasion for one of these remarks was that one of his parishioners "had been invited by the Presbyterian ladies to join them in a society for converting the Jews! When will this shameful ostentation cease?"

With these remarks however, should be put the following words of Bishop Brownell's at a convention in Waterbury in 1821. "With regard, then, to our union with other religious denominations, we may cordially associate and coöperate with them in all secular affairs; in all humane, literary, and charitable objects."

It seems only fair to Dr. Croswell to quote his words about his consideration in another situation in which he found himself. In the absence from town of the Methodist minister, he was called on to conduct a funeral. "All strong methodists—so I wore no gown—used an extempore prayer at the house—and accommodated myself as far as possible to their feelings, without departing from any positive rule of the church."

CHAPTER III

BRIEF HISTORY OF INDIVIDUAL CHURCHES

WEST HAVEN, NORTH HAVEN, WALLINGFORD, BETHANY, NEW HAVEN, EAST HAVEN

Since two of the first converts of 1722 were from West Haven and North Haven, respectively, it was natural that in those towns should be organized the earliest Episcopal churches. Six parishioners followed Mr. Wetmore, and a parish was formed about 1723, but no building was put up. Simple services were held in a house which, curiously enough, had been used earlier for the meetings of the first Congregational church. In 1740 North Haven joined in a Union Church located in Wallingford. In 1759 its own church, St. John's, was organized, a building put up the next year and dedicated 1761. The First Ecclesiastical Society voted at this time that they were "willing that those that profest to the Church of England should set a Church or House for Publick Worship on the north east corner of the Green." The parish was placed under the care of Rev. Ebenezer Punderson, at that time the resident missionary in New Haven. Rev. Samuel Andrews was soon appointed to North Haven, with Wallingford and Cheshire. He really established Episcopacy in North Haven. For fifty years after the Revolution no Episcopal clergyman lived in North Haven. In 1790 North Haven, Northford and Hamden were combined. An interesting arrangement under the ecclesiastical constitution of the colony was the coöperation of Churchmen and Congregationalists on school boards and in the collection of ministers' maintenance. The representatives of the Churchmen in this town were appointed by the First Church meetings until 1768 and there is a case of a man who was clerk of both churches at the same time.

The parish of West Haven was formed about the same time. Rev. Jonathan Arnold, who succeeded Johnson in the Congregational Church, and like him was converted, was sent here after his ordination. The First Church of West Haven had unfortunate experiences with its ministers during this period. The first two became Episcopalians, and the third was dismissed 1742 for being a New Light. Their minister at the time of the Revolution was arrested by the British invaders, due to the efforts of his Tory neighbors, and broke his leg trying to escape. Jonathan Arnold was in charge of the Episcopal Church about three years, with Derby and Waterbury under his care. When he left the church

was very discouraged, but in 1740 a frame building, "a neat little church," was raised, with rum and the accompaniments usual to such occasions, and was finished five years later. In 1771 there were about thirty-five families in the church. After the Revolution the parish of Trinity Church, New Haven, allowed its rector leave of absence for seven Sundays in the year to preach in West Haven, for which West Haven paid \$50.

A letter to the Bishop of London in 1729 said of Wallingford, "We are a church but newly planted," and complained of imprisonment, distraint of goods for taxes, and actions in the courts. A regular minister came only occasionally, but services were held with a lay reader every other Sunday. The missionary, Theophilus Morris, came once a quarter a little later, (1740), and his assistant Mr. Thompson more frequently. Mr. Morris reported in 1741 that he had taken "another church into his care at Wallingford, which consists of twelve families. I engaged to attend them once a quarter, which they seemed to be satisfied with, for they know it is as much as I can do for them." The people wrote to the society (1743), we "meet together every Lord's Day and edify ourselves, as well as we can by reading."

The next year, as has been said, the Union chapel was formed, in which Wallingford joined. By 1743 the number of families was twenty-five, but Mr. Morris left, and again they had only the services of a lay reader. There was still trouble with the authorities, "our dissenting brethren from year to year are distressing us with executions for meeting-houses, rates, steeples, and bells for them; so that our present melancholy circumstances crave your good offices with the honorable Society." A little later they, with Middletown, were served by the Rev. Ichabod Camp, (Yale 1743), a "sensible, studious, and discreet young man, one Mr. Camp, bred at our college." Ebenezer Punderson came here also, and in 1750 called it "a pretty congregation."

In 1757 the churchmen applied to the town meeting to be allowed to build a church in a specified place. This petition was granted. For several years this church, with Cheshire and North Haven, was under the care of Rev. Samuel Andrews. He lived in Wallingford, having a house and glebe of fourteen acres and he was the last missionary of the Venerable Society to Wallingford. Many members were added because of the Dana controversy in the Congregational Church, and 1770 the church had sixty-three families. Mr. Andrews was here through the war. Because of his loyalty to the mother country, he was under the suspicion of the authorities, was placed under heavy bonds, and not allowed to visit his parishioners without special leave from the selectmen. After he left, 1788, there were various ministers. Rev. Reuben Ives of Cheshire came over sometimes and one man was stationed here for four years. In 1801, Rev. Ammi Rogers, an unfortunate choice, was placed over Branford, Wallingford and East Haven. Another well known clergyman, the Rev. Ashbel Baldwin, was here for a time after 1824. When the Congregational Church called the Wells Society, was given up, the Episcopalians

bought their meeting-house, one of the four different buildings which has been built or bought, as they were prospered. A new Gothic building of wood, built in 1846 was burned, and replaced by another in 1869.

The early records of Christ Church, Bethany, are lost, but apparently there was thought of building a church as early as 1783. It was opened 1795 by Rev. Bela Hubbard. In 1806 trouble in the Congregational Church was taken to the Consociation, with the result that the church declared itself independent. Two factions were formed, and the minister and a large number of his parishioners became Episcopalians. Mr. Isaac Jones, the minister, was a graduate of Yale College, and a descendant of William Jones, Deputy Governor of New Haven Colony. The church was consecrated by the bishop in 1810, and was under the care of Rev. Reuben Ives. When the churchmen were thinking of putting up a building in 1783, the Congregational parish appointed a committee to help find a place for it, and liberty was given them to have any place they could get in a certain locality. This site was not finally selected. The addition of so many under Mr. Jones made this a strong church, and they were able in 1810 to replace their plain little church by a larger one nearer the center of the town. Permission was asked for a lottery to raise part of the money to build it, but apparently this permission was not used.

It is not known when Trinity parish, New Haven, was organized, but it was probably not until about 1755. This was apparently stony soil. At the time of the conversion of Rector Cutler there was said to be only one churchman in New Haven, and he was not a prominent man. After Samuel Johnson's appointment as missionary, he came to New Haven occasionally from his Stratford parish, twice to attend funerals in the family of Henry Caner, builder of the first college building (for whom Canner Street is named). He wrote in 1732, "I continue to preach with success at New Haven, and I hope there will be a church there in time; though they labor under great opposition and discouragement from the people of the town, who will neither give nor sell them a piece of land for them to build a church on."

He visited the college frequently, where he said, "I have a very considerable influence." It was through him that Bishop Berkeley on leaving America, gave Yale a large collection of books and his Rhode Island farm, Whitehall, known as the Dean's Farm, of ninety-six acres. The feeling of the college authorities is not as surprising to us as to Johnson, who reported that "the Trustees though they made an appearance of much thankfulness, were almost afraid to accept the noble donation." Concerning this gift, Isaac Watts wrote from London, to Rector Williams of Yale, "I am surprised that Dean Berkeley who is here esteemed a *high-churchman* shd favor your College with such a Beneficence." President Stiles said that Johnson, who was a good classical scholar himself persuaded Berkeley to believe that Yale would soon become Episcopalian; that there was more prospect of that than in the case of Harvard, to

which Berkeley had also sent some books. It is interesting to know that several churchmen were Berkeley Scholars,—Richard Mansfield, Jonathan Ingersoll, Isaac Jones and Ralph Isaacs during this period.

An Englishman, William Gregson, descendant of a son of Thomas Gregson, one of the first settlers of New Haven, gave some land in town as a site for a church building. Unfortunately, not only had the land been for some time in possession of descendants of daughters, but the transfer to the church had not been properly acknowledged. The case therefore which would have been an interesting one, was never brought to law. When Mr. Arnold, in spite of these circumstances and of the small number of churchmen in New Haven, started to have the land ploughed to prepare it for a building, there was a contest in which it was said that 150 persons engaged, and he was obliged to stop proceedings. A pamphlet describes this sarcastically, as a "gallant exploit performed by the students of *Yale College*. * * * The scene of this noble action was a lot of ground in the town of *New Haven*, which had been bequeathed to the CHURCH for the use of a Missionary. There these magnanimous champions signalized themselves; for once upon a time, quitting soft dalliance with the *muses*, they roughened into sons of *Mars*, and issuing forth in deep and firm array, with courage bold and undaunted, they not only attacked, but bravely routed a YOKE OF OXEN and a poor *Plowman*, which had been sent by the then Missionary of *New Haven*, to occupy and plow up the said lot of ground. An exploit truly worthy of the renowned *Hudibras* himself!"

This action seemed especially ungrateful in the eyes of Mr. Arnold, considering the gifts the college had received, not long before, from the churchmen, Bishop Berkeley and Elihu Yale. The result was that West Haven had the first Episcopal building in the county, for Arnold built a church there instead.

By 1752 there were twenty-four or five families in New Haven "comprising ninety souls," enough to organize a church and begin the efforts to get a house of worship. Before this they had been going to West Haven Church. Through the good offices of Isaac Doolittle and "Bishop" Enos Alling, two ardent and generous churchmen, land was given for a building on another street, which was consequently called Church Street. "A comfortable wooden edifice," called "a reading house" by President Stiles, forty by sixty feet in dimensions besides the steeple and chancel, was put up, capable, with the galleries added later, of seating about 250 persons. It had long windows, with the round tops, which sometimes marked churches of that order.

The first resident minister was Ebenezer Punderson, a native of New Haven (Yale 1726), who gave most of the timber for the building. He was appointed missionary here in 1753, and remained until 1762. For a variety of reasons he was not successful here, for one thing, he had several places under his care. His successor was Solomon Palmer, another Yale graduate, of the class of 1729, a native of Branford, and

former Congregational minister. He revived the church, which under the ministrations of Mr. Punderson was "panting for breath and just ready to expire." Though it contained sixty families, they were not prominent, most of them with but moderate fortunes, and more than half of them in low circumstances. Mr. Palmer however, was willing to take the appointment, for, he said, "after all, New Haven is a pleasant situation," though it must be added that a few years later he said he could not support his large family in the expensive town of New Haven on his salary, and went to Litchfield.

Meanwhile the Gregson lot had been bought and given the church by a proper deed. Records were begun by the next rector, Bela Hubbard. In 1771 there were nearly one hundred families in the parish, and Mr. Hubbard also had the care of the church in West Haven, and performed services in all the neighboring towns. He too was "pleased and happy in his situation, kindly treated and respected by my own people and the dissenters in this growing and populous town, many of whom attend our services on Sunday." It is interesting that in 1779 Mr. Hubbard moved into the house of Abiathar Camp, after that worthy Tory had departed to a British colony. The parish assumed the entire support of Mr. Hubbard in 1785. It was obliged to copy one Congregational custom and appoint two men to "prevent the disturbances of the boys." Mr. Hubbard died in 1812, after having been for nearly forty-five years in the parish as missionary and rector.

In 1814 a new building, the present one, was put up on the Green, Ithiel Town architect. It was built of stone from West Rock, famous as the first attempt at Gothic church architecture in New England, and incorporates some details from York Cathedral. Dr. Richard Mansfield, aged ninety-two, was present at the consecration of the building. He said, somewhat undemocratically, "I can remember when there were but two or three church families of reputation in all New Haven, the rest of no great account." At this time Bishop Hobart confirmed a class of 107 candidates, and when the pews were leased a great many families were added to the society.

Rev. Harry Croswell brought up a Congregationalist, converted to Episcopacy in 1812, was the first minister in the new building, and served from 1815 until 1858. During this time the position of Episcopalians in the government of the state underwent a change. In 1816 Jonathan Ingersoll of this church became lieutenant governor, an event portending the imminent downfall of the Standing Order. Two years later the Rev. Mr. Croswell was invited to preach the Election sermon, "a new and interesting event," for this had been the field-day for Congregational ministers, when they had been wont to meet in numbers and discuss politics, knowing that their decision would be carried out. In the sermon Mr. Croswell indicated a different attitude, which, perhaps unfortunately, has been widely adopted. "Aiming to maintain the honor of our profession and the dignity of the Christian ministry, let us not become instrumental

in debasing them by worldly mixtures. Let it be our study to stand aloof from those disputes which disturb the peace and harmony of society. Let us not suffer ourselves to be drawn into measures which may tend to promote the spirit of party among our respective flocks. Let us not give any reasonable cause for suspicion that our influence is exerted in those political questions, by which the community is unhappily divided. Let us not put it into the power of the historian to accuse us of descending from our high calling to mingle in those dissensions which are the offspring of human pride and passion."

Trinity Church, the oldest in the city, has become the mother and grandmother of several flourishing churches. In 1829 a gift of land was made for a chapel-of-ease in the "new township," as the part of the city around the lower green or Wooster Square was called. By 1850 this had become an independent church, St. Paul's, prospering in a fashionable neighborhood, though it is now a down-town church, hard to reach. Mr. Croswell wrote in his diary concerning the laying of the cornerstone of the new chapel that it was "a proud and splendid day for the Churchmen of New Haven. * * * I closed with a spirited address, which the puritans won't forget in a hurry." Sixteen years later when St. Paul's was organized as an independent church, it was described by him as a suicidal measure.

In 1844 a second organization was started by Trinity Church, which later became St. Luke's (colored) Church, holding services at first in the chapel of Trinity. Four years later a third daughter-church was started, St. Thomas. It was suggested that this church, because of its location near the site of Davenport's house, should be called St. Stephen, from his London Church. This was not done, for Bishop Brownell wanted it to bear his name, since it was the last church he consecrated. A fourth church started as a mission of Trinity in 1856 is Christ Church. Encouraged by Trinity, and partly made up of its members, two churches were started in other parts of the town, St. James in Westville, the second Episcopal Church in point of time in the town, and St. James, Fair Haven. The former, started in about 1835 met at first in Pendleton's Inn, belonging to an ardent Episcopalian, and in the upper room of a schoolhouse. In 1839 a church building was completed. The latter dedicated its building in 1845.

St. Paul's Church also started missions which became independent churches: St. John's in 1851, which became a separate parish in 1857; the Church of the Ascension a little later; and the Church of the Epiphany, affiliated with St. Paul's in the beginning. It should be noted that three rectors of St. Paul's have become bishops, Bishop Littlejohn of Long Island, Bishop Lines of New Jersey, and Bishop Perry of Rhode Island.

Before 1788 the people of East Haven had worshipped in Trinity Church, New Haven. In that year they began to take steps for a church of their own, and formed a new parish under Trinity.

It is interesting to see the steps in the formation of an Episcopal Church, similar to those taken in forming a Congregational society. They are shown in documents quoted in Hughes' "History of East Haven." "Whereas it is become necessary and expedient on account of the apparent increase of the Brethren in the Episcopal Church that we should Incorporate ourselves into a Religious Society for the encouragement and support of true Religion, and piety and worship God agreeable to our consciences &c. * * * We the subscribers therefore incorporate ourselves into a Society at East Haven aforesaid. And do mutually agree to support and maintain a Clerk, Reader, or Minister, to officiate agreeable to the Rites, forms and ceremonies of the Church by law established." A man was appointed to go to Branford "to procure a copy of the recording of the formation of the Episcopal Society there." Mr. Bela Hubbard of New Haven was invited to be present at the meeting for choice of officers and consented to take the church under his care and patronage. Later, arrangements about rates were made with the town, which allowed "a certificate for said members, that formed said Society, to bear date, at the time of their formation. They paying all the rates that was then laid."

A building was started in 1789, and was consecrated as Christ Church in 1810. Meanwhile the church continued under the care of Mr. Hubbard, with services every other week sometimes, and often only once in three or four weeks. The first resident rector was Rev. Elijah Plumb, who came in 1811. He remained until 1819, also teaching a private school. For a time East Haven was joined with other parishes.

Waterbury and Near-by Towns

Episcopacy began early in Waterbury. One of the first churchmen is said to have been James Brown, nicknamed "Bishop" Brown for his zeal. In 1734 Waterbury listers put in his list as the last item, "2 acrs meddow Amen." He came from West Haven, was related to Tutor Brown, and had probably heard Dr. Johnson preach. In 1734 the latter went up the valley of the Naugatuck as far as Waterbury and baptized a child. By 1737 there were perhaps six or seven families of churchmen and in that year service was held for the first time, conducted by Jonathan Arnold, missionary for Derby, West Haven and Waterbury. His short stay was followed by that of the missionaries, Morris and Lyon, and then by a period of vacancy with occasional preaching or reading of printed sermons and prayers.

The Great Revival of 1740 and the Old-New-Light controversy added twenty-five families to the ten or twelve then "calling themselves churchmen," and objecting to paying money the town owed the Congregational minister. In 1742 the movement to build a church was begun. Land having been obtained, about forty persons applied to the Legislature for parish privileges, since they were, as their petition states, "bound in duty to carry on the Worship of God amongst us from which there arises con-

siderable charges that are necessary in order thereunto." The petition was rejected, but the church was built.

In 1748 Waterbury became one of the parishes under the care of Mr. Richard Mansfield. He lived in Derby and divided his time among the parishes. The church flourished under him. After 1759 Rev. James Scovill came to Waterbury and Mr. Mansfield's parish was reduced territorially. Scovill's mother had died when he was ten years old, and his father married a daughter of "Bishop" Brown. He lived in Waterbury, the first minister to do so, but had charge of other churches, Westbury, Northbury, and Bristol (then called New Cambridge). Meetings were held Sundays in Waterbury even when he was away and prayers read.

During the Revolution Mr. Scovill did not preach, and had some trouble as a Tory, having on one occasion to hide in his barn. After the support of the "Venerable S. P. G." was withdrawn, he left the colony and another period of vacancy in the church followed, lasting several years, in which there was only occasional preaching. For a time, 1792-94, Waterbury joined with Salem and Woodbury with Mr. Seth Hart as minister. He soon went to Wallingford, and there was another vacancy with occasional preaching until the Rev. Tillotson Bronson came, (1797), in charge of both Waterbury and Salem, officiating three-fourths of the time in Waterbury. He was graduated from Yale in 1786, and studied for the ministry with Dr. Mansfield and Bishop Seabury. He was unable to support his family on the salary, and from Waterbury, went first to New Haven to take charge of the *Churchman's Magazine*, which he edited for several years. After a few months he became principal of the Episcopal Academy at Cheshire.

In 1797 a new church building was finished to take the place of the first one, which was described as a small building of mean appearance. The procedure in deciding on a site, as described in Bronson's "History of Waterbury" is interesting as an example of the use of the county court in this connection. "Unanimity of sentiment, however, was not yet attained, and Dec. 2, 1793, the society 'voted to petition the Hon. County Court to grant a committee to come and fix a stake for a place for where to erect a church edifice for said society; and also, by vote, nominated John Wooster Esq., of Derby, Messrs. Thomas Atwater of Cheshire, and Abner Bradley of Woodbury for the aforesaid committee, if said Hon. Court, in their wisdom, should think fit to appoint them.' Preparatory to the action of the Court's committee, certain persons were chosen 'to get the minds of this society where to erect a church edifice,' while others were appointed 'to view several places', and others still to warn the people to be present when the committee met. * * * A stake was fixed, but the place was not quite satisfactory. March 17, 1794, at a parish meeting, a committee was chosen, 'to apply to the County Court, and the late committee, and request that the stake might be placed five rods south of the place where the stake now stands'."

A parish meeting empowered a committee "to build or procure to be built a decent well finished edifice or church, 54 by 38 feet, with decent steeple on the outside at the east end of the same." David Hoadley was

the architect of the new building, which was given a churchly appearance by making the gallery windows arched at the top, a type called "crown windows," and on the interior the ceiling was arched between the galleries. The tall spire had a star on top, and a gilt vane beneath. At either end of the arched ceilings was a large fresco painting, the one over the pulpit representing the baptism of Jesus by John in the River Jordan, and the other a group of people going to a village church, professionally accompanied by a rector. This building was dedicated in 1797 as St. John's.

Soon a committee seated the church according to age and lists, a singing master was employed, and later it was voted to get subscriptions for money to buy a bass viol. In the years before this men had been chosen at vestry meetings to "assist in tuning the psalms," and nine men as "Quirresters." A tithing man was appointed until 1849.

The next two rectors after Mr. Bronson were Rev. Virgil Horace Barber and Rev. Alpheus Geer. The former was in Waterbury from 1807 until 1814. He seems to have been given his unusual name prophetically, for he went to Rome and became a Jesuit priest. Mr. Geer is described as the last "semi-farmer clergyman," one of the last ministers of the period when the clergy depended on farming for part of their living. He was also the last Waterbury clergyman who cared for more than one parish. The recollections of Mr. Kingsbury are worth quoting, of "the rector of St. John's in 'shirt-sleeves,' working in a mild spring rain to turn the water through sluices into his grass land * * * [and] the pastor of the First Church with a very broad-brimmed hat and a calico dressing gown, carrying a rake across his shoulder and following a load of hay from the 'little pasture' through the main street of the town (as I have seen Mr. Arnold doing)."

A group of people in a part of Waterbury called Northbury in 1740 received "winter privileges," and built a small house of worship; about a year later they were made an ecclesiastical society, and had their own minister, Mr. Samuel Todd. The society got into "broken and confused circumstances" over the question of building a new meeting-house, with the result that those opposing a new building soon became Episcopalians, and the others went off and built a new house. Since this group kept the old house they promised to help the others build one for themselves, which they are said to have done.

The letter of the converts to the society illustrates conditions of conversions in other places as well as this. "We were all educated in this land, under the instruction of the Independent teachers, or (as they would be called) Presbyterians; and, consequently, we were prejudiced strongly against the Church of England from our cradles, until we had the advantage of books from your Reverend Missionaries and others, whereby we began to see with our own eyes that things were not as they had been represented to our view; and Mr. Whitefield passing through this land, condemning all but his adherents; and his followers and imitators—by their insufferable whims and extemporaneous jargon—brought in such

a flood of confusion amongst us, that we became sensible of the unscriptural method we had always been accustomed to take in our worship of God, and of the weakness of the pretended constitution of the churches (so called) in this land; whereupon we fled to the Church of England for safety, and are daily more and more satisfied we are safe, provided the purity of our hearts and lives be conformable to her excellent doctrines."

The rectors of the Waterbury church gave part of their time to these people; sometimes they had a rector of their own; and during the Revolution few services were held. After the Revolution they were formed into an Episcopal society, settled a rector and put up a new building, consecrated as St. Peter's in 1797 by Bishop Jarvis.

One of the Tories hanged for treason during the Revolution was Moses Dunbar of Northbury. He and his wife were converted in 1764. In his last statement he said, "My joining myself to the Church occasioned a sorrowful breach between my Father and myself, which was the cause of his never assisting me but very little in gaining a livelihood—likewise it caused him to treat me very harshly in many instances, for which I heartily forgive him, as well as my brothers." His conversion seems also to have been responsible for his Tory principles.

As in the case of New Haven, other parishes were formed,—Christ Church in Westbury, St. Michael's in Naugatuck. For many years churchmen of Westbury went to Waterbury, but by 1764 their numbers had increased so much that they agreed to hold public services in their own neighborhood on those Sundays when there was no preaching at Waterbury. A year later they had a church building, which was dedicated by Rev. Samuel Andrews. Mr. Scovill preached here every sixth Sunday until 1771, then one-third of his time. The parish suffered much during the Revolution, the windows of the church were broken, and the principal members confined to their farms and not allowed to attend public worship. The church flourished after the Revolution, and the people put up a new building dedicated in 1794 by Bishop Seabury, as Christ Church. The rector was Mr. Chauncey Prindle, a nephew of Mr. Scovill's. He lived in Westbury, but gave part of his time to Northbury.

The parish of Naugatuck was organized in 1786, with a church of fourteen members. Services were held in a private house, once a month or oftener, sometimes by a clergyman from Waterbury, and on other Sundays by a lay reader. Their first building was finished in 1803, and a building in a different place in the center of town was consecrated in 1832. The next year the church had its first resident rector, who gave all his time to this church.

Among the early settlers of Wolcott were some Episcopalians. In 1772, soon after the formation of the Congregational Society, special collectors for Mr. Scovill's rate were appointed by the First Church of Waterbury, of which Wolcott was a part. There were enough churchmen by 1779 to petition the General Assembly to be made a society. This was opposed by the First Society of Waterbury, and was not granted at this

time. During the years 1791 to 1822 forty-one families withdrew from the Congregational to the Episcopal Church. About 1805 they began to hold services in a house and 1811 were organized as the "Episcopal Society." For two years they were supplied by Mr. Prindle of Naugatuck once a month during the six or seven summer months; and then by Rev. Tillotson Bronson for a short time. Other ministers, whose names are not known, were paid for preaching. In the absence of ministers services were held by laymen, and for several years committees were regularly appointed to read prayers and sermons.

In 1820 while they were considering building a church, there was thought of asking for a lottery to help raise money. Committees were appointed and discussions held over a building, but nothing came of it then. After a revival of 1828 a building was begun, and finished 1832. The town in 1830 gave them "leave to erect said house on the most eligible spot of ground belonging to said town of Wolcott on the south part of the public green." The reason given for this location was that they were "desirous to set the same somewhere near the Congregational Meeting-house."

The church was now organized—it had been the Society up to this time—and given the name of All Saints Parish in Wolcott. Early church records were destroyed, but 1840 is thought to be the time of the first resident minister.

Derby, Cheshire, Meriden

The first service of the Church of England in Derby was conducted by Jonathan Arnold. Meetings were held in private houses until 1737. In that year eight men began building a small barn-like house of worship, which was apparently put up piecemeal, and not finished until 1746. Besides Arnold, the two other missionaries, Theophilus Morris and James Lyons, came here. The formation of a larger group was facilitated by an Old-New-Light controversy, for the Congregational minister, Mr. Daniel Humphreys, inclined to the beliefs of the New Lights, and was twice disciplined by the ecclesiastical bodies of the county. In 1739 the town voted to exempt churchmen from paying the tax for the support of the Congregational minister.

In 1748 Richard Mansfield, "one of the holiest and most guileless of men," was given charge of Derby, as part of a large parish, and was married in the little church. In 1747 some land had been given for the first glebe lands—three acres in one plot, with an orchard and barn, and six acres in another, part upland and part swamp, with a house and orchard. It was given the Venerable S. P. G. in trust for the use of the rector. Dr. Richard Mansfield lived here for the rest of his life. After the Revolution his parish was smaller in geographical area. He was rector of the church seventy-two years, and baptized 2,191 persons.

A new building was started in a different location in 1796, and the church was consecrated in 1799 by Bishop Jarvis as St. James. Before this it had been called Christ Church, as were so many, because there was

no bishop to consecrate it and give it a fixed name. President Dwight described the second church as "a neat, modern building." By 1841 a change in the center of population made another removal desirable, and "a spacious granite church" was started in Birmingham, and consecrated as St. James, in 1843, by Bishop Brownell. Some of the people objected to this removal, formed a new parish, Christ Church, Derby, and were given the old building and grounds.

Several churches were gathered and established by Dr. Mansfield,—in Oxford in 1764, Seymour in 1797 and Quaker's Farm, early in the next century. The church in Seymour was started by thirty-nine persons, and called Union Church, because it joined the society in Great Hill. A building was soon put up, and Mr. Mansfield was the first pastor. He preached here one-third of the time until 1802.

A number of churchmen were among the early settlers of Cheshire. The Rev. Ichabod Camp visited them and formed a society in 1751. People gathered in private houses for worship, and for a time services were read by a layman, Joseph Moss. They still paid rates to the Congregational ministers, but apparently were not molested. In 1760 they built a small church, because it was difficult to go to Wallingford during the winter months, and a parish organization was formed. The ministry of Rev. Samuel Andrews, beginning 1761, was a period of growth, and by 1770, with forty-seven families in the church, it was necessary to build a larger house of worship, and to enlarge it in 1795.

Mr. Andrews preached at intervals until the Revolution, which was all he could do, for his parish included several towns. Mr. Andrews had a hard time during the Revolution, and 1786 left for Nova Scotia. Two years later Reuben Ives came as pastor, son of the man in whose house the first meetings had been held. He was to be rector here two-thirds of the time, and the other third in Bethany or elsewhere. He remained until 1820, when he resigned after a disagreement with his people.

One of the important things connected with Episcopacy in Cheshire is the establishment of the Academy. Bishop Seabury, like John Davenport, wished an Academy or college as a nursery for the ministry. He "fully appreciated the value of sound learning as the hand-maid of religion, and was the projector of a church college in Connecticut, of which Cheshire Academy was the first fruit." In 1792 the Episcopal Convention voted to see what could be done towards carrying out this object. Committees were appointed, 1794 and 1795, to receive proposals from different towns with regard to its location, and three towns, Wallingford, Stratford and Cheshire, reported favorably. The influence of Reuben Ives really brought it to Cheshire, which had pledged a building for the students. In 1796 much of the essential equipment of an educational institution was ready,—a principal, Dr. Bowden, a board of trustees, and the beginning of an Endowment Fund. The dedication of the building was described thus. "The day being fine, a procession was formed, from the lodge room to the Episcopal Church, where a well adapted discourse was delivered by the Rev. Mr. Ives—from thence to the grounds, and, after laying the stone,

the Rev. Mr. Brunson addressed the brethren and crowd of spectators assembled on the occasion with a few pertinent observations. The procession then returned, and, together with the proprietors of the building, partook of a festive entertainment."

To help the endowment fund, the Legislature in 1802 granted a lottery for \$15,000, but it brought in only \$12,000, and the Academy lost some funds in the Eagle Bank. In 1798 the Episcopal Convention voted to give the Academy the money previously collected for sending missionaries to the frontier of the United States. The next year it asked help from churchmen, and planned an appeal to Europe, which was never carried out.

Dr. Bowden resigned the principalship in 1802, and the school languished under his successor. The attendance fell from about sixty, "the building going into decay, and the institution itself sinking in reputation." In 1806 the Rev. Tillotson Bronson took charge and remained for twenty years until his death. It is of interest that his sister was the mother of Bronson Alcott, and that while the latter was in Cheshire with his uncle, he used to copy his manuscript and get subscribers for the *Churchman's Magazine*.

The curriculum provided for instruction in the "English language, philosophy, mathematics, and every other science usually taught in colleges; likewise the dead languages, and French when the finances permitted." The constitution of the Academy stated that "Female Education may be attended to under this Institution by such Instruction and under such regulations as the Trustees shall direct." The ninth article is of interest in view of Episcopalian complaints of the ecclesiastical constitution of Connecticut. "No Bye Laws of the Academy shall compel the Students to attend Public worship, but at such places as their respective Parents or Guardians shall direct."

On three occasions, 1804, 1810, 1816, a charter as a college was asked for, but refused. In fact, the Academy which was called at first Seabury College, was partly a college and partly a theological seminary, until the establishment of Trinity College.

Of the twenty-one trustees ten were from New Haven County, and bore names familiar in the history of Episcopacy. The ministers were Richard Mansfield of Derby, Bela Hubbard of New Haven, Reuben Ives of Cheshire. The laymen were Jonathan Ingersoll of New Haven, Samuel Hall, S. A. Law, William Law, Andrew Hull, and Col. Andrew Hull, all of Derby.

After Rev. Reuben Ives left, the custom was followed by having the principal of the Academy, or one of his assistants, as rector of the church, a custom which was bad for both. In 1835 Rev. E. E. Beardsley became rector and immediately progress was begun.

There were probably some churchmen in Meriden by 1729, meeting together, and later some no doubt attended the Union chapel. In 1770 there were six families, mostly belonging to the Andrews family, descendants of William Andrews, one of the early settlers of Quinnipiac. A certain Laban Andrews, one of eight brothers, was converted to Episco-

pacy, it is romantically said through love for a young lady, and converted his parents and all his brothers. The youngest, Samuel, was sent to Yale, was graduated 1759, and two years later ordained in England. He became missionary over Wallingford, Cheshire and North Haven.

At the time of the Revolution, his brothers Moses and Denison, were suspected of Toryism and not allowed to leave their farms without permission. Moses asked to be allowed to attend church in Wallingford, and did not care to avail himself of the permission given instead to attend the Congregational Church. He fitted up a room in his house, and invited other churchmen to join in a service, himself acting as lay reader. This was the beginning of St. Andrew's Church. Soon after the Revolution people began to withdraw from the Congregational Church, and in 1789 a church was organized, with Moses Andrews as first clerk and his brother Denison on the society committee. When the latter died in 1807, it was inscribed on his tombstone, "He was a friend to morality & Episcopal discipline."

It was "Voted, [Dec. 1789] That we will hire Mr. Ives to preach for us four days for this year," with services by lay readers the rest of the time. Sometimes they were able to have preaching oftener. For several years meetings were held in private houses, but finally after ten years of piecemeal building, as they were able to get the money, a church was consecrated in 1816. This building, near the Congregational meeting-house, was much like it, except for the round-headed windows. At the time it was consecrated, a class of thirty-eight candidates was confirmed by Bishop Hobart. The Meriden church remained a parish under Mr. Ives of Cheshire until 1825, when Rev. Ashbel Baldwin became the first resident pastor, with a parish of sixty-five families. In 1848 a new brown stone Gothic church was built, but by 1866 a change in the population and its increase, made it advisable to move to another part of town, and the stone from this building was used in a new larger one, consecrated in 1867.

A daughter church was started in 1885, in a house in the western part of the city. Money was left for a building, which was consecrated in 1893 as All Saints Memorial Church. From Meriden also at an earlier period had been sent some one to conduct services in Yalesville, which was made a separate parish in 1870, St. John's Evangelical.

Several churches were started by Reuben Ives, who was appointed with the definite understanding that one-third of his time was to be used to draw in people from the country round about. He came to Cheshire in 1790 and an Episcopal society was started in Hamden. At first it met in private houses, but in 1795 it began a building at Mt. Carmel, Grace Church. Work was slow, the pulpit not being put in until 1812. Services were held for several years by lay readers, with occasional visits of clergymen from Cheshire. At first the services were held monthly, then oftener, and finally every other Sunday. In 1818 the parish bounds were legally made those of the town, and a new building was needed in the center. The building at Centerville was begun 1819 and consecrated 1821. They had temporary services until 1835, when the first resident

minister came. One of the best known ministers in this church is C. W. Everest, who, because of his small salary, was obliged to open a school, famous as the Rectory School. He was in this church from 1843 until 1874, a prosperous period. Later the work in this parish has been limited by the increasing number of foreigners who have come in.

Branford and the Shore Towns

Trinity Church, Branford, furnished another case where trouble in the Congregational Church helped the beginning of Episcopacy. In 1748 the dissenting minority in the church of the Rev. Philemon Robbins withdrew. In that year one of the missionaries of the Venerable Society, Matthew Graves, was invited to come to Branford, and held the first service in the town of which there is definite record. It is thought probable, however, that Samuel Johnson had been there before, and in the winter of 1748-49 his younger son sometimes read services here. In this year some churchmen asked for a committee to lay out a piece of land on which they might build a church, but the movement came to nothing.

The missionaries in their letters to the Society always spoke of the growth of the church at Branford, "a most agreeable sight of auditors, who behaved very well." In 1750 the Congregational Church offered them the use of the meeting-house "on the 25th of December, which they call Christmas," voted to give seats in their house to Church of England people, and 1762 to those who were not willing to pay the minister's tax. The next year the parishes of Branford, Guilford and New Haven agreed to continue together, and chose Solomon Palmer as their minister. He did not come, and Ebenezer Punderson was in charge, holding stated services part of the time. From 1767 until after the Revolution it is probable that Bela Hubbard held occasional services, but until 1776 there are no records.

During the Revolution the church kept up a nominal existence. In 1784 there was a reorganization. At that time there was a division in the Congregational Church, and fifty-four persons gave notice that they had joined the Episcopalians. The church was given liberty to build a house, "an ill proportioned edifice," in 1786, and was freed from rates to the established church. Some time just before this the town gave permission for them to get and burn oyster shells for lime for the church.

In 1801 there was stationed at Branford, with Wallingford and East Haven, Ammi Rogers, "a pestilent historic character, who was permitted in the providence of God, to trouble the church and society for half a century." The case is interesting as offering a parallel in some respects to points at issue in some of the cases of difficulty in the Congregational Church. Rogers was a native of Branford, and a graduate of Yale, in the class of 1790. He was opposed in Connecticut, but on a forged certificate was ordained in New York, and returned to take charge of the parishes of Branford, Wallingford and East Haven. The Bishop of Connecticut refused to receive him, and six rectors of the state, including Dr. Mansfield of this county, sent the following memorial to the Bishop. "That each parish has a right to choose its own Rector, and that when the

Bishop's approbation is obtained he does, of course, become a member of the Convention, and that it appears from sufficient documents that the parishes under the charge of the Rev. A. Rogers have proceeded according to their right and the Canons of the Church in choosing him for their Rector, and the Bishop's actual approbation being obtained in one case, and no objections stated in the other, we therefore pray that he may take his seat in the Convention and become one of our number." The case dragged along for many years, being taken to the General Convention of the Church, and furnishing questions for the civil courts, besides being brought up at nearly every convention or convocation of the Diocese. Rogers was finally sent to jail for two years in Norwich for an offense which had no connection with the case, and after his release could get no further following in the church. He died in New York State in 1852.

Discussions started after the Great Awakening resulted in 1763 in the organization of a church—St. Andrew's—in Northford. In 1812 a church—Zion—was constituted in North Branford. These churches along the shore joined in various combinations at different times in securing the services of a pastor.

The history of the church in Milford is another example of the familiar beginning with a few churchmen, visited by missionaries. Jonathan Arnold came in 1736, and wrote of Milford: "I performed divine service last Sunday at Milford, one of the most considerable towns in Connecticut Colony, where the use of the Lord's prayer, the Creed, and the Ten Commandments, or the reading of the Scriptures in divine service was never before known. There was a very numerous auditory, most attentive and desirous to be instructed in the worship of the Church of England; but those who are looking towards the Church are commonly the poorer sort of people; for the staff of government being in the hands of Dissenters, who rule the Church with an iron rod, those who receive honor of one another set themselves at a distance, and allow their rage and revenge to increase in proportion to the increase of the Church."

Mr. Johnson had already baptized children in a family in Milford in 1727, 1732 and 1734, but perhaps held no public service. James Lyons was there a few years later (1743), and lands were bought from the town for a building. In a town meeting in 1739 collectors of the society taxes complained of difficulty in collecting them "from some persons who call themselves Episcopalians." The collectors were told to proceed according to the advice of Jonathan Law, Roger Newton and Samuel Gunn; and if a dispute should arise between the collectors and the churchmen the town would pay the expense of the case in court.

A parish was not organized until 1764, when it was formed by thirty-one families, and lay readers held services. A small wooden church was begun, but it was ten years before it could be occupied, and in 1775 it was dedicated as St. George. In 1765 the parish was under the care of Mr. Johnson of Stratford, but after 1775 there was no minister, for political reasons. In 1786 Milford had a minister, with West Haven, and from that time the history was the usual one of occasional services, varying

combinations with other churches, and its own minister for short periods. President Dwight said that Milford congregation "consists of only a few families," and added briefly, "It has a church." In 1851 a new building was put up, "a very perfect edifice," of Portland stone in Early English style.

The "apostacy" of 1722 was important in the history of Guilford, for this was the native place of Samuel Johnson. His conversion was doubtless helped by the gift of a prayer-book by a man in Guilford. Johnson committed many of the prayers to memory, and often used them in his church in West Haven before his conversion. It is said that "it was common for persons belonging to the neighboring parishes to come to West Haven on purpose to hear them." Considering the length of the prayers in the Congregational churches this is not surprising. In 1744 the missionary James Lyons preached in Guilford, and Mr. Johnson preached there from time to time when visiting his family. In 1744 the parish was formed, with Nathaniel Johnson, brother of Samuel, as one of the church wardens. At this time Mr. Lyons said there were eight families in the parish. Until 1750 services were held either by missionaries or by lay readers.

In 1747 liberty was given the churchmen to "build a church for that purpose on the Green in the first society" at a designated place. It was partly paid for by subscriptions obtained by a committee and was opened by Dr. Johnson in 1751 with the name Christ Church. On the day it was opened it was voted "that the Ministerial & Society rates * * * shall be collected and improved * * * for buying Glass or other necessities for building the Church, if the Rev. Mr. Punderson, our Missionary, assent to the same." Mr. Punderson ordered ministerial taxes in all his parishes to be applied toward building churches or maintaining readers.

The Venerable Society would not give Guilford a missionary at first, because no house or glebe could be provided for him. In 1749 there were eighteen families and 1761 Guilford asked to be made an independent mission, with Killingworth and North Guilford. Mr. Punderson had so much to do that they felt neglected, and they wished as their clergyman, Mr. Bela Hubbard, a native of Guilford, "a hopeful youth, bred at New Haven College," who was studying Hebrew and Divinity with Dr. Johnson in New York. He had been their reader, and they wished him as clergyman as soon as he could go to England to be ordained. He went in 1763, with the following letter from Dr. Johnson to the Archbishop of Canterbury, which is interesting as showing the influence and connection Dr. Johnson kept up with Guilford. "What makes me, my Lord, the more solicitous in this case is, that Guilford is my own native town, where I have a brother (who is Mr. Hubbard's father-in-law), and sisters and sundry nephews, who are all very dear to me, under whose influence the Church for twenty years has been laboring to emerge, through many difficulties and discouragements. I lately made them a visit, and preached there. I found fifty families and as many communicants, and there are at least ten more within ten miles, and probably many others that would appear, if they could be sure of a minister."

In 1769 and 1770, and for two or three years, the Society rate of churchmen was to be collected by the First Society collector and paid to Mr. Hubbard. After a few years he was moved to New Haven. This was a "tender and difficult" affair, and "so distressing to the people, that words cannot express it." It was necessary to take a little time to manage the change, and for a time to allow him to visit Guilford two or three times a year. He himself hesitated to leave.

Numbers increased until in 1774 there were thirty-seven families, but during the Revolution almost no services were held and the church became very weak. The church building suffered from plunder and decay. Tradition is that it was never closed on Sundays, though at one time it is said that only two men and their families attended, one of the men reading the services. There are no records from 1786, when Bishop Seabury visited the church, until 1798, when the church was reorganized and the building repaired. Services were then held by lay readers with occasional visits from ministers. At times a minister had charge of this parish in connection with several others. In 1835 the Rev. Alonzo Bennett came to the parish, and, except for a short period, was in charge until he became pastor emeritus in 1880. A new Gothic building of granite was consecrated in 1836.

St. John's, the church in North Guilford, was started partly as a result of dissatisfaction with the Congregational minister. In 1746 a division of opinion occurred over the settlement of Mr. Chauncey. The majority thought him unsound and voted against him, whereupon the minority withdrew and formed an Episcopal Church. Two similar occasions added a few families,—one when the minister refused to baptize on the Half Way Covenant plan, and another when a minister preached unacceptable doctrines. Mr. Samuel Johnson's brother-in-law, Deacon George Bartlett, was one of those disaffected in 1746 and read prayers and sermons when no minister was present. The first building was probably put up about 1754, and 1812 a second one was built. Part of the time the parish was united with Middletown and Wallingford and later with Guilford and Killingworth. In 1817 Bishop Hobart consecrated the second church and confirmed thirty-seven persons.

Sometimes there was trouble here over ministerial taxes. In 1750 the Congregational Society appealed to the General Assembly for help with regard to the Church of England people "from whom we have begun to distrain rates, which hath been attended with the effusion of so much blood, that we cannot find any Collectors that will undertake to gather any more. Therefore we would pray the Honored Court to appoint some meet person to gather our rates, or find some other way, as they in their wisdom shall see fit." Agents were appointed and were apparently successful, since Mr. Punderson complained that taxes had been taken from Conformists and no legal redress given. Two years later Rev. Ichabod Camp made a similar complaint.

SECTION VII—OTHER DENOMINATIONS

CHAPTER I

BAPTIST CHURCHES

Early Churches in Wallingford, Meriden, Waterbury

It is not necessary or possible to make the account of other denominations as full as that of Episcopalians. Their history is similar in many ways, the history, not of an organized band coming to an unoccupied territory, but of a few scattered converts, generally among the poorer and less important people. Like the churchmen, and indeed like many of the Congregational churches in new settlements, Baptists worshipped at first in any available place, often with no minister and depending on infrequent visits of clergymen and services of laymen. Like them, they grew from a sect unwillingly tolerated to a denomination in a position of prosperous equality. The share of Baptists in the growth of the Toleration movement and the separation of church and state has already been given. It might be added that it was a Baptist minister, from Suffield, who drew the article on religion in the Constitution of 1818.

One or two points are to be noticed in the history of this denomination. In the early days their churches were generally located on the outskirts of the settlements, and those which did not move to a central location, as in Meriden, were especially affected by the depopulation of the country districts. The movement to the city was noticed in 1830 by the state organization, the Baptist Convention. This body also noticed early the movement of emigration to the West and the incoming of the foreign population and the problems it presented. The latter was mentioned for the first time in 1840 and seven years later the convention spoke of the perils from "the unparalleled immigration from the old world, the unevangelized masses daily thrown upon our shores, the fearful combination of influences especially hostile to our civil and religious institutions, the bold and threatening attitude of the man of sin, the ever-widening extent of territory to be occupied." Baptists began early to carry to work with foreigners. The first church for Germans in the state was in this county, and work has been started with Swedes, Danes and Italians.

A question asked in 1853 in the Convention brings to mind the colonial requirement of thirty families as necessary to start a new church. "Does

it not become us more fully to count the cost in planting churches and encouraging them to build meeting-houses?" The more usual attitude, however, was that of the following resolution, "that the Board should seek able and judicious men, a part of whose time should be employed in exploring and occupying important points in the state." Baptists had their missionaries, corresponding to the churchman, Jonathan Arnold, though serving under different auspices.

Though standing for the independence of the churches, Baptists have a state organization, the Convention of the churches, and local associations, the New Haven Association formed in 1825.

The Baptist denomination in New Haven County is nearly as old as the Episcopalian. Privileges given the former by the colony in 1727 were extended to the latter two years later. There were many points of agreement between them and the Congregationalists. The letter inviting Mr. Robbins of Branford to preach to them spoke of "those of your denomination, with whom we desire to join heartily in the internals of religion, though we can't in form." In most respects, save in regard to baptism, the doctrines of the two denominations were similar; and in matters of church government they agreed in opposing the interference of civil authorities in church affairs, for as some one said, Baptists "have made a fetich of Independence." Many Congregationalists who were Separatists went over to the Baptists, rather than submit to the Saybrook Platform. The results of the Great Awakening brought another group into sympathy, those who believed that church membership should be limited to persons who had undergone conversion, a position always held by the Baptists. Bishop Asbury, borrowing a term used in Congregational controversies, spoke of a "New Light Baptist." On the other hand, their idea of equality of religious privileges was as distasteful to Congregationalists as to Episcopalians.

It was said that in 1700 there were only nine Baptists in New England; in 1800 the numbers had increased and there were said to be four thousand in Connecticut; in 1850 one in twenty-three of the population of the state was a Baptist; and since then the proportion has decreased because of the immigration of foreigners. President Dwight's statistics are interesting,—216 Congregational or Presbyterian churches, 61 Episcopalian, 67 Baptist, and he commented as follows: "The Baptist churches, a few excepted, * * * are small, and indifferent buildings. The congregations, also, * * * are small; and their ministers are very generally uneducated." As to the latter point, the Baptist State Convention of 1830 passed the following resolutions: "Whereas, The subject of ministerial education deeply interests the feelings of many of our brethren, who confidently express their opinion of its utility to Zion, therefore, Resolved, That it be recommended to all our churches candidly to examine the subject, and to pray earnestly that God will direct them in their duty." The historian of the convention remarks that evidently some people were still "afraid that an educated ministry might come to

consider itself independent of the Holy Spirit, and that too many other books might drive out the study of the One Book."

The first Baptist Church in New Haven County was organized in Wallingford in 1735, and was called the "Third Baptist Church in Connecticut." It was made up of about ten families, with a first minister having the singularly appropriate name of Waters. It became famous as the innocent cause of a great conflict in the Congregational Church, when it invited Mr. Robbins of Branford to preach in 1742. Part of his defense for this "disorderly preaching" was that Governor Talcott had advised the collectors for the Wallingford church not to distrain the Baptists for ecclesiastical taxes, and that the public authorities of the colony had recognized their independent existence by sending them proclamations for Fasts and Thanksgiving days as it did the other societies. The church apparently did not continue after 1750.

The history of the Wallingford and Meriden churches is closely intertwined and difficult to give clearly. In 1786 for a second time the Baptists organized a church in Wallingford. It was formed by twelve persons, as a result of the influence of ministers from other towns, particularly the Rev. Solomon Wheat. The members met in private houses, schoolhouses and similar places until 1801, when they bought a house and fixed it over for a church, the edifice derisively called the "Temple." In 1806 they first got an ordained minister, a man who had probably been there before much of the time himself, or helping by arranging for others to preach to them.

This house was near the line which later divided the towns of Wallingford and Meriden. When the new town Meriden was set off the building was found to be within its boundaries, but its location was convenient to neither town. In 1816 the church divided, and part of them formed a new society in Wallingford. The group representing the original church got a new building in the center of Meriden, called the "Salt Box" from its unpretentious appearance. It was not finished until 1824, the people at first using logs for seats, and Methodists helped finish it. The church had a struggle for existence for a time, and had for minister during this difficult period, Rev. Samuel Miller, who was pastor for twenty-three years. A revival of 1829 added some members, and in 1830 they were able to improve the church building. The church grew, and in 1848 a large new church was built near the Congregational meeting-house, in spite of the objections of the latter. In 1861 thirty-seven members were dismissed to help form a Second Baptist Church in Meriden, called at first the West Meriden Church, later the Main Street Baptist Church. Two missions have also been started and helped,—the Olive Branch Chapel in East Meriden and the Park Street mission. In spite of the dismissal of members to form other churches the First Church celebrated its centennial in 1886 with nearly five hundred members, and in a Gothic building, built in 1868, of brick with brown stone trimmings.

The group which separated in 1816 on the division of the church, formed the present Baptist Church of Wallingford the next year, with thirty-four members. This church was admitted to the State Convention in 1824, and two years later that body met in Wallingford. This church issued the call for the New Haven Baptist Association.

Another church, which itself lasted only until 1811, but was the founder of two churches, was also formed in Wallingford from the original First Church. Twenty-four persons organized in Wallingford proper what was called the Second Church in 1791. This body had only one settled pastor, Seth Higby, 1800-1804. In 1803 it dismissed twenty-nine members to form the First Baptist Church in Waterbury, which the other members visited regularly; and 1804 dismissed more members to form a church in Westfield (in Middletown), which did not last long. The removal of all these members caused the Second Church to disband in 1811.

The Baptist churches of Wallingford and Meriden drew in people from other towns. According to certificates, men from Hamden joined these churches. One minister was tried before the Superior Court for "drawing away from their respective pastors and Ecclesiastical Societies, to which they belonged, many of the citizens."

About 1860 work had started in New Haven among German Baptists, and 1869 a minister from that city preached at Yalesville and Meriden and baptized a number of converts. In 1873 nineteen persons started a church in Meriden. Before that time Germans had gone to New Haven to attend service. They met in private houses, schoolhouse and the old Town Hall, and in part of the Main Street Church. Their own building was dedicated December 25, 1876. By 1892 they were self-supporting; one of six German churches in the state (not all self-supporting).

In 1887 a Swedish Baptist Church was started, which in a few years had seventy members, and a commodious chapel. Nineteen members from the Main Street Church organized this church, which became self-supporting in 1905.

In 1910 an Italian Baptist Church was founded in Meriden.

Early records concerning Baptists in Waterbury are imperfect. There were some in the town by 1770, for in 1769 three men were freed from taxes to the Congregational Church on the ground that they had contributed to the support of a Baptist Church. Later another group of three men quite unconnected with the others, went to Wallingford at least once a month generally on foot, to the Second Baptist Church. This was twelve miles from home, and they arranged for meetings in their neighborhood. As a result several were converted and 1803 about twenty were dismissed from the Wallingford Church as has been said, to form one in Waterbury. For four years they were homeless, and pastorless for twelve, but weekly meetings were held in various houses, and they had occasional visits from Elders. In 1815 two men of the church, Samuel Potter and Jesse Frost, were ordained as joint pastors, in an open air

meeting, as they were still without a building or place of meeting large enough for a crowd. A period of growth and prosperity followed, but 1817 the church was divided to form the Salem and Woodbridge Church, sixty members going, and thirty remaining with the Waterbury Church. Elder Samuel Potter took charge of the new church and Jesse Frost remained with the old one. The new church lasted until 1846.

About 1818 the simplest kind of a house was built for the Waterbury Church probably costing not more than \$200, but as their numbers increased this soon became too small, and too far from the center of town, and 1835 a new building was put up in a different location. Elder Frost died in 1827 and the church was under the care of Timothy Porter who served without salary. He was a strong anti-slavery man, and his house, which at one time was even an "underground station," was a stopping place for anti-slavery lecturers as well as for Baptist preachers.

The new building was to be paid for by a voluntary assessment on the people, based on the grand list of the town, apportioned by a committee of their own number, with right of appeal from their decision. The panic of 1837 hit them before the building was paid for, and after great struggles and finally the need of asking for some outside help, it was finished. The church had ministers only part of the time at first; and various arrangements, but 1844 were able to have a minister.

This church has also been the parent of others in Waterbury. About 1875 a mission was started in Simonville which became the Second Baptist Church in 1892; a German mission was made into an independent church in 1894 by dismissing eleven members from the First Church and two or three from the Second Church; it also started the movement for a Swedish church, which was organized in 1892; and (1900) a church for colored people was formed, Grace Church.

Guilford—New Haven

Jesse Lee said on one of his visits, "I found some lively Christians in Guilford, of the Baptist persuasion, and could bless God that I came amongst them." A church of nineteen members was organized there in 1808; ten years later sixteen were added; and fourteen in 1821. The church was supplied by several men, and 1820 was given permission to meet in the Town House, and did so for several years. In 1823 an Elder was appointed, Alvah Bradley Goldsmith, a dominating personality, after whom they came to be called "Goldsmith Baptists." He gradually drifted into Quakerism, and the church died with him. His father was ordained deacon at the time he was ordained, the services taking place in the First Congregational Church.

Two churches were started in 1811, one in Montowese, and the other in North Haven; and 1816 the First Baptist Church was organized in New Haven. It seems appropriate to quote the account of the beginning of the latter given by its pastor, Rev. S. D. Phelps in a Memorial Sermon preached on the last Sabbath the church worshipped in its Chapel Street

house, December 10, 1865. "On the 30th of October, 1816, forty-nine years ago last October, a little company of about twenty persons, assembled in this city to consider the expediency of constituting and recognizing a Baptist Church. Nine of that number were from abroad. The others were a few scattered Baptists living here. Four of those from abroad were from the First Baptist Church of Hartford. One of them was the Rev. Elisha Cushman, pastor of that church. * * * Two were present from Meriden, one of whom was the Rev. Samuel Miller, pastor of the Baptist Church, constituted there in 1786, and father of the lamented Rev. Harvey Miller, who died in 1856, while pastor of the same church. * * * One of the two brethren from the North Haven Church, constituted five years before this, was James H. Linsley, then a student in Yale College, and who subsequently became a minister and teacher of eminence. He was the pastor of Baptist churches in Milford and Stratford. * * * The only delegate from the Baptist Church in Southington * * * was the Rev. David Wright, pastor who * * * is probably the only surviving member of the council that then convened here to constitute this church." After prayer and examination of the candidates they passed the following vote: "That we do heartily approve of the standing of said brethren and sisters, and also their sentiments relative to doctrine and practice, and that we do cordially fellowship them as a regular Church of the Lord Jesus Christ." They then adjourned for two hours. They came together at the appointed time for the services of recognition. The Rev. Mr. Cushman preached the sermon. The Rev. Mr. Miller gave the Address with the Right Hand of Fellowship to the Rev. Henry Lines, as pastor of the new church, and the Rev. Mr. Wright offered the concluding prayer. These public services were held in the old Episcopal Church, which stood on the east side of Church Street, a few rods south of Chapel.

"Such was the organic beginning of this church, almost a half century ago. But * * * the Baptist interest in this city had an existence before the organization of the church. The second wife of Governor Eaton * * * embraced sentiments that were substantially Baptist. * * * It is not improbable that a little Baptist leaven continued to pervade the community from that early date. The first person baptized in this city was Abigail Dorchester, about a hundred years ago. She lived till near the time when this church was constituted, and saw several others follow the Saviour in the divine ordinance.

"The Baptist Church in North Haven originated under the labors of the Rev. Joshua Bradley, a graduate of Brown University, and preceptor of an Academy in Wallingford. He preached frequently in this city, and as a result several were converted and baptized. Other ministers also baptized a few here before the formation of a church. In the April previous to that event, Rev. Henry Lines, who resided here, but was a member of the church in North Haven, baptized several.

"The constituent members of this church, including the pastor numbered only twelve—seven brethren and five sisters— * * * The first

meetings of the church were held in Amos Doolittle's Lodge Room, in a building on the west side of College Street, a little north of Elm. * * * Afterwards the meetings were held in the New Township Academy, which stood on the corner of Chapel and Academy streets. * * * Their place of worship being too small, they applied for and secured the use of the State House on the public square. It was the old State House located on Temple Street, a little north of Trinity Church. From this time their congregation and prosperity steadily increased." They obtained permission to put up a new building on the Green, where other churches were located, on the southwest corner opposite the Taft Hotel. Finding a spirit of opposition to this, and being offered the money raised to test the legality of the permission, they bought a lot on Chapel Street, near Olive, and in two years had completed a building, constructed of stone brought from East Rock. They began to worship there in 1824, a church of sixty-six members.

In 1842 a Second Church was formed by a colony of forty-nine members, from the First. After holding their services in the Orange Street lecture room, then in the "Temple," corner of Orange and Court streets, they built a church on the corner of Academy and Greene streets, but in 1856 bought the Congregational Church building put up by Chauncey Jerome on Wooster Place. In 1865 the two churches reunited and began to use the Wooster Place building. This was sold in 1898 and after worshipping in various places, and uniting with Hope Church, the First Church put up a building (1904) on the corner of Livingston and Edwards streets.

Members from the First Church also started Calvary Church. The historian of the Convention reports it thus under the year 1870: "This church had no infancy, but began its career in vigorous strength. Its large and well-appointed edifice was built and paid for before the church was organized. When formed it absorbed a part of the membership of Dwight Street Church, which had been in existence for a few years in that part of the city, but the majority of its members were dismissed directly from the First Church." The Dwight Street Church grew from a mission started about 1860 as a Sunday School. Later it was made into a branch of the First Church in order to accommodate those people who were farther and farther away as the city grew to the west, an interesting development of the principle of the winter privilege arrangement. Its name was the "Dwight Street Branch of the First Baptist Church" and it has been described as a church within a church.

The Grand Avenue Church, begun about the same time, had a very different history. In the words of one of its pastors, "Born in 1871, in a little hall not far from here, the Grand Avenue Church was a feeble child, and the trials of its early days threatened its very existence. But the Lord, through the Conventions, said, 'Let the child live;' and it has lived, and is going to live." It was recently disbanded however.

Missions have also been started by the Baptist churches of New Haven,—Olivet, a mission of Calvary, 1891, which became a church; Hope, 1890, re-united with the First Church 1902; and Howard Avenue, a mission of Calvary Church, moved in 1915 to West Haven, because of changes in population. Work for foreign-born people began here when "The First Church, New Haven, contributed \$15 to the German interest in that city, where Brother Otto has been laboring among his countrymen with evident tokens of the divine blessing." Services were started in 1857, and a church, the only German Baptist Church then in the state, was organized in 1863 by twenty-four members dismissed from the First Church. A Swedish church was started in 1882, the oldest of the churches of that nationality. In 1885 a Danish church was started, but discontinued in a few years. The latest of these churches is the Italian, formed in 1913. A church for colored people, Immanuel Baptist, first known as Zion, was organized in 1856.

Seymour, Ansonia and Fair Haven may be considered together as illustrating the policy of the Baptist Church authorities in starting new churches and showing the effect of changes in population in the county. A church was organized in Seymour in 1848, with the assistance of the Rev. N. E. Shailer, one of the missionaries of the Convention. It was reported in that year, "We regard this as one of the most important points we have ever undertaken to occupy, and as the good providence of God so ordered events that the services of Brother Denison could be secured as pastor of this new interest, we have taken the responsibility of pledging his support for one year." By 1851, Mr. Denison, who also worked in Branford and towns outside the county, had secured \$2,200 to help complete the church building in Seymour, which was already nearly finished. Three years later, however, it was receiving help as a feeble church, and 1869 it was discontinued, because of changes in population. There is now a German Baptist Church in Seymour.

After the Seymour Church was discontinued, there was no place of their own in the lower Naugatuck Valley where Baptists might worship. In 1873 the attention of the Convention was called to Ansonia as a place where a church should be planted. Occasional meetings were held there, and 1874 it was reported that rapid progress was being made. A church was organized under the direction of Dr. Turnbull, superintendent of missions, and 1877 a building was put up. The church had thirty-nine members at first, and in fifteen years had increased to more than 250. Ansonia has also a Baptist Church for colored people.

In 1849 the following report was brought concerning Fair Haven. "This village has a population of three thousand. Among them are thirty Baptist members. The accommodations for public worship furnished by other churches are far too limited for the wants of the community. A new hall in a central location can be obtained, and as one brother has offered to pay one-half of the expense, it seems quite desirable that the position should be occupied if possible." On further investiga-

tion the Board thought the field less promising, and nothing much was done, until 1871. A church of seventy members was started, and some money was subscribed for a building, but by this time other denominations were firmly established, and Baptist opportunity was less favorable. It is suggested that one reason for the delay was the unwillingness of the New Haven Church to dismiss members, a feeling that has been seen in Congregational churches, when the question of daughter churches in new parts of the town arose.

In the decade beginning with the year 1830 two or three Baptist churches were started in the county, one in Quaker's Farm lasting only a few years, one in Milford in 1831 lasting until 1866. In 1845-6 "a small but respectable" meeting-house was built in the latter place, which was sold to the town and made part of the town house. The discontinuance of the church here is laid to changes in population due to the coming of foreigners. About the same time a Mrs. Andrews from Wallingford asked her pastor to come and preach in Branford, and the result was the formation of a church. The missionaries worked here also. Early meetings were held in the house of Mrs. Andrews, and in the Academy, and some hostility was encountered. They were, however, allowed to build a meeting-house on the Green.

Hamden had a short lived church earlier in the century, and at the end (1893) a church was started in Cheshire, partly because a sum of money was left by an individual to build a chapel.

CHAPTER II

METHODIST CHURCHES

The Church In New Haven

The beginning of the Methodist Church in this region was also unlike that of the Congregationalists, who came in the original bands led by their ministers; and that of the Episcopalians whose growth was fostered by missionaries sent from England, and supported by the Venerable Society. The Methodists came later, and escaped some of the difficulties, but in some ways were regarded with less sympathy and respect, though both came from the poorer people. The early historian of Methodism said, "The dissenting sects which had dared furtively to intrude into the parish bounds had gathered to themselves usually only a few of the poor and unpretending class." In many ways however, there was similarity in the history of Methodism and Episcopacy in this region. Like the missionary, Jonathan Arnold, Jesse Lee preached in several towns of the county; and similar little bands of converts met wherever they could in private houses, schoolhouses, taverns, even in a barn or cider mill until finally with much effort they were able to get a plain little building of their own. There was too the service of the itinerant preachers somewhat like the missionaries, many of them also carrying books for distribution, though the itinerant preachers, whose "allowance" was infinitely small, got some little return from the sale of denominational literature.

Methodism was too late to profit as much as Episcopalianism had from the disputes and quarrels among Congregationalists, arising from the Great Awakening, but it came when the religious life was lukewarm and formal, and the time was ready for a reaction. It also gained much from the revivals of the early nineteenth century. Its great growth was facilitated by its organization, its subordination to a central power, by its ability to discover and utilize all talent in its hierarchy of workers, by its powerful itinerant system, and by its aggressiveness and enthusiasm. In the period from 1818 to 1850 Methodists increased more rapidly than Congregationalists, Episcopalians, and Baptists combined.

It was to be expected that Methodists would be objects of hostility on the part of the established church. Their preachers were called itinerant fanatics, "Itinerant pedlars of false doctrine" and "numbers of illiterate exhorters swarming about as locusts from the bottomless pit." Lyman Beecher preached in 1814-5 at an evening service in the old Blue Meeting-

House in New Haven on the text, "Take us the foxes, the little foxes, that spoil our vines." He said, "I suppose our Methodist and Baptist friends are the foxes." Dr. Samuel Johnson wrote at an earlier time, "Scarce ever was there a people in a more bewildered, confounded condition than those in this colony generally are, as to their religious affairs, occasioned by the sad effects of Methodism, still in many places strangely rampant, and crumbling them into endless separations, which occasions the most sensible of them to be still everywhere looking toward the church as their only refuge."

Methodists not unnaturally returned the attentions of those whose "object was to preach cut and thrust, hip and thigh, and not ease off." Nathan Bangs said: "I have indeed been a man of war all my days—have fought the Calvinists, the Protestant Episcopalians, and others, or rather have defended the Methodists, when they have been assailed by those denominations, and I cannot regret of what I have thus done, as I have acted in the fear of God, and have not wilfully defended an error, however much I have erred in my judgment unconsciously. I have, however, long since laid aside my polemical armor, and now delight chiefly in proclaiming brotherly love."

Methodist churches had varying relationships as the denomination grew, just as the union parishes of the Episcopalians varied from time to time. In 1790 there were only four Methodist ministers in New England, but even so, it is said there were more preachers than classes, and scarcely more than two members to a preacher. Of the three or four circuits, one was the New Haven circuit. This included a large area containing over 120 miles, and contained three cities, five thickly settled towns, and several smaller places. A preacher went over it every two weeks. Jesse Lee's brother, John, was appointed to his circuit which had its centre at Derby, but he had consumption, or to use their own words, was a "dilapidated shrine," with a soul of fire.

The Middletown circuit, which lasted from 1791 to 1816, included Middlesex and much of New Haven County. It extended inland to Waterbury, and along the shore from the Housatonic River to the Connecticut. Seymour belonged to this circuit, but 1813 was assigned to the Stratford division. Constant changes were made in these circuits.

The amount of work performed by the itinerant preachers may be gathered from the case of William Thatcher, who lived in New Haven and was at one time on the Redding circuit, where every two weeks he had to preach twenty-four sermons and ride 180 miles. On other circuits, he was away twelve weeks at a time.

An idea of the rapid growth of Methodism may be seen from the fact that the district represented by the New Haven circuit of 1790, in 1832 contained fifteen circuits and stations, thirty-four traveling preachers, between thirty and forty local preachers, nearly fifty meeting-houses, and 5,824 church members.

This was the body that united with Episcopalians, Baptists and Tolerationists, as has been shown, to bring about the downfall of the Standing

Order and the separation of church and state in Connecticut. It may be well to give here the opinion of the early historian of Methodism. "In selecting Connecticut as the first scene of his [Jesse Lee] operations, he chose the most impracticable portion of the whole field before him; for no part of New England was more thoroughly prepossessed by the traditional sentiments of the Puritans or more completely controlled by the rigid but simple mechanism of their ecclesiastical organization."

"We are now in Connecticut," said Bishop Asbury in 1791, "and never out of sight of a house, and sometimes we have a view of many churches and steeples, built very neatly of wood. I do feel as if there had been religion in this country once; and I apprehend there is a little in form and theory left. There may have been a praying ministry and people here, but I fear they are now spiritually dead, and am persuaded that family and private prayer is very little practiced. Could these people be brought to constant, fervent prayer, the Lord would come down and work wonderfully among them."

Jesse Lee preached in New Haven first in June, 1789, in the State House, having among his hearers the president of the college and one of the city pastors; and again two or three years later. On the latter occasion the State House bell was rung for the service, and people were assembled, when some "influential men" invited him into the Congregational Church. He said of this meeting that at first he "did not feel very well satisfied being raised in a high pulpit with a soft cushion under his hands," but he soon felt the fire from above and preached with great liberty. Two Congregational ministers were present, and he said, "After meeting, I came out, and some told me they were much pleased with the discourse; but no man asked me home with him." He went to the tavern, and soon a stranger, Mr. David Beecher, came and took him to his house, which was located at the point where the first settlers landed in Quinnipiac. Thus the representatives and leaders of two denominations in New Haven, met in space, though far apart in time and beliefs. It may be remarked of this "frigid politeness" of New Haven, that when Bishop Asbury came here a year or two later, he received similar treatment. "No one spoke to me," he said, and he was not invited to go through the college and inspect its interior arrangements which he wished to see. "They used me like a fellow Christian in coming to hear me preach, and like a stranger in other respects."

Mr. Lee saw one thing here which astonished him. "After dark, a young woman got her work and set down to knitting; I was, indeed, much astonished at this, it being Sunday evening, and spoke to her about it. They told me it was customary for Congregationalists throughout the state, to commence the Sabbath on Saturday evening and continue it until sunset on Sunday."

In 1790, New Haven having nine Methodists, which happens to be the number of Baptists in New England in 1700, was put in one of the circuits, but these people were probably not from the city itself. The city

was "rigidly impassive" and had no class until six years after Jesse Lee's first visit. The first resident Methodists were a man, Samuel Pool, and his wife, Martha, who moved here from Farmington in 1792. Their house became a regular preaching place. A year later William Thatcher came here to live, and services were then held at his house on York Street, his wife being the first convert from New Haven. Rev. Daniel Ostrander formed these four and another convert into the first class in 1795. They were put in the Middletown circuit and had preaching every two or three weeks.

For two years they worshipped here and there, and then for \$90 bought the little old Sandemanian meeting-house in Gregson Street, a place "scarcely decent or convenient to meet in." Their services were troubled by rowdies who resented their presence here in Toddy Alley, as it was called then. They broke in, and began to wreck the seats and pulpit with an axe, the signal for others to come and demolish the place, but their plans had been suspected, and an athletic Methodist overpowered them, and they were haled to court. The trouble from that source was ended, but the meetings were often disturbed, and it has been well remarked that they had to watch as well as pray.

From 1807 until 1822 the Methodists had a church on Temple Street, a small unplastered wooden structure, built after some difficulty in buying land for a site. In 1811 it had its first stationed preacher; in 1813 it was set off as an independent station under Elder Nathan Bangs. He was made Presiding Elder of the Rhinebeck district, which included a large region, extending from Rhinebeck through Dutchess County, western Massachusetts, to Pittsfield, and through Connecticut to Long Island. At that time the district had but three or four chapels and no parsonage. Elder Bangs had as part of his policy to procure better places of worship for the Methodists, and better arrangements of the circuits. With preaching only once in two weeks, and preachers quickly away after the sermon to their next appointment, he said to them, "You might as well go home and go to sleep, so far as Methodism is concerned, as to preach in the manner you do; for though your labors may be blest, other sects will reap their results, and thus, so far as our own church is concerned, you lose the fruit of your toils and sufferings. * * * You must go to work and build churches in all the cities and populous villages, and have preachers stationed in them, that they may perform the duties of pastors, watching over the flock and building them up in holiness."

When William Thatcher, who had become a preacher, was stationed in New Haven in 1820, he found that the Methodists had been voted a site for a meeting-house on the Green, "right in the face of Yale College." His own account of the subsequent events will be given. "What! A noble brick building rise for the Methodists directly in front of that great establishment? As sure as such a thing is attempted, the students by night will demolish, as fast as the builders by day can erect it. Try this enterprise, Methodists, if you dare! Yes, they dare. They came together

in the name of the Lord, and they resolved to build Him a house, for they knew that He was with them. Their subscription is opened, a brother heads it with \$500, another follows with \$300, \$200 follows that, and then others with hundreds each, &c., astonishing their neighbors! who said, 'How is this?' My answer was, 'Don't you know that the Methodists hold to works? These are some of their works!' We must now make our strongest effort, as we shall be associated with two Congregational buildings, one Episcopalian, and a contemplated elegant State House; we would not betray the confidence of those who voted us the site, so honorable, in the centre of the most elegant city in the state." His narrative may be interrupted to say that it was through his own zeal and efforts that \$4,000 was raised, to which a loan of \$5,000 was added. He was given authority by state and city officials to solicit aid. A building, sixty-eight by eighty feet was begun.

Mr. Thatcher continues, "The cornerstone was laid on the 15th day of May, 1821. The pastor, and a thousand others face a noble choir, echoing, for the first time there, the praises of the Most High. * * * The preacher wept:—the hymn was sung, the text named, and a foundation sermon preached. The builders proceeded by day, and the un-builders (students) proceeded by night. A night-guard soon defeated them, the house rose, the roof 'capt the climax:' but on the 3d of September, of boisterous memory, our noble house was a mass of ruins." This was due to the famous "September Gale," which did great damage in the city, and to shipping in the harbor.

"Here was a trial of even *Methodist faith!* Did we quail? No! On the 24th of November, that house, enclosed, looked clear as the morning, and (to some) terrible as an army with banners * * * in less than nine months from the night of its catastrophe, the voice of praise, prayer and preaching by Rev. J. Summerfield, and an overflowing audience, told the story of its triumph! Here I witnessed the prosperity of the work of the Lord; the membership numbered nearly 500."

It is interesting to put with this the account given by a very unsympathetic witness of the ceremonies, the Rev. Harry Croswell, rector of Trinity Church. "May 10, 1821. Passed round to the Northwest corner of the Green, where the Methodists were laying the cornerstone of their new meeting-house. Like a presbyterian dedication, it was a formless jumble of exercises, consisting of singing three hymns, making a prayer, and delivering an address, all carried on by their minister, Mr. Thatcher. The cornerstone, however, instead of being the top of the corner, was the first stone laid in the foundation, several feet under ground. On this stone, and in this awkward situation, the little minister performed his several parts—speaking, not as out of a tub, but as if immersed in a cistern—the people standing in the deep trenches, or on the banks, or on the piles of lumber and stone with which the place was encumbered. He discharged the office, however, with a considerable degree of propriety—and with a zeal and enthusiasm peculiar to his sect."

Separation of church and state was helped by Elder Bangs, and the change in the position of the denomination was marked by the fact that at the time of the meeting of the Legislature in the spring of 1824, after the military had escorted the Governor to the State House where he was informed of his election, he and the two houses proceeded to the Methodist Church where a discourse was delivered to a crowded house. The next year the in-door part of the Fourth of July exercises took place in this church.

This house, however, seemed so plain and unattractive to the citizens of New Haven that money was given the Methodists to build a church in another place instead of repairing and improving this building. The new church, the present building, was dedicated in the spring of 1849, "one of the very best edifices of the kind belonging to the denomination in the United States." The appearance of this building, both inside and out, has been much changed.

There are now several Methodist churches in the city and its immediate neighborhood, besides those that have recently united with the First Church. In 1810 preaching was started in Westville and in 1815 a class. They worshipped in a schoolhouse for a time; in 1835 bought an abandoned schoolhouse and 1852 dedicated their building. In 1832 a class was started which became the East Pearl Street Church. They put up a building in 1833, a larger one in 1835, and a third building in 1873. St. John Street Church was started next; Howard Avenue soon after 1870, beginning first as a Sunday School; Summerfield at the same time, a mission; Trinity in 1882 by the union of two earlier churches and now united with the First Church. There is also a German Methodist Church founded 1854, and three churches of colored people.

A certificate dated 1791 was given a man in Hamden who "attended meeting and contributed for the support of the gospel in the First Society of Methodists in said town." Nothing more is known of this Methodist society. In 1810 a woman named Sibyl Tuttle got her New Haven pastor and some members of the church to hold meetings in Hamden, and a class was formed three years later. A revival of 1814 added many to the number. Meetings were held in houses until 1816 when a small building, 22 by 21 feet in dimensions, was put up, and used in an unfinished state for a time. Part of the time Hamden was a two weeks circuit by itself, and at other times it had varying circuit relationships. Since 1834 it has been a separate appointment, and in that year a new building, 35 by 45 feet, was put up. This was remodeled in 1876 and a chapel added. It was burned in January, 1918, and a new building started in 1919, the delay due to the ban put on building operations during the war. Changes in church life are exemplified in this building, which, besides the kitchens without which no modern church can proceed, has a fire-proof motion picture booth.

Waterbury, Milford, Guilford, Wallingford

Little is known of the early history of Methodism in Waterbury. Jesse Lee apparently paid a visit in 1790, and there seem to have been a few Methodists in various parts of the town. Bishop Asbury preached in a "Separate" meeting-house in 1796. It may interest those who are curious in the ways of great men to know that he said to the one who was his hostess on the visit, "Sister Hotchkiss, have you not a spare tea-pot? I carry and make my own tea. And let me have the top crust from the loaf of rye bread; that, with my tea, is all I want."

About 1800 Bishop Asbury said of a service in Litchfield, "Some from Waterbury were fervent in spirit, serving the Lord." The names of these early Methodists are unknown but there seem to have been several groups in different parts of the town, one of which grew to be the First Church. One society, in Columbia (now Prospect), lasted until 1858. Another group, at East Farms, caused the following church votes. "Waterbury, July 4, 1800. Voted that Reuben Frisbie and Stephen Hotchkiss be a committee to inform a number of the brethren and sisters of this church who sometime since went off to the Methodists, that the church having taken proper steps according to the gospel to gain them to their duty without success, are about to reject them unless they come forward and make gospel satisfaction." A few weeks later five persons,—four women and one man,—were rejected from the fellowship and communion of the church. This class at East Farms did not grow into a church.

An interesting case occurred in 1789 in the group formed in the part of Waterbury which became part of the town of Middlebury. It recalls the later observations of Elder Bangs that other denominations received as members those converted by Methodist preachers. A young woman was converted to those beliefs, to the distress of her orthodox father, who wished her to stay in her own church. To her query, "How can I forsake his ministry? His word has awakened my soul; what shall I do?" He replied, "Thank him and let him go." She joined the Congregational Church to please her family, but about fifteen years later asked to be dismissed, causing visitations by a committee of the church and church meetings. Her reasons included the familiar one of inconvenience. As to the Methodist meetings, held at her house, "she enjoyed the latter, feeling that there was more love and zeal and more of the power of religion among the Methodists; their doctrines were more agreeable to her feelings and to her understanding of the Bible." She was excommunicated, since she had "withdrawn from our communion in a disorderly manner, and refuses to return to her duty, and we are directed to withdraw from every brother that walketh disorderly, we do hereby withdraw our watch and fellowship from her, agreeable to the apostolic direction." The descendants of this woman equaled some Congregational families in numbers represented in the ministry. Two sons and four grandsons became Methodists preachers, giving "collectively more than a hundred years of active service in the ministry."

In 1815 the class was formed in the district now called Waterville, which grew into the Waterbury Church. It was organized by a preacher of the Litchfield circuit, and contained at first only five persons. It met for a while in the schoolhouse, and when that was not permitted, in the little red house of Widow Mary Peck, a member of the first class. These meetings were seldom held on Sunday, but during the week when the itinerant preacher came through on his circuit. On Sundays prayer and class meetings were held, and occasional preaching. The group never numbered more than thirty, and at one time was reduced to thirteen. In 1831 a revival was started under Rev. Heman Bangs, who took as text for his first sermon, "Awake thou that sleepest and arise from the dead."

One factor in the growth of this group is of interest as showing new conditions in Waterbury. William Eaves came from England in 1829 to take a position as skilled die-sinker and button maker in the factory of the Scovills. His wife was an earnest Wesleyan, and he and his son became converted to Methodism. They were good singers, and he was the first superintendent of the Sunday School and a pillar of the church, until he removed to New York, in 1845, where he became a local preacher.

In 1832 it was found necessary to have a building. As in New Haven it was impossible for a time to find any one who would sell a lot on which they could build. In twenty years their numbers had increased so that it was necessary to have a new building, which was dedicated in 1854.

The First Church has started missions which have become independent churches, such as Grace Church of Waterville, begun as a mission by a "praying band" in 1873; two years later it had a building, and 1882 began to have its own preachers. St. Paul's was also started as a mission, due to increase of population. Its building was dedicated in 1888.

Derby

A band of local preachers connected with the Waterbury Church built up Methodism in the lower Naugatuck valley in the years between 1850 and 1870. One of them, Rev. Joseph Smith, was especially prominent. He preached in Naugatuck in a furniture store and in private houses and halls. In 1851 a site was bought for a meeting-house and a small frame church was used until 1868. The church was moved to a more central location, and a wooden Gothic building put up and dedicated in 1887. Joseph Smith's son was pastor from 1886 to 1888.

Jesse Lee preached the first Methodist sermon in Derby in 1790. He got an audience by hiring a man to ring a bell, but two of his hearers invited him to come again and hold a meeting at their house. He did so a month later. After that Derby was a regular preaching station and a society was organized in 1793. Bishop Asbury also came to Derby and preached. Derby was put in the Middletown circuit, and among its first preachers was the Daniel Ostrander who organized the first class in New Haven.

For several years itinerant preachers came and meetings were held in the schoolhouse, the same one in which Congregationalists and Episco-

paliars had worshipped. Later there was a Derby circuit extending up the Naugatuck Valley to Waterbury. This was a strong society. They used the Congregational meeting-house, and 1854 had their own building. One of the preachers here (1814) put some of his experiences in a book called "Lights and Shadows of Itinerancy."

From this Derby class one was organized in 1797 in Chusetown (Seymour). There had probably been preaching here before, and as in other towns preaching was held in private houses or wherever a place could be found. A revival in 1809 added many members. The society was small and met opposition and petty persecution, but in 1817 it had fifty-six members, and bought the old Congregational meeting-house. As in the case of the Eaves family in Waterbury, an addition came through the new industrial life. Most of the employes in the factories were Americans but it was necessary to send to England for men skilled in some branches of work, which were entirely new in this country. In 1829 a young Welshman, spinner in the cotton mills, was converted and joined the Methodist Church. He was a great help to the church as a singer. In 1848 a new building was put up, and another in 1891.

The Shore Towns

Milford was part of the first Methodist circuit in New England. Jesse Lee wrote, "Sunday, 16th (August, 1789), we rode to Milford, and preached in the town house, and endeavored to show the necessity of a preparation to meet God. The house was crowded with people, and some of them appeared to be persons of note; they were very attentive to what was spoken and tears stole down from several eyes, while solemnity sat upon their countenances. * * * When I was done, I came through the crowd, mounted my horse and set off, without having any invitation to call at any man's place. This is the third time I have preached at this place, and have not yet become acquainted with any person. If I can but be useful, I am willing to remain unknown among men. We then rode to Mr. Gilbert's in New Haven. He and his wife appear to be God-fearing people."

The town was occasionally visited by itinerant preachers, and local preachers from neighboring churches. In 1822 a small class was organized, and a church in 1836, ten persons from the First Church among the twenty-seven first members. Meetings were held in the old Baptist meeting-house, and the membership had doubled by the end of a year. An old building was bought and moved to a different place, and for two or three years Milford had a resident pastor. In 1844 a new building was put up and dedicated, but except for three years no regular pastor was appointed until 1852. A revival had added thirty-three persons to the church, and a parsonage was built. The church was remodeled at different times, and used until in 1893 the Mary Taylor Memorial Church was dedicated.

In August, 1789, Jesse Lee visited Guilford. The circumstances are described in the "Memorials of Methodism." "He left New Haven after

dinner, and had got but a little way from town before he fell in with a gentleman who was riding nine or ten miles on his route. He appeared to be a religious man, and encouraged Lee to go on to Guilford, and call on Lieutenant Hopson. He did so. Mr. Hopson met him at the gate, and as soon as he had dismounted, said to him, 'I hope you are a brother in Christ.' 'I told him,' writes Mr. Lee, 'who I was, and whither I was going. It was then about sunset; but he sent word to his neighbors, and soon collected a room full of people, to whom I preached. I felt my soul alive to God among these strangers, and some of them wept freely. Of a truth I perceive God is no respecter of persons.' "

Twenty years later Bishop Asbury wrote, "I dined with R. Griffin in Guildford; here is a lot to build a house of worship on, and God will work here." Almost thirty years later a missionary was sent there, and formed a Methodist society. At first meetings were held in private houses, and in the Town House, and soon a building was put up on the Green. In 1844 a great revival added nearly a hundred members.

Jesse Lee and Bishop Asbury were both in Wallingford, but a class was not formed for twenty years, and though a building was put up, it was not much used. The real start of Methodism was much later. There are some interesting features connected with the history of the denomination in Cheshire during this period. Some of the people went to a class formed in Wallingford in 1809, some went to one which met in Hamden in 1819, and a small class was held in the town itself. In 1825 there was preaching, in 1829 Cheshire was made part of a circuit, 1834 a separate appointment, and at this time it got a building, "a plain brick edifice without a spire."

An interesting point came up when the Methodists wished to have a building on town land. In 1832 the town meeting voted, "That if it should be found that the Town of Cheshire has a good title to the land laying between the Turnpike road and the road running from Amasa Hitchcock's House to the House of Elias Dudley, and that they have full power to convey to the same, they then agree to convey to the Society of Methodists in said town, so much of said land as said Society of Methodists may require to erect a house of Public Worship upon." This meeting was considered illegal and another was held "to consider the propriety of granting the Methodist Society of said Town the privilege of Erecting a House for Public Worship upon the Public Green." At this meeting the question was asked "whether the land asked for belonged to the Town or the Congregational Society." It was voted that the meeting take no action on the petition of the Methodists. They bought a lot.

The reason for the growth of the denomination here at this time was the opening of barytes mines, which until 1851 gave employment to many miners. Among them were English miners who were Wesleyans, and when the mines were shut down this congregation correspondingly decreased.

Meriden had a class of Methodists at an early time, but not much is known about them. In 1830 a plain building was put up, and services were held more or less regularly. Their numbers did not increase, and a society was not formed until after a revival of 1844. At this time Meriden was a branch of the Cheshire circuit, but 1847 it became a preaching appointment, and a new church was built.

Occasional meetings were held in South Meriden as early as 1839. This group got a building in 1851, and a regular pastor in 1871. This, and the First Church were formed largely through the efforts of Rev. John Parker. It may be mentioned that a church was organized in Yalesville after a revival, and that 1885 a third church, Trinity, was started in another part of Meriden by sixty members from the First Church.

CHAPTER III

CATHOLIC CHURCHES

A recent historian of the Catholic Church in Connecticut, the Right Reverend Thomas S. Duggan, D. D., from whose history much of the following account has been taken, compared the story of its growth to an epic, or a tale from the Arabian Nights, so rapid and fabulous has been the increase in its numbers, and so immense its accomplishments. This is strikingly shown in the case of Waterbury, where, at a conservative estimate, the Catholic population is now more than half that of the city, and where the church has grown from nothing to thirteen large parishes each with its own church building, six schools and convents, a hospital, and Day Nursery. One hundred years ago there was not a resident priest in New Haven County. Today there are 150. The story of the Catholic Church illustrates best of all the transformation of the population of the county from homogeneity to cosmopolitanism.

Coming later than the other denominations,—Episcopalian, Baptist, Methodist, and of course, the original Congregational,—there is yet a striking similarity in many ways among their histories. There are the same small beginnings, the same struggling against hostility and opposition, and the same growth, with subdivision of one large parish, which originally included more than the state, first into combinations of two or three towns, and finally into the present multiplicity of parishes. The Catholic Church as an organization, came too late to have an interest in the ecclesiastical quarrels of the eighteenth century, which helped the other denominations so materially; or much share in the movement which brought about the separation of church and state in 1818, but they had trouble over the "Know Nothing" excitement against Catholics, and especially Irish Catholics. There was not so much difficulty in this county as in many places. A striking example and its swift recoil, was the order in 1855 to disband a company in the Second Regiment made up of Irish soldiers. With the outbreak of the Civil War the law by which this was done was repealed, and Captain Cahill of the disbanded company became colonel of the Irish Regiment, famous under its other name, the Fighting Ninth.

The first Catholic priest to come to the county was moved by a political, not a religious reason, and it is not known that he held any public religious service. This was a Jesuit, Father Druilletes, sent by New France to New Haven in 1651 to try to make a commercial compact with the colonies. A priest is said to have visited that city also in 1796, basing

the statement on the following advertisement in the *Connecticut Journal*. "The Roman Catholics of Connecticut are informed that a priest is now in New Haven where he will reside for a time. Those who wish to make use of his ministry will find him by inquiring at Mr. Azel Kimberly's, Chapel Street." The same information was also given in French.

From various sources Catholics began to come in,—Irish people transported during the time of Cromwell, and sold into service; Acadians or "French Neutrals," who were distributed among the colonies after the English reduction of Canada. Four hundred of the latter came to Connecticut, nineteen to New Haven, eleven to Guilford, twelve to Wallingford, and in varying numbers to other towns. A little later, at the time of the French Revolution, came refugees from France itself; later still, about 1825, Irish laborers began arriving, to work on the Farmington Canal, the railroads and public works; and by the end of the century great waves of immigrants from every country, most of whom were Catholics. The presence of people of these different nationalities was met by the formation of churches of all creeds, and of different languages, as we have seen in the case of the other denominations. A mere list of dates is most illuminating in many ways, taken from one community, Waterbury, the relative dates of the establishment of the various churches,—Congregational, 1691; Episcopal, 1740; Baptist, 1803; Methodist, 1815; Catholic, 1847; while the coming of the different nationalities is shown by the dates of the organization of Catholic churches for them,—French, 1886; German, 1893; Lithuanian, 1894; Italian, 1899; Polish, 1912. It is obvious also that the work of the priests in this period must have been largely that of building churches, schools, and charitable institutions, and raising money to pay for them. "Measured by their ecclesiastical masonry, the Catholics of Connecticut have wrought wonders."

The first Catholic bishop in America was named in 1789 when the See of Baltimore was formed, with "an immense and impossible diocese." In 1808 it was divided, and Baltimore was made an archbishopric, with Boston as one of four suffragan sees, Boston at that time including Connecticut. Father Fitton described it thus: "A pastor once had for his parish the districts lying between Boston and New York, and was occasionally called to visit the sick in New Hampshire, Vermont and Rhode Island."

In 1823 the Bishop of Boston made his first visit to the county, coming to New Haven from Hartford, and was the guest of the professor of French in Yale College. A few years later a priest, Father O'Cavanaugh, was given Rhode Island and Connecticut as his parish, and settled in Hartford in 1829. In that year therefore, Catholicism in Connecticut began its history as an organized ecclesiastical society with a resident pastor. Father O'Cavanaugh left in 1831 and Father Fitton, a great missionary, was appointed in his place. In 1832 he was given an assistant, Father McDermott, who soon became pastor in New Haven, with a parish that included Bridgeport, Waterbury, Derby, Meriden and Middletown. Father Fitton traveled often on foot, carrying a valise con-

taining his vestments, chalice and necessary things, but Father Smyth, the third pastor, had a large sorrel horse that became very well known among the people of his extensive parish.

In 1843 the Diocese of Boston was divided, and the See of Hartford established, with jurisdiction over the states of Connecticut and Rhode Island. In 1850 New York was made an archbishopric, and New England ceased to be under the jurisdiction of Baltimore. Connecticut was made a separate see in 1872, and 1875 Boston was made an archbishopric, to which Connecticut was transferred. The first incumbent of the diocese of Boston, in 1843, was William Tyler, a convert, of Connecticut family and antecedents. It is worth while to give a brief account of this first bishop of Connecticut. He was first cousin of that Virgil Horace Barber, Episcopalian clergyman of Waterbury, who became a Catholic. Father Tyler's grandfather also, Rev. Daniel Barber, was converted, after having been successively a Congregational and Episcopal clergyman, and many other members of the two families. William Tyler was the first student in a school opened in Claremont, New Hampshire, by Virgil Barber. He was there four years, and had as classmates two who were later in Connecticut, Father Fitton and Father Wyley.

Most of the first priests were sent from Ireland, since these were the ones that could speak English, and at the time the great flood of immigrants was coming from that country. As in the case of the early missionaries of the Church of England, it was found that priests of American birth were the most successful.

New Haven

There were few Catholics in New Haven until the nineteenth century. The first ones were mostly French refugees, and the one notice in the paper, already mentioned, of an expected visit of a priest in 1796 was given in French as well as in English. A little later, as has been said, Irish laborers came to build the Farmington Canal, and after that the railroad and public works.

In 1827 mass was celebrated in New Haven by a priest from New York. He was passing through the city, and the Catholics took the opportunity to have a service. They asked permission to use a small building put up for a Seamen's Bethel on Long Wharf. The answer was "We have no Popery now in New Haven, and we don't want any." The Catholics succeeded in finding other quarters on Long Wharf.

The first priest stationed in Hartford in 1829, Father O'Cavanaugh, said mass in New Haven, which was part of his parish. This happened about every three months, "and happy we were for so great a privilege," said one of the people. His successor, Father Fitton, also came at regular intervals, and, as in the early days of other denominations, it was necessary to use a little guile to get a place of worship and furnishings for it. Father Fitton wrote, "We rented a room from a German, he not knowing for what purpose we intended it. We next needed a few benches; but the

joiner hearing what we wanted them for refused positively to make them, saying that they (his fellow townsmen) 'were determined to put down that religion, at least in Connecticut, whether or no.' We succeeded, at length in finding one who made us a few, not suspecting the place for which they were intended; but as soon as he found out declared 'he would not have made them for fifty dollars apiece' if he had known in time." An entry in Bishop Fenwick's journal on the occasion of a visit to New Haven recalls by implication experiences of Jesse Lee and Bishop Asbury. "Was courteously treated by a servant at the hotel, named Daniels."

In 1832 an assistant was received for the region from Bridgeport to Middletown, and two years later a building was dedicated in New Haven—Christ Church, situated on the corner of York Street and Davenport Avenue, since most of the Catholics were in the southwest part of the city. This building, 60 by 35 feet in dimensions, in the Gothic style, then rare in New England, was described by Lambert as "a respectable house of worship," and by Catholics in more enthusiastic terms, as "the most beautiful little Gothic church in New England."

Its dedication was to have been an occasion for great rejoicing. Bishop Fenwick wrote in his journal, "Said early mass and gave Communion. A great concourse was assembled at ten o'clock, consisting of Catholics from all the adjacent country, and a very great number of Protestants who were attracted merely to witness the ceremony, from New Haven. I went to the church at 10; found Fathers McDermott and Fitton there; dressed and prepared for the ceremony. After making the circuit of the church, returned to the altar; was hardly arrived when the gallery behind gave way and fell with all its incumbents upon the mass of people below. One boy, fourteen years old, was instantly killed, and several other persons dreadfully wounded; of these one died in the course of the day. Both of these were converts." This tragedy was found to be due to the fact that the carpenter had changed the plans for the support of the gallery.

This church had other misfortunes. Not many months later the altar was robbed of the crucifix and silver chalice, but this occasion was used by Protestants to show their friendliness and sympathy. Some of them presented the church with a silver chalice in place of the one that was stolen.

Growth of the congregation necessitated enlarging the church in 1843. A contemporary said, "This well-known and admired model of neatness has been enlarged, through the laborious zeal of its pastor, and now stands in the form of a perfect cross. Its dimensions are 85 by 75 feet, and both interiorly and outwardly, it is just now a unique piece of church architecture, yet the fairest in the diocese." Again misfortune visited the parish. The building was burned in 1848, and after worshipping for a few months in a tent, an old Congregational building on Church Street was bought and dedicated as St. Mary's. After a few years it became desirable to move to a different location, and apparently again with the use

of a little strategy, a lot on Hillhouse Avenue was obtained, and a new church finished in 1875. In 1886 the parish was put in charge of Dominican Fathers, not the first Order in Connecticut, for Franciscans had been in Winsted since 1865. Within fifteen years the Dominican Fathers were able to wipe out the large debt with which the parish was burdened.

In 1882, Father McGivney, assistant pastor of St. Mary's, but born and buried in Waterbury, started an organization for men, the Knights of Columbus, which has spread widely and become not only the chief social and fraternal organization of the Catholic Church of the United States but is also international. Within the last three or four years another pastor of St. Mary's has started the Aquinas Retreat for laymen, at Charles Island, Milford, at present equipped for use only in summer. There is no charge, but those who can do so pay at least \$10 for the expenses of the three days spent there, though no one is excluded because of inability to make an offering. Non-Catholics are welcome. "The principles of the spiritual life taught by St. Thomas Aquinas, are applied by the fathers to modern problems. The devout life that grows so purely from the liturgy of the church is an essential part of the retreat."

Other work is carried on by the church in New Haven in various directions,—the hospital of St. Raphael, in charge of Sisters of Charity; St. Andrew's Home for the Aged, under the care of the Little Sisters of the Poor, where sixteen Sisters undertake the care of 170 old and infirm poor; St. Francis Orphan Asylum where twenty-six Sisters of Mercy care for several hundred children.

It is impossible to consider each one of New Haven's score of Catholic churches, each with its points of particular interest. At the end of fifty years New Haven had nine Catholic churches. One of the early churches, St. John's, was built in 1858 on the site of the original Christ Church. In the same year St. Boniface was started, the first of all the German Catholic churches in Connecticut, and the first one incorporated to conduct services in a foreign language. In 1868 it had its first resident pastor and was then a small parish of fifteen families, meeting in various halls. At one time it met in Gregson Alley, already familiar as the scene of other early churches, then it had a building on George Street. In 1924 a new building was dedicated on State Street, bringing together in one place the school and convent connected with the church. The second priest in charge of the parish, Father Schaele, who was here for nearly fifty years, (1873-1921), was the author of a long epic poem, "Staufenlied," on the period of the Hohenstaufen, which was published in 1894.

Another church of special interest is St. Louis, started for Frenchmen. The members of the present French community, which is about fifty years old, were men who came to New Haven in connection with the carriage industry. At first they worshipped in the other Catholic churches, but in 1899 services were started for them, and a church was built in 1906. Recent churches for other nationalities are St. Casimir's for Lithuanians,

St. Stanislaus for Poles, and St. Anthony and St. Michael for Italians. As to the latter, the Italian colony of New Haven is one of the largest in the United States. Besides the churches in the city are twelve or more in the immediate vicinity of New Haven.

As long ago as 1865, Dr. Leonard Bacon, in a "Commemorative Discourse" speaking of the changes in forty years since he came to New Haven, made significant remarks applicable to all the towns since the establishment of the various denominations. "If an intelligent person had fallen asleep in New Haven forty years ago, and had waked up this morning, he would hardly have known the place. Such a man, waking after forty years of unconsciousness, would be confounded * * * it seems almost as if New Haven had been detached from the old Puritan State of Connecticut, and had been anchored by some foreign shore. * * * Strangers of other races, and of other languages and traditions,—the Celt, the German, and the Jew,—attracted by the liberty which our fathers achieved for us, have come in by the thousands, to share our inheritance, and to mingle their destiny with ours."

Waterbury

The first Catholic in Waterbury appeared about 1832; the first visit by a priest was by Father Fitton from Boston; the first mass was said by Father McDermott of New Haven, at an unknown date, but some time before 1837. Waterbury was in the diocese of Boston, and in the parish of New Haven, under the care of Father McDermott. About 1835 there were thirty Catholics there. To this parish of New Haven Father Smyth was appointed in 1837, and like his predecessor, he came to Waterbury, having some difficulty in finding a place in which to worship. From 1837 until 1845 mass was said regularly in the house of Michael Neville on East Main Street, and then in Washington Hall.

The number of Catholics grew rapidly, and 1847 they bought the old Episcopal Church, moved it to a different lot, and gave it the name of St. Peter. Except when Father Smyth came to Waterbury, marriages, baptisms and funerals were solemnized in New Haven. The last funeral to go to New Haven was in 1854. Waterbury already had its own burying ground, bought in 1847. The first resident pastor was Father O'Neile, who came in 1847. Four years later the first confirmation was held in Waterbury, when 200 children were presented to the Bishop. In 1857 a new Gothic building was dedicated as the Church of the Immaculate Conception, and 1866 the parish was incorporated.

Father Hendricken, one of the priests who came from Ireland, later Bishop of Rhode Island, was in charge of the parish from 1855 until 1872. Much was done in these seventeen years,—the building of the church, the parochial residence, the founding of the young ladies Academy of Notre Dame, building of the convent hall, and the purchase of much valuable property. He worked especially for temperance and Catholic education. When he left the parish was considered one of the best in New England.

In 1888 the school of St. Mary was started, under the care of the Sisters of Charity; the next year St. Patrick's Hall was built, containing rooms for a library, gymnasium, society meetings, etc.; in the same year St. Mary's convent. The parish now has St. Mary's Day Nursery and St. Mary's hospital.

In 1880 the parish of the Immaculate Conception was divided, and that of St. Patrick's was started in the southwest part of the city, where the census showed were 3,000 souls. At first St. Patrick's was a chapel, in the old Methodist Church, but a cornerstone of a new building was laid in 1881. An Early Decorated Gothic building of granite was put up, but not finished for several years, in order that there might be no debt on it. Meanwhile services were held in the basement, which could hold over a thousand persons. This parish was sub-divided later, into that of the Blessed Sacrament and St. Michael.

Again in 1885 the parish of the Immaculate Conception was divided, and that of the Sacred Heart was formed. A building was dedicated in 1889 on Thanksgiving day. Services were held first in St. Patrick's chapel and then in the basement of the new church. Many of the people who helped build this had already contributed to building the church of the Immaculate Conception.

Towards the end of the century churches for other nationalities were formed. In 1886 St. Anne's Church was organized for the French Catholic population, which before this had gone to the church of the parish where they lived. This parish has two schools, a rectory, and convent of Sisters of the Holy Ghost. A society was formed in 1892 which sent a delegation to the Bishop asking him to send a German priest to organize the Germans as a parish. This was done, and St. Cecilia's Gothic building was put up. Similarly St. Joseph's was formed (1894) for the Lithuanians; and Our Lady of Lourdes (1899) for Italians, with a church building dedicated in 1909. Before the organization of their church, Italians had worshipped in St. Cecilia's, and theirs is an example of phenomenal growth. In 1912 St. Stanislaus was organized for the Poles.

The Academy of the Convent of Notre Dame in Waterbury was established in 1869 by Father Hendricken in a modest way, with five Sisters in a dwelling house. Today it has more than a dozen teachers, and more than 200 pupils. The curriculum is comprehensive, including besides Graded and High School courses, a commercial course and Art and needlework.

The first mass was said in Naugatuck in a private house about 1850. Soon a mission was established and 1857 a small frame church was built under the supervision of Father Lynch of Derby, who was holding services every other Sunday. Father Hendricken of Waterbury conducted the services from 1858 until 1866, when a parish, St. Francis, was constituted and a priest, Father Hugh Brady took up his residence. A large new Gothic cruciform church was finished in 1890, an academy and convent were added, and 1906 a second church, St. Hedwig, Polish was

started. Father Curtin of St. Francis (1895-1917) was notable for his temperance work.

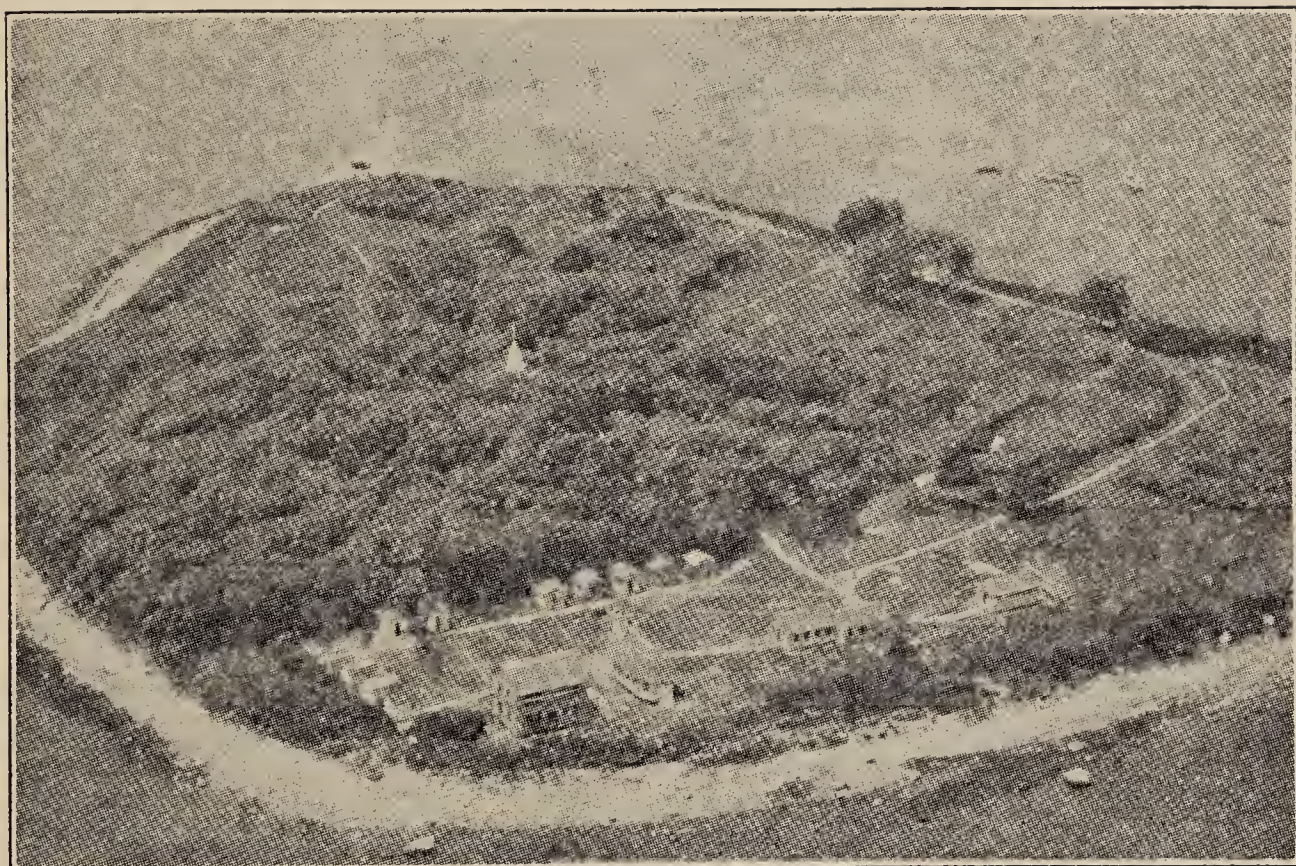
Catholic services were established in Seymour by a priest from New Haven in 1844, with only six men. The building of the railroad brought more Catholics, and Seymour was made a mission station of Waterbury, later of Birmingham and Naugatuck. A church was built in 1856; the first resident pastor came in 1885; and a new church was consecrated in 1890. The parish includes Bethany and Oxford.

Meriden, Wallingford, Cheshire, Hamden

The history of Catholicism in the towns of Meriden, Wallingford, Cheshire and Hamden is much the same as that of the other groups in the county—small beginnings under visiting priests, parishes including more Catholics, and Seymour was made a mission station of Waterbury, road brought many Irish Catholics to Meriden. They were got together by missionary priests and heard mass first in a barn, and then in private houses. A parish was organized in 1849, St. Rose of Lima, and for nine years used the old Episcopal Church as a place of worship. In 1854 a resident pastor came, and 1858 a new church building was begun. At one time this was the fourth largest Catholic Church in the state.

As in other places the parish was divided when other nationalities came to Meriden and needed churches of their own. A French church, St. Laurent, was started in 1880, named in honor of Bishop MacMahon, the people meeting at first in the G. A. R. hall, then in the town hall, and soon in the basement of the new building they were putting up. This building, made of North Haven brick, in the French Gothic style, was dedicated in 1888. German Catholics were united in one of the oldest German Catholic societies in the state, St. Bonifacius, organized 1882. In 1890 a priest was sent to these people, and in 1891 a new parish, St. Mary's, was established for Germans, taking people from the other two churches; and later St. Stanislaus for Poles and Our Lady of Mt. Carmel for Italians. In 1906 at the time of the Centennial celebration of the incorporation of Meriden as a town, one-third of the people were Catholics.

A body of Catholics had also been forming in Wallingford. In 1840 the first Catholic, an Irishman, used to walk to New Haven to attend Mass. Soon more Catholics came, and 1847 the first mass was said in Wallingford, in a private house. Wallingford was made a mission of Meriden, and priests came and said mass, still in private houses. The numbers grew until this could no longer be done, and they went into Union Hall for their services. A building of their own was finished in 1858, and the parish now included Catholics in Hamden and Cheshire. The Civil War caused this arrangement to be given up, and from 1861 until 1867 Wallingford was once more an out-mission of Meriden. Then a parish of Wallingford and Hamden was formed. A new church building was started in 1875, but before it was in condition to be used the old church was destroyed by a tornado. Lack of funds delayed the



AQUINAS RETREAT, CHARLES ISLAND, MILFORD

finishing of the new church most Holy Trinity, but it was soon possible to use the basement for worship, which was done until the building was finished in 1887.

The first mass was said in Hamden in 1852 in a private house. There were then five Catholic families, and they were visited once a month by priests from the neighboring parishes of Wallingford and Cheshire. An old factory building was used until 1856. In 1867 Hamden became a permanent mission of the Wallingford Church, with a congregation of 225 families. It was set off as a separate parish in 1891 with a building finished the preceding year. Growth of population and the change in its character from Protestant to Catholic is shown by the fact that at present there are six Roman Catholic Churches in the town of Hamden, two Episcopalian, two Congregational and one Methodist.

The Shore Towns

There were also combinations of communities along the shore, Branford serving as a center for a time, and later another parish was formed farther east. Some of these parishes contained towns belonging to another county. The church of St. Mary's in Branford had its beginning in mass said in a private house soon after 1850. It was made a mission of St. Patrick's, New Haven, but soon a church was built (1855), and a few years later (1861) a parish was formed of the shore towns east of New Haven. In 1887 Branford became a distinct parish.

The first mass in Guilford was said about 1854 by a priest from St. Patrick's, New Haven, to a few persons in the old Whitfield house. In 1860 a small store was bought and fitted up. A handsome new frame building was erected in 1876 and consecrated as St. George, and services were held by priests from Branford until 1887, when Guilford, Madison and Clinton were made a parish.

The church in Milford, St. Mary's, also had its beginning with the arrival of Irish laborers who came to build the railroad. For a time Milford was a mission of the Derby Church, until 1885. St. Lawrence, West Haven, was part of the parish of Milford but that town now has two Roman Catholic churches. Like Waterbury, Milford has a school, the Academy of Our Lady of Mercy, which has been in existence for over twenty years.

Derby

The first Catholic in Derby was a picturesque person whose career has many points of interest. This was Claudius Barthelme, a Frenchman, who came to America in 1750 with Montcalm, and engaged in several battles against the English. He arrived in Derby in 1760 and married an American girl, Susannah Plumb, daughter of Samuel Plumb who had a malt house. Barthelme was the son of a merchant, and after settling in Derby engaged in trade with the West Indies. Both he and his son were sea captains, and as a result of the Milan decrees lost three

merchantmen, which were confiscated by the French government. He was an independent person, for several years the only Catholic in town, and casting the only vote in Derby against the Whigs. When the first bridge was built across the Housatonic River, there were objections to it as obstructing commerce. Captain Barthelme coming in one time with a vessel loaded with rum, sugar, molasses and coffee, was incensed by a demand for his papers before the authorities would open the draw. He ordered his men to open it, and when they could not see how to do it, loaded his two cannon with spikes and similar ammunition, and broke an opening. He was never troubled again with a demand for papers.

Another early Catholic was of a different type, Calvin White, graduate of Yale, assistant to Dr. Mansfield, rector of the Episcopal Church. He soon became a convert to Catholicism. The real beginning, however, of a group which could form a church, was made in 1833, when several Catholics came to Derby to live. These men had to walk to New Haven every Sunday to attend mass. Soon there were more Catholics, and a priest came from New Haven or Waterbury at regular intervals and said mass in a private house.

In the winter of 1845 a meeting was held in the home of one of the men who came in 1833, John Phelan, and plans were made for a church of their own. They received help,—Anson G. Phelps, for instance, gave the land for a site for the building. A plain wooden structure, 30x40 feet, was soon completed and Father Smith of Waterbury offered the first mass. This was made a mission of St. Mary's, New Haven, but 1851 it became an independent parish, with Father James Lynch as its first pastor. It included the present territory of Seymour, Shelton and Ansonia; Milford was a mission until 1885. Ansonia was separated in 1886, and Shelton ten years later.

In 1882 the church had outgrown the little wooden building, and a new one was begun by Father Lynch. In 1885 the Sisters of Mercy were invited to the city and occupied an old house for a time. Under their direction a school, St. Mary's, was started, and for twenty years a Commercial High school was conducted, graduating its first class in 1887. Classes were held in the basement of the church, as in many parochial schools of the period, "when the religious schools throughout the Commonwealth were conducted in catacombic gloom," and "anything that served to protect against the wind and the storm was good enough for a classroom and the young barbarians who were to perform in it." In 1897 a new school building was put up, and "they came forth to share with the state institutions the light of the heavens and the improvements accruing from modern progress and the wider diffusion of wealth." In 1905 the present convent was built.

The church property of the parish now covers almost an entire city block, with a stately Gothic church, a rectory, St. Mary's school, and St. Joseph's convent. The parish that at its establishment numbered about 350 souls, now has over 3,000.

SECTION VIII—REVOLUTION, REBELLION AND WORLD WAR

CHAPTER I

THE STAMP ACT AND BEGINNING OF OPPOSITION TO ENGLAND

Soon after the close of the last inter-colonial war, began the attempt of Great Britain to tax the colonies. The career of a New Haven County man, Jared Ingersoll, well illustrates the effect of this policy. He came of a Milford family, (born 1722), was sent to Yale and to the Middle Temple; London. He became prominent as a lawyer, having cases not only from all over Connecticut, but from New York and the Southern colonies as well, and was one of the lawyers who were raising the profession to an honorable position, similar to that hitherto monopolized by the clergy.

For about three years Ingersoll was in London a second time, as agent of the colony, and two years after his return from this mission, he went once more (1764) to London, this time on private business. Whereupon the General Assembly, hearing that he "is now embarked and on his voyage to London, and this Assembly being convinced of his skill, ability, and good disposition to serve the interest of this colony, do desire his Honour the Governor to write to him as soon as may be, and desire his good advice and assistance to Richard Jackson, Esqr, the Agent for this Colony, on any matters that may concern this Colony. And his Honour the Governor is desired to let Mr. Ingersoll know, that his services therein will be gratefully accepted and rewarded by this Assembly." In London Ingersoll worked with Benjamin Franklin to try to prevent the passage of the Stamp Act telling the authorities it was like "burning a barn to roast an egg," and when prevention was impossible, to make it less objectionable. He felt that, through his personal influence with one of the Secretaries of the Treasury, he succeeded at least in getting the proposed duties postponed and lowered, and in a few cases removed altogether, "Notes of Hand, Marriage Licenses, Registration of Vessels which stood at Ten Shillings, and Judges' salaries."

Ingersoll's attitude on the question of the relations of the colonies to the mother country typifies the perplexities many felt during this time, described by a Tory as "the late stir about the Stamp duty." Before he went to London in 1764 he had been one of a committee of the General

Assembly which prepared a paper stating the reasons why the British Parliament should not pass these acts, and took one hundred printed copies to England. He therefore left America strongly prejudiced, he said in a letter to William Livingston, "against the Parliamentary authority in the case, and came home, I don't love to say convinced, but confoundedly begad and beswompt, as we say in Connecticut."

When it was impossible to prevent the passage of the act, he accepted, by the advice of Franklin, and to carry out the plan of putting Americans in as stamp distributors, an appointment as stamp-master for Connecticut. In the same letter he said he supposes Livingston regards him "as a kind of fiend with a cloven foot and fury-forked tongue, a Court Parasite and a Lover of the Stamp Act." On his return to America various persons applied for appointment as collectors. "Dear Sr:" one man wrote in jocular fashion, "Since we are doomed to Stamps and Slavery, and must submit, we hear with pleasure yt your gentle hand will fit our Chains and Shackles." He enclosed the application of one who would "be glad to be improved for yt purpose * * * as I keep an office in the Center and don't practice Riding abroad."

During Ingersoll's absence in London, however, opinion had changed. New members had been elected to the General Assembly who were against the Stamp Act and found it even more like "chopt hay" than he had realized. Before this the attitude had been that of dislike, unwilling submission and protest, rather than of actual opposition. Perhaps it is not strange that he and Franklin should have misjudged the effect on the colony, and it is not the only instance in which American public men in London have felt their opinions undergo a sea change.

After Ingersoll's return as Stamp-Master, his effigy was burned, in August 1765, in New Haven, as well as in other places, but he refused to obey both this "modest hint" and town-meeting requests to resign his office. He would only promise not to force the stamps on people, and added, "I cannot but wish you would think more how to get rid of the Stamp Act than of the officers who are to supply you with the paper, and that you had learned more of the nature of my office before you had undertaken to be very angry at it." He sent word to have the Stamp Paper kept in New York, and resolved to appeal to the General Assembly for protection and guidance in the disagreeable situation in which he found himself.

Before he could do this, a large body of men from the eastern part of the colony, from Windham, Norwich and New London, about five hundred in number, met at Branford with the intention of stopping him on the way to Hartford. They were on horseback, preceded by three trumpets, accompanied by some militia officers, were prepared to stay from home long enough to force his resignation, and were determined to accomplish this before he could get any assistance from the General Assembly. They met him on his journey and escorted him to Wethersfield, where there was considerable parley, during which he sent off a



(Courtesy of the New Haven Colony Historical Society)

JARED INGERSOLL'S SECRETARY

messenger to the General Assembly. In the course of this he asked "Is it fair that the counties of New London and Windham should dictate to all the rest of the colony?" and objected quite reasonably to resigning the office to "every one that should ask it of me." The Sons of Liberty were unmoved, and he was finally obliged to submit, and read his resignation, saying "liberty and property" with three cheers. He was then amicably but firmly escorted to Hartford, where he again publicly read the resignation, with the same three cheers.

An eye witness to this ceremony described it as "peculiarly pompous and imposing," and added a description of Mr. Ingersoll,—“a middle-aged man, dressed in the full costume of the time—brown coat, buckskin breeches, long boots, bobtailed wig, and three cornered hat; that he mounted a stage [really a chair and a table] and addressed the multitude with great ease and fluency, and that when he gave up his commission, he threw up his hat and commission, both of which he held in his hand; they cheered him with great enthusiasm.”

That people would not stop with this is shown by the resolutions passed at a meeting of the True Sons of Liberty in Wallingford, January, 1766. "Voted and Agreed that if any of said Inhabitants shall Introduce, Use or Improve any Stamp Vellum Parchment or paper, for which tax or Tribute is or may be Demandable, such Person or Persons shall Incurr the Penalties of 20s to be recovered by the Selectmen of said Town for the Time being for the use of the Poor of the said Town." They added "we desire all the sons of liberty in each town in the county would meet there [in New Haven in February] by themselves or representatives; there to consult what is best to be done in order to defend our liberties and properties, and break up the stop to our public affairs." They declared further "That we will oppose the Stamp Act to the last extremity even to take the field."

In order to prevent the continuation of the "stop to our public affairs," such measures were taken as that of a New Haven town-meeting, requesting the judges "to proceed and transact their usual business, agreeable to the laws of the colony." Protection was promised if they did so.

When news of the repeal of the Stamp Act reached the colony, there was great rejoicing. Bells which had been muffled and tolled when the act was to go into effect, now rang in jubilee. New Haven had a celebration late in May, which was doubtless typical of many. It was thus described. "Last Monday morning early, an Express arrived here with the charming news; soon after which many of the Inhabitants were awakened with the noise of small-arms from different quarters of the town; all the Bells were rung; and cannon roared the glad tidings. In the afternoon the Clergy publicly returned thanks for the blessing; and a company of Militia were collected under the principal direction of Col. Wooster. In the evening were Illumination, Bonfire and Dancing—all without any remarkable indecency and disorder. The arrival of the regular Post from Boston last night, has completed our joy for the wise

and interesting repeal of the stamp act.—Business will soon be transacted as usual in this loyal Colony.—In short, everything in nature seems to wear a more cheerful aspect than usual—to a great majority.”

Jared Ingersoll of the suggestive initials, no longer regarded as Judas Iscariot, and partially restored to the favor of his fellow citizens, took some share in public affairs. In 1767 he was appointed one of the Justices of the Peace for the county; in 1770 he was one of a large committee appointed as a result of the difficulties with England “to take into consideration the present state of the commercial interests of this place and report their opinion what they judge is best and needful to be done relative thereto.” During the war however, he became the subject of investigation by a committee, because he entertained some British prisoners as they passed through New Haven on their way to be exchanged.

Interest in opposition to the Stamp Act and feelings it aroused extended even to halls of learning. In 1768-9 the seniors of Yale College voted to wear homespun at the next Commencement. At the Commencement of 1774 two candidates for the degree of M.A. presented an English dialogue on “The Rights of Americans” and the “Unconstitutional Measures of the British Parliament.”

After the passage of the Boston Port Bill, town-meetings throughout the county voted to support Boston, and to observe the acts of non-intercourse and non-importation drawn up by the Continental Congress. One of the delegates to this Congress was Roger Sherman from New Haven. The Articles of Association contain one of special interest in a study of county history, the XIth, which recommended that every county, city and town should appoint a kind of vigilance committee.

There is great similarity in the votes of the various towns, and in their recommendations to carry out the Articles. Guilford passed strong resolutions approving the proceedings of the Congress, and appointed a committee of seventeen to see them carried out. The committee was also authorized “in case it should be thought desirable to have a county or colony congress,” to select two from its number to represent the town therein. A year later the town’s Committee of Correspondence was likewise authorized in case of need to send two or more of its number to a county or colony congress. Derby held a town-meeting at almost the same time, approving in similar words the proceedings of the Congress, and “voted that in case a county congress should be agreed on in this county, then the aforesaid committee shall choose and appoint two of their number to attend such a congress.” Waterbury passed the same votes and “recommended” a county congress.

Contributions were sent to the people of Boston, committees of Inspection acted on suspected cases and collected information as to the resources of the community. The duties of such a committee in this respect are thus described in Beach’s “History of Cheshire.” Samuel Beach was appointed to act on this committee for the parish of New

Cheshire. "His duty was to visit every inhabitant and make a note of everything that might be available as war material. He took an account of all the surplus cloth available for tents or clothing. The yarn the housewives had in stock; the extra stockings they had already knitted; the sheets and pillow-cases they could do without; the old or new rags that could be turned into paper; the kettles that might be spared, or temporarily used. All the extra knives and forks were taken account of; and a full list made of every female, old or young, who could spin the wool into the yarn needed, or who could weave the cloth, of which large quantities would be required.

"The committees of inspection took an account of all the surplus hay, straw and grain the farmers had in their barns or stacked in the fields. The horses, cattle, hogs, sheep and chickens were listed; and in some instances bargained for on the spot, to be delivered when paid for by the authorities." Those who objected to giving an account of their possessions were dealt with by the Vigilance Committee, and the information gathered in this way was turned over to the selectmen.

Liberty poles were erected; a letter said that near North Haven even the clergy were drilling,—all these acts showing disapproving Loyalists to what "complexion is American liberty, through the influence of the king-killing republicans already arrived."

At the news of the Lexington alarm men hurried off to Boston from the towns throughout the county like little hunting parties,—Captain Couch of Meriden with thirty-eight men; Captain Cook of Wallingford with fifty-nine; Ensign Jehiel Meigs with twenty-three from East Guilford; Capt. Noah Fowler with forty-three from Guilford; two officers from Derby with thirty-two men; Capt. Josiah Fowler from Branford with thirty-six; Capt. Peter Perrit from Milford with seventy-three; and Capt. Arnold from New Haven with the recently organized Second Company of Governor's Foot Guards.

The Foot Guards, like the First Company of Hartford, had just been formed to provide a proper escort for the Governor at his inauguration, with the advantage, as an independent company, of being under less restraint than the regular companies. As a matter of fact, its first escort duty was to Washington when on his way, July, 1775, to Boston to take over the command of the colonial forces. A family in Wallingford by the way, celebrated this event by naming a child born then "George Washington," the earliest Yale graduate to be baptized with this name. The New Haven company had elected its officers, selected its uniform, arranged with some one to teach them the "military exercise," and through its agent applied for a charter from the General Assembly, which had been issued March 2, 1775. It was the first company in the county independent of the colony militia.

Fifty of the sixty-four members answered Captain Arnold's call, and these volunteers, like true sons of revolution, obtained their ammunition by threats of violence made to apparently reluctant authorities who

hesitated, in the manner of authorities, at giving the keys of the Powder House to this informal request and said they "had better wait for regular orders." The Rev. Jonathan Edwards, however, gave his blessing and an address as the company departed for Lexington. Since their charter empowered them only to attend the Governor and Assembly, and not to go outside the colony, Arnold drew up a "mutual covenant" of good behavior, which all signed before they left and they went, not as "Governor's Foot Guards," but as "Cadets." Not all the volunteers reached Lexington, but the Cadets did, and spent three weeks in Cambridge, their striking uniform, efficiency of drill, and handsome, energetic commander receiving the compliments of the British. As the only company with complete uniform and equipment, it was indeed noticeable. Another volunteer band from New Haven followed soon, Capt. Hezekiah Dickerman with nine members of his militia company.

The towns were soon preparing for "defence" in good earnest. Guns and ammunition were supplied and put in order, beacons and minute posts were established, new military companies of house-holders and minute-men were formed, as well as new companies of militia. New or larger powder houses were built, and some captains who disapproved of these preparations were cashiered.



(Courtesy of the New Haven Colony Historical Society)

ONE OF THE PRINTS OF THE BATTLE OF LEXINGTON BY AMOS DOOLITTLE
Doolittle was the earliest copper plate engraver in America

CHAPTER II

THE WAR FOR INDEPENDENCE

Ticonderoga, Siege of Boston, Invasion of Canada.

Soon after the Lexington alarm, in the spring of 1775, certain prominent citizens of Connecticut in private capacity "undertook the surprising and hazardous seizing of the enemy's post at Ticonderoga." The seizure of the stores there was to be a direct answer to the British seizure of colonial stores at Concord. Though this first aggressive military operation had to be done in this manner, for war had not yet been declared, the money to carry it out was borrowed from the public treasury, on the personal security of this group of citizens, some of whom had objected to the informality of Arnold's proceedings. Among them were some New Haven County men,—David Wooster (though his name was not signed) veteran of the French and Indian wars, whose thoughts would naturally turn to this region, and whose expenditure in the cause of the Revolution left his widow penniless; Adam Babcock, of New Haven, who figured later as petitioner for a powder mill, in privateering, and on many Revolutionary committees; and Samuel Bishop, Jr. Benedict Arnold, whose zeal Wooster had tried to restrain in the demand for the Powder House keys, appeared on the scene also.

Ticonderoga, important as the defence of Lake Champlain and the line of water communication between Montreal and New York, was known at this time to hold abundant military stores and to have only a small garrison of about fifty men. The leader chosen for the enterprise, Ethan Allen, a border ranger of Vermont, was in his origin a New Haven County man. Benedict Arnold, who met Allen at Bennington with a commission from the Massachusetts Council of Safety and one companion, received his first snub in not being allowed the chief command which he wished, but he joined as a volunteer, maintaining his rank. He was familiar with the region, because as a boy of sixteen he had run away, enlisted in the army, and been stationed at Ticonderoga and different places on the Canadian frontier. In a few days Ticonderoga and the forts in the vicinity surrendered, and a large quantity of military and other stores were taken, as well as prisoners,—some officers and forty-seven privates. In this expedition Arnold commanded and won the first naval engagement between the Americans and the British. He was put

in charge of this, as he had been obliged to give up the command at Ticonderoga. In order to get control of the lake, it was necessary to capture a corvette of war which the English kept anchored near St. John. A schooner was fitted out and with this Arnold, without resistance, seized the corvette and was back in Ticonderoga in a few hours.

Other men from the county were assisting in the siege of Boston; and in June came the first movement of Connecticut troops to the region of New York where so many battles were to be fought in the coming year. General Wooster, one of three general officers appointed at this time, (April, 1775), was sent to Greenwich to guard stock, because of the threatened approach of the enemy to the western part of the colony. This year also saw the attack on Rivington's royalist press in New York, in which many men from New Haven and near-by towns joined, and the capture of the Rev. Samuel Seabury, an Episcopalian clergyman, who was brought to New Haven, but soon released.

In September an invasion of Canada was begun. Benedict Arnold, because of his exploits and his familiarity with the region, was commissioned colonel in the Continental service and put in charge of the expedition. He was sent by Washington on a terrible march of thirty-two days through the wilds of New Hampshire and Maine to meet General Montgomery. An attempt was made to storm Quebec, and then to besiege it, but the enterprise failed and many men and officers were made prisoners. Arnold, however, for his bravery and ability was made brigadier-general. In the spring Wooster was sent to Quebec, and as superior to Arnold took over the command. Wooster was captured, but soon exchanged and assigned to other duties. Arnold retired to Montreal where he got into trouble over hurried seizure of supplies, but General Gates endorsed his conduct on the ground that "the country must not be deprived of that most excellent officer's services at this important moment."

Organization of the Army

To furnish men for these activities the General Assembly in April had called out one fourth of the twenty-four or -five militia regiments, for a term of service of not more than seven months, that is until late autumn. These men were formed into six regiments for the field, with two more added in July. The regiment in which most of the men from this county served was the First, under the following officers, whose names are already familiar,—David Wooster, General; Andrew Ward, Jr., of Guilford, Lieutenant-Colonel; Jabez Thompson, of Lexington alarm experience, major; Benjamin Trumble (or Trumbull) of North Haven, chaplain and Dr. Jared Potter of Wallingford, surgeon. The color of the standard was yellow.

Wooster was also captain of the first company, and Andrew Ward of the second, the latter made up of Guilford men, thirty-nine in number. The third company had a Derby man, Jabez Thompson, as captain, and



(Courtesy of the New Haven Colony Historical Society)

PRE-REVOLUTIONARY HOUSE, EAST HAVEN
La Fayette was entertained here



(Courtesy of the New Haven Colony Historical Society)

HOUSE IN NORTH BRANFORD WHICH WAS A TAVERN IN
THE REVOLUTIONARY PERIOD

The Colonial Militia held drill meetings here and it was the scene
of many gay festivities

contained men from both North Haven and Derby. Benedict Arnold was captain of the fifth company, though he did not serve with them. Many of the officers and privates of this company were from Waterbury. Like the third company this was at the siege of Boston. William Douglass of Northford was captain of the sixth company, (later appointed major) and Phineas Porter of the eighth company from Waterbury. The latter was afterward major of the Tenth (1776), colonel of the Tenth militia regiment, and of the 28th, made up of all the Waterbury companies. The Waterbury Chapter of the D. A. R., by the way is named for Captain Porter's wife, Melicent, as the New Haven chapter is named for David Wooster's wife, Mary Clap Wooster. This eighth company of 1775 went first to Fairfield, to guard against any attack that might be made on the coast, then to the Hudson River and north to Lake Champlain. Most of the men were discharged there at the end of their term of enlistment, and returned home, but some re-enlisted. Other companies in the First regiment containing men from the county were the seventh, Captain Isaac Cook of Wallingford, with men from Wallingford, Cheshire and Meriden; the ninth, which was at Montreal in the fall; and that of Capt. Samuel Wilmot, also in the northern department; and of Capt. Nathaniel Johnson of Derby. Some men from the county were in the Fourth regiment under Col. Benjamin Hinman, who was at Ticonderoga in the spring with men from Woodbury, to which Southbury then belonged.

In July the General Assembly asked for two more regiments. Some men from the county were in the Seventh, under Colonel Webb, recruited in the counties of New Haven, Fairfield and Litchfield. This regiment with its blue standard served along the Sound, went to Boston in September, and was there until December. The companies of Captains Leavenworth, Tuttle, Street Hall, and Peter Perrit, Jr., contained men from North Haven, Waterbury, Derby, Milford, Wallingford, Cheshire and Meriden. In Captain Tuttle's company was Stephen Upson, aged seventeen who ran away from a master to whom he was apprenticed, wrote letters to his mother from New London and Cambridge,—“We are all of good spirits and not afraid of a Cannon.”

The diary of Judah Frisbie of Captain Porter's company gives an account of the march from home of one of these companies, from which are taken a few details as given in Anderson's “History of Waterbury.” “The company met on the 31st of May, and had a sermon by the Rev. Mr. Leavenworth. It marched for New York June 1st at noon, and went that day thirteen miles to the stores at Derby. * * * from which point, the second day's march was to Stratford. After a stay of three weeks at Fairfield, the march was resumed. The company joined its regiment (Gen. Wooster's) below Greenwich, and Col. Waterbury's regiment also being there, the two set out for New York. Below Rye, the regiments met Gen. Washington, who passed in a genteel manner and there followed him a band of music * * * The Waterbury company got into barns

in the Bowery, it being very stormy, June 28th. The next day the regiment encamped a little back of New York, where it remained three weeks. It was then ordered to Harlem. Aug. 8th as many men as were able went to Long Island in pursuit of the regulars that were robbing the inhabitants of their cattle, sheep etc. They were at Plumb Island, Shelter Island, and at East Hampton, for three weeks. Sept. 8th the regiment received orders for a march to Canada. Six vessels carried the troops up the river. * * * The regiment landed at Albany Oct. 1st and went into barracks'." The diary gives an account of nearly every day of the service of the company, which lasted more than six months.

At the beginning of the year 1776 the New Haven County forces were organized as follows:—(not entirely according to county lines it will be observed). The towns of Branford, Derby, Milford and New Haven made up the First Regiment; Guilford, with Saybrook and Killingworth, formed the Seventh; Cheshire, Durham, Wallingford and Waterbury the Tenth; Woodbury, with New Milford and Kent, the Thirteenth. Early in the year the forces were reorganized into five regiments, with further additions during the summer in response to calls for more troops, and further reorganization. Besides the men serving at the front, those at home were organized into "Alarm Companies," near the close of the year, made up of men from sixteen to sixty, though those over fifty were not to march out of the colony. Six such companies were formed in Waterbury, for instance. Companies of volunteers were also formed at the end of the year by Capt. (Rev.) Trumble of North Haven, Hezekiah Sabin, Jr. of New Haven, and Samuel Eells of Branford. These companies, with others, were put in one regiment under Col. Noadiah Hooker. In September and October Congress made its first call for three year men, of which Connecticut's quota was eight regiments. Congress also asked for "additional infantry." There were thus during the year Militia regiments, Continental regiments and regiments of Additional Levies.

During this year, 1776, five heavy drafts were made on the Connecticut soldiers. These troops were hastily called out and poorly prepared, but formed at times a large part of Washington's army. Many of these men were untrained, and without uniforms. Hunting shirts with long breeches of the same cloth made into gaiters about the legs, were recommended in order to get something resembling a uniform. Officers were distinguished by sashes and cockades of different colors. The men bore a motley collection of arms, as there was not yet the "uniformity system" of Eli Whitney for their manufacture. The agreement to form the Foot Guard had said, "We also agree that we will endeavor to furnish ourselves with guns and bayonets, as near uniform as possible." Later Eli Whitney cared for the guns of this company. Many of the guns were only common muskets, of such variety of calibre that it was difficult to make cartridges and mould bullets to fit them all. These conditions distressed the commander-in-chief, who said also that he "was very sorry to observe that many of the officers and a number of men instead of attending their duty on

the beating of the drum continued along the banks of the North River, gazing at the ships * * * a weak curiosity makes a man look weak and contemptible." It was however the first time many of these men had seen anything of the world outside their own neighborhood, and, as a Meriden man wrote from Boston in 1776, "I would be glad to have some of our friends come and see us and the extraordinary things which are Hear for which I presume they will not Begrug their time and expense."

There was much sickness, which caused trouble of various kinds. "Elisha and Edwin Foot of Branford, marched to New York in 1776; and Edwin died 13th November, by sickness, and Elisha attended him in his illness, as no provision had been made for the sick, and they were both returned as deserters. The Assembly allowed their wages and cost of sickness." "Bodwell Buse of New Haven enlisted in 1776 under Col. Douglass, was taken sick and by mistake returned as a deserter." The following entry in the Journal of Hannah Heaton of North Haven might well typify the year from the point of view of these drafts,—"July 1776. This Lord's day morning Jonathan sat away to go down to New York in the troop to join our New England Army they say 30,000 men withstand the Old England that is there. Now in thirteen days he come home sick."

Battles Around New York

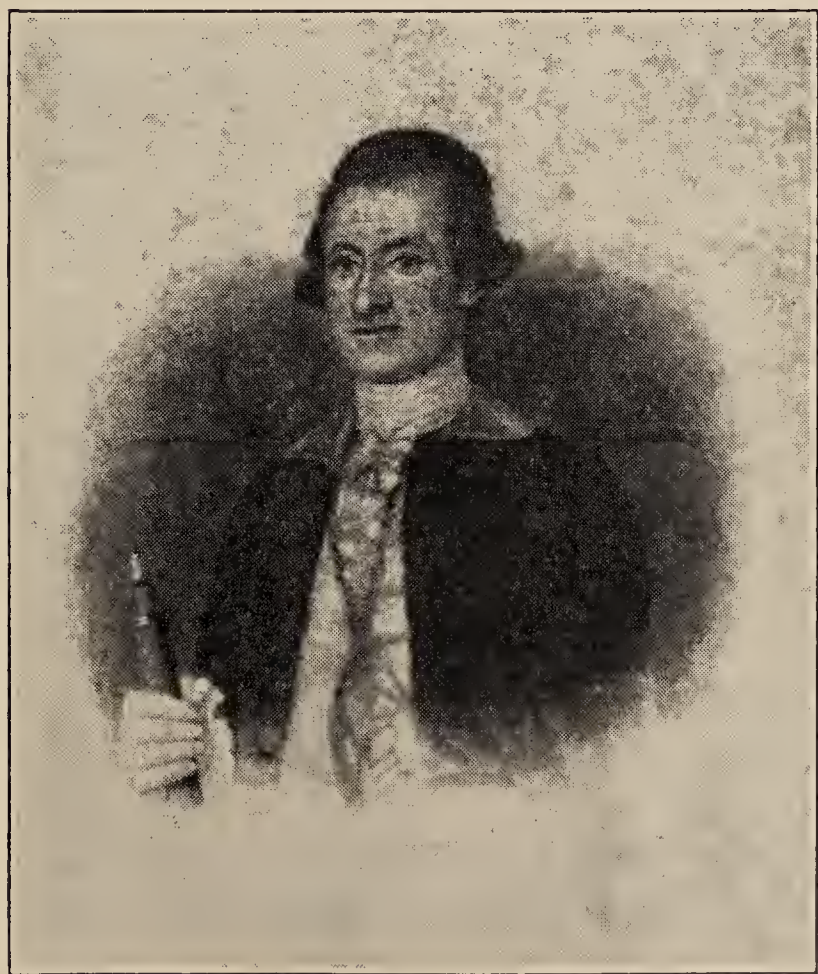
In 1776 both sides moved their main armies from Boston to New York as a base of operations, Washington going in April. On Long Island and in and about New York occurred the disastrous engagements in August, September and October, when, in the words of Col. Douglass of Northford, "we got a severe flogging," though the enemy was unable to cut off Washington's retreat. This was one of the gloomiest periods of the war. Connecticut had two British armies on her borders, right and left; Long Island, New York City and Manhattan Island, with the control of the Hudson and East Rivers were in British hands, while Long Island Sound was covered with a strong British fleet.

In January Connecticut forces were sent to New York to work on fortifications and entrenchments "to put that city in a posture of defence." Among these were Colonel Wooster's regiment, and a volunteer regiment under Col. Andrew Ward of Guilford serving for six weeks. The latter was on Long Island fortifying Fort Stirling, and with him was Maj. William Douglass. During this time digging was so much the employment of the troops that General Greene wrote to Washington that it was no more than "a piece of justice to the troops" to allow them a double quantity of soap.

In the summer more men were sent, and in August the whole standing militia west of the Connecticut River marched to New York to join the "Grand Army" until "the exigency should be over." A letter from that place at this time says, "Meriden Melisha has got in all well there is a fine number of men on our side and with the help of God we shall be able to Conquer our enemy." Colonel Douglass wrote to his wife from



MAJ. GEN. DAVID WOOSTER



WILLIAM DOUGLASS

camp in August, "Our Connecticut Militia has come in *bravely*; *twelve Regiments* were on the grand parade yesterday at one time! Almost one half of the grand army now Consists of *Connecticut Troops*!"

It is impossible to give in detail the service of the men of the county, scattered as they were in many regiments and companies, and serving in this year for varying length of time, from a few days in some "alarum" to the six months of the New Levies and the Continental's enlistment for a year. A brief account of the campaign around New York will show their general service. The campaign opened late in August with Colonel Douglass and Colonel Bradley and their "new levies" stationed along East River in the city; and Colonel Webb's Continentals in a brigade to the west as a reserve. The Americans were obliged to act on the defensive, but they hoped to be able to defend the city, in spite of the many points of attack. The enemy advanced by way of Long Island. Their landing could not be prevented, for their numbers were superior, and there were many landing places. For three days there were skirmishes or "brushes," resulting in total defeat and loss of the outer line of defence, with the army driven back to the fortified camp at Brooklyn. This battle of Long Island marks the first stand of America against England's first great effort to subdue her. A masterly retreat followed across the river to the New York side, helped by a "heavenly messenger," the fog, which extricated the army from a dangerous position.

Washington now feared an attack in Westchester County, but the enemy made no move until the middle of September, when occurred the "Kip's Bay Affair," (now 34th Street), in which New Haven County men participated,—Colonel Douglass with his new levies, and two militia regiments. The troops retreated in panic to Harlem Heights, and here a "Brush or Battle" took place, in which, unlike the Kip's Bay Affair, "the New England men have gained the first Laurels." Washington established himself here, but a flank movement of the enemy led to his withdrawal to White Plains, where another engagement took place, in which Colonel Ward's and Colonel Webb's Continentals had a part. The loss of Forts Lee and Washington opened the Hudson to the British. Washington thought the British would attack Philadelphia and took most of the army to New Jersey. He crossed the Delaware, fought the battles of Trenton and Princeton, and spent the winter at Morristown. The Connecticut Continentals were with him, for their term was not up until spring. He had not been decisively defeated, the enemy had to retire to New York, and in spite of the disasters, the country took heart, recruiting and reorganizing its forces.

New Haven County men were serving in many places, during this year, but principally in this campaign and in the following regiments,—in two of the six Continental regiments, those of Col. Charles Webb and Col. Andrew Ward, enlisted in May to serve a year. At the end of this time Colonel Ward was made a Brigadier General of the Connecticut Militia for the rest of the war, and General Wooster Commander-in-Chief.

Colonel Webb had been one of the men to pledge his credit for the expedition to Ticonderoga in 1775. Two of the twelve militia regiments especially had men from this county, those of Colonel Baldwin and Thaddeus Cook. Two of the seven regiments of "new Levies" raised in answer to a call from Congress for reinforcements for Washington had men from the county, those of Colonel Bradley and Col. William Douglass. The latter was in command of the State regiment, called the Leather Caps, enlisted for six months (June to December). Colonel Douglass furnished the money for its guns and other arms, and the regiment arrived in New York July 9th, on the day of the first reading of the Declaration of Independence, and of the destruction of the leaden statue of George III. It was in the thickest of the fight on Long Island, and the last to leave the Island; was at Kip's Bay and White Plains, where, Douglass wrote to his wife, "My regiment has the honour of behaving most nobly." One company, that of Capt. Jacob Brockett of North Haven was made up of men from all over the county, from Branford, Hamden, New Haven, North Haven and Wallingford. Waterbury men were in six of the eight companies. Another company, that of Capt. Nathaniel Bunnell of Cheshire contained men from Wallingford, Cheshire and Meriden.

Men from the county were also serving in the northern department, in the regiments of Colonel Swift, at Ticonderoga; and of Colonel Elmore.

Reorganization of the Army

The year 1777 saw a great change in the method of enlisting men for the Continental Army, the two previous years having shown the ruinous results of short terms of service. Congress resolved and the Connecticut Assembly acted, to cause the enlistment of men for three years, or the war, in order to keep soldiers after they were trained. The towns, in turn, devised measures for enlistment, which by this time was slow, since war had lost some of its novelty. Bounties, advanced pay, and care of soldiers' families were inducements offered.

In this year nine regiments of Continental troops of the Connecticut Line were raised for three years, in most of which were men from New Haven County. In April 1777 all the regiments of the Line were assembled at Peekskill under Putnam. It is impossible to make a satisfactory statement of the service of the men of the county in these regiments. Some of the difficulties are indicated in the pension certificate in which a veteran of Cheshire said of his own enlistment:—"I cannot recollect the number of the Regiment because there was different arrangements made the latter part of my tour & in some cases two Regiments even united into one." Another veteran in applying for a pension said of one of his terms of service:—"whether we were State or In United States troops I know not—or whether attachd to any regiment or not I am ignorant * * * the first time I was called into service I cannot say whether I was drafted or volunteered or what it ought to be

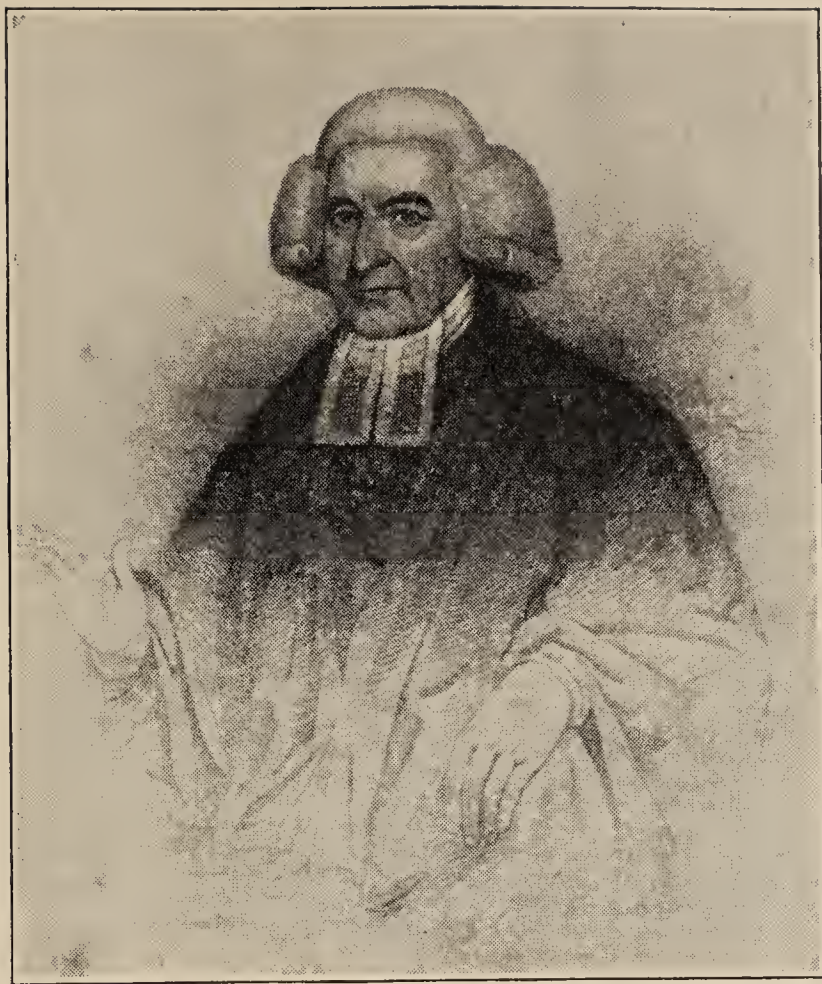
called * * * The 2d time I was called out was very much the same way as the first." Discharges were often made verbally.

The Second Regiment Connecticut Line, Col. Charles Webb, had some men from Guilford and North Haven in it. It served on the Hudson, was in winter camp at Valley Forge and Redding, and fought at Monmouth, and White Plains. The Fourth and Fifth had some Meriden men, some of them for three years, and most of the time at or near the Hudson River.

The Sixth, Col. William Douglass, was recruited mainly in New Haven County and served mostly on the Hudson. It was at West and Stony Points, Morristown, Germantown and was disbanded on the Hudson. In 1777-8 it wintered at West Point, 1778-9 at Redding, 1779-80 at Morristown and 1780-1 in the "Connecticut village" opposite West Point. A North Haven man, Caleb Tuttle, was one of the men selected by Mad Anthony Wayne to storm Stony Point. The Seventh, Colonel Swift, was at Germantown and Monmouth, wintered at Valley Forge, and had men from various towns in the county. There were some in the Eighth, at Germantown and Valley Forge, and in Col. S. B. Webb's regiment of Additional Infantry, (afterwards the Ninth), stationed on the Hudson, and with service elsewhere. Colonel Hazen's regiment, known as "Congress' Own" and the "Canadian" was raised at large. One full company was enlisted in Connecticut and largely in this county. This regiment was at Brandywine, Germantown, Monmouth and Yorktown. Colonel Baldwin's Artificers, or "Construction Corps" (armorers, wood choppers, carpenters, builders, tentmakers, tailors, blacksmiths etc.) had much the same service, and some of them were the only Connecticut men who went south of Virginia. Men were in this regiment from Wallingford, Cheshire and Meriden, and some from Guilford, Waterbury and North Haven. Lamb's Artillery was from Connecticut, mainly from New Haven and Stratford.

In 1781 the Connecticut Line was reorganized, and the eight regiments were reduced to five. They went into winter quarters at West Point. Men from this county were in several of these regiments, some in the Fourth, Colonel Zebulon Butler, (those in the Fourth were at Yorktown) ; and in several of the militia regiments sent out for short terms of service.

A famous company of volunteers was organized by the minister of North Haven, Mr. Trumbull. He had been chaplain in Wooster's regiment in 1775, and with Douglass in 1776. In January 1777 he recruited a company to serve for ten days or three weeks, sixty members, thirty-seven from North Haven and the rest from Hamden. Most of them served at Rye, returned in a scattering manner during February and March and were discharged. No wonder that in his will Mr. Trumbull could leave his son Benjamin such a collection as the following,—“my guns, bayonet, cartouche box, shot pouch, bullets and flints, my brass bullet molds, razors and whole shaving apparatus, saddles, bridles, port-manteau, saddle bags and walking canes, and thirty-six volumes of history.”



EZRA STILES
From a painting by R. Moulthrop



(Courtesy of the New Haven Colony Historical Society)

THE "FINEST COLONIAL HOME IN BRANFORD"
Located in North Branford and once called the Mansion. Its ballroom
was also the scene of gay festivities

Benedict Arnold

"The militia in 1777 enjoyed comparative repose" said Hinman. The Connecticut troops were assigned chiefly to the Highlands on the Hudson, the great line of communication, which was guarded throughout mostly by men from this state. In the north Burgoyne was trying to come down from Canada to cut off New England, and Washington sent Benedict Arnold to help here. He had in the meantime been in the naval battle of Plattsburg, October 1776. "General Arnold," said the *Connecticut Courant*, "fought in the galley *Congress*, as long as possible, then ran her ashore, burnt her, and escaped by land to Ticonderoga, with a loss of twenty men." Though Arnold was defeated, the disparity of forces was such that he gained rather than lost in reputation.

Arnold served under Schuyler and Gates, and at the battle of Saratoga in the autumn was on the field in every attack. After the battle he quarreled with General Gates and was relieved of his command. He was at Bemis Heights however without any command, but inspiring the men and covering himself with fresh military glory. Washington sent him epaulets and sword knots. Some Connecticut militia were here under Gen. Andrew Ward of Guilford from June until the surrender of Burgoyne.

Perhaps this is a good place to give the rest of Arnold's career. After Saratoga he went to Philadelphia as commandant, where he married Miss Shippen, of a wealthy Tory family, and came under suspicion of peculation of public money. He was tried, and sentenced to be reprimanded by Washington. Unable to endure this, he said he was tired of Philadelphia and wished to return to active service, and asked to be sent to West Point, the strongest place in the country. Here he plotted with the British who had a high opinion of his military ability, perhaps because of his daring raid on Quebec, and finally conferred in person with Major André. On leaving this conference for New York, Major André was captured and ultimately put to death as a spy. Arnold joined the British, was sent first to the South, returned to New York, and carried out the raid on New London, his birth place, the object being to try to draw part of the Connecticut forces from Yorktown. He went to England, led a forlorn life, and when he came to die is said to have put on his old Continental uniform, asking God to forgive him.

Invasions of Connecticut

This year (1777) saw the enemy on the soil of Connecticut. The British had not been able to invade Connecticut until the spring of 1777 when the state was nearly stripped of its men, its homes guarded only "by the crutches of the grandfathers and the distaffs of the grandmothers." There were other reasons for the invasion. Overtures of peace made after the surrender of Burgoyne had been refused, and the war was now to be carried on as one of plunder and devastation. More-



(Courtesy of the New Haven Colony Historical Society)

BENEDICT ARNOLD



(Courtesy of the New Haven Colony Historical Society)

BENEDICT ARNOLD'S MEDICINE CHEST

over, Connecticut had furnished supplies of all kinds, and more troops than any colony except Massachusetts.

The first and greatest raid was not in this county, but on Danbury. Many men from this county were there, including two generals, Wooster and Arnold. Wooster happened to be in New Haven spending a little time with his family, and went at once unattended to Danbury, leaving word for the militia to follow. Arnold too was in Connecticut on his way to Philadelphia, to demand his rights of Congress, disgusted at not having been included in the list of new major-generals. Hearing of the raid he joined Wooster near Redding. Seven hundred men, mostly undisciplined, and with fewer than one hundred Continental troops, assembled to oppose a force several times larger. Arnold, with 500 of these men made a flank attack from Ridgefield to try to cut off the retreat of the British, while Wooster with 200 men harassed their rear. In these two days Arnold showed his customary impetuous courage and was rewarded by Congress, which voted him a horse fully caparisoned, (he had lost two during the fights). He was made major-general as a result of his gallant conduct and assigned to the army on the Delaware near Philadelphia. Wooster received a fatal wound, as did another New Haven man, Dr. David Atwater, killed at Compo Hill where the enemy were reembarking.

Men had assembled from the country round about. From New Haven County came two companies of Lamb's Artillery with some Guilford men, a company from Waterbury, three companies of volunteers and sixty soldiers from New Haven, and some men from Wallingford.

A few small raids occurred in New Haven County during the year. In June a party from three British ships landed at Sachem's Head; in August another at Milford Farms; and a still smaller one in December in Guilford. In the spring of the same year a successful return raid was made into British territory. Learning that the enemy had a supply of military stores guarded by 100 men at Sag Harbor, L. I., the Americans determined to avenge the burning of Danbury. Colonel Meigs set out from New Haven, late in May, with thirteen whale boats, got reinforcements at Guilford, and left Sachem's Head two nights later with 170 men, protected by two armed sloops, and with an unarmed sloop to carry the prisoners and booty they expected to obtain. In a little more than twenty-four hours the expedition came back with about ninety prisoners, having destroyed boats and supplies, and not lost a man.

In July, 1779, the people of New Haven were planning an elaborate celebration of the Declaration of Independence, to be held on the 5th in order not to break the proper observance of the Sabbath. But about five A. M., when the bells began ringing, apparently according to program, it was instead to sound an alarm, that the enemy was landing. News of this was taken everywhere by messengers sent by the recently elected president of Yale, Rev. Ezra Stiles, who saw it from the college tower with a telescope. The reason for his presence there in the early

morning hours, thus equipped, was that the evening before the British fleet had been reported near Westfield (Bridgeport), and though not really believing that the enemy intended to land at New Haven, for they had often anchored along the shore, yet the alarm had been fired at ten P. M., and President Stiles had "earnestly pleaded to send for militia immediately." The guns had been fired again at 1:30 A. M., by the watch at Black Rock, bells rung, and the drums beat to arms.

The British fleet anchored off the harbor was the largest that had entered the Sound during the war,—forty-eight ships, the men-of-war *Camilla*, the *Scorpion* and *Greyhound*, with tenders and transports. At 5 A. M. a large number of troops were being landed, on the west shore, but the telescope could not reveal the fact that former Yale students were with the invaders, acting as guides. One of them, Fanning, son-in-law of General Tryon, later, in soliciting an honorary degree from Yale, claimed that through his intervention the college buildings had been saved from pillage and destruction. The others were two sons of a Tory of New Haven, named Chandler,—Joshua, Yale 1773, with the West Haven party, and the other, Thomas, with those who landed in East Haven.

The invading army, for the number, estimated at 5,000 were great enough to warrant so designating them, divided into two parties, one landing on the west shore and coming up through West Haven, and the other in East Haven. The former under General Garth, landed first, and were greeted at once by a shot from a few patriots. They stopped at the West Haven Green to have breakfast, and to give the other division time to land, the officers going to the village tavern, and then resumed their march, "an imposing military display," in comparison to the armies of the Americans. This division of at least 1,200 men contained a detachment of Hessians.

Meanwhile forces had been collecting to oppose their advance, somewhat after the fashion of Lexington and Concord, first at Milford Hill, and farther on by the bridge over West River. These forces were made up of a few Yale students under their own captain, with whom President Stiles sent his son Ezra, and among whom was Elizur Goodrich; James Hillhouse with the Foot Guards; Hezekiah Sabin (who was the commander of the militia of this district, and was to have been grand marshal of the celebration), with some militia; a company of artillery raised for the defense of the town, commanded by Capt. Phineas Bradley; and Aaron Burr, a visitor in town at the house of his uncle, Pierpont Edwards, with stray men he had gathered together. Forces at large, so to speak, were President Stiles and Professor Daggett, both on horseback, and the latter with his gun, prepared for action. The latter received such brutal treatment by the British that he died within a few months. A third member of the ministry, the war-like Parson Trumbull of North Haven, came down from his parish to help.

The forces had two small guns under the command of Captain Bradley. "One third of the population," said President Stiles, "armed and

went to meet the enemy. A quarter moved out of town and the rest, Tories and timid Whigs, remained unmoved." His two daughters set off on foot for Mt. Carmel about six o'clock. Some people went to Hamden, going by boat up the river, some to Branford, and many women and children to East and West Rocks, where they saw the "striking and even beautiful" advance of the brightly uniformed British, with their glistening bayonets.

This assemblage of promiscuous forces, with their "smart fire" and the destruction of the bridge, obliged the enemy to follow the river several miles to the Derby road. Here they were able to overcome the resistance and advance into town, with sharp fighting at Ditch Corner, at about the junction of the three streets named for the Regicides. They arrived soon after noon, and having preserved military order until they reached Broadway, then broke ranks and scattered for the congenial occupation of pillage, which had been included in the instructions of Clinton. "The cattle," he said to Tryon, "may be embarked from the New Haven beach."

The other division, under General Tryon, hero of the Danbury raid, had to wait until the boats returned from landing General Garth's men at West Haven. It landed in East Haven, where the population also turned out, especially the Home Guard of their neighbor, Branford. This division also contained some Hessians. The defenders occupied the small Black Rock fort, then Beacon Hill, and finally retreated to the high ground nearer the village, with outposts on the village green. General Tryon made his headquarters on Beacon Hill, where some of his troops encamped over night. During their advance through East Haven and before their departure the enemy burned eleven houses, nine barns, some out-buildings, a sloop, and took some plunder. This destruction was probably due to the fact that they had been fired on as they landed, and an officer killed. Tryon himself went by ferry to New Haven, sending some of his men farther up to cross by the Neck bridge. The militia could not be collected in numbers sufficient to do more than annoy the enemy, but the next morning were able to make them give up Beacon Hill to General Ward.

A council of war was held on Tryon's arrival in the city, with the decision not to burn the town, though much damage was done to houses. They spared entirely the house of the president of the college, the college buildings, and did little to the meeting-house and State House. Perhaps the advice of Tories helped lead to this decision, perhaps an equally persuasive argument was the arrival of militia from all sides, cutting off communication with East Haven over Neck bridge. General Garth was really besieged in New Haven.

Men had been assembling in answer to calls like that of Col. Street Hall of Wallingford, who rode through the country shouting, "Turn out. The British are in New Haven!" Those who came were General Ward with some Continentals, companies from Meriden, Wallingford, Derby,

Hamden, Guilford, etc., and from towns outside the county. A new brig, the *New Defence*, was at Branford wharf, nearly ready to sail. Its guns were taken to New Haven, and a man was later paid £5 for carting them. In Lyman Beecher's Autobiography a story is told of how men started from North Guilford. "I remember that day we were plowing, when we heard the sound of cannon toward New Haven. 'Whoa!' said Uncle Benton; stopped team, off harness, mounted old Sorrell, bareback, shouldered the old musket, and rode off to New Haven. Deacon Bartlett went too; and Sam Bartlett said he never saw his father more keen after deer than he was to get a shot at the regulars. He had a large-bored, long old shot-gun that I bought afterward for ducks."

Before night not less than 1,000 men were assembled, and had they known the condition of the British, could have entered and captured the town. Moreover most of the British soldiers were overcome by a different ally, the rum that West India traders had stored in the cellars of the houses the soldiers were ransacking. It was also an exceedingly hot day, and General Tryon, a short, thick-set man, was seen passing through town with an umbrella over his head. Under all these circumstances the British decided to withdraw from the town, and their departure was somewhat ridiculous. The less inebriated men were ordered to collect the others and get them to the boats, some it is said being borne away in wheel-barrows. A few captives were taken,—the judge of probate and clerk of the court, as office holders under the rebel government, the latter in spite of a picture of King George in his house, and in such a hurry that he had no time to put on his wig. The Tories were told by the British that they remained at their own risk, and a few families felt that departure was the better part of valor. The rector of Trinity Church, Rev. Bela Hubbard, was saved from trouble by the quick thought of his wife. As the British approached his house, he said to her, "What shall I do?" After a moment's thought she replied, "Put on your gown." He did so, held a prayer book in his hand and stood in his door, receiving the respectful salutes of the soldiers.

The soldiers carried away a large collection of gold beads and earrings, snatched from the necks and ears of the women, shoe buckles and similar articles, and it is said 900 feather beds; and they ripped up others and scattered the feathers about. Twenty-seven Americans were killed,—among them one man from Wallingford, one from Derby, one from Guilford, and two from Branford. Nineteen were wounded, one of these from Branford and two from Wallingford.

One desirable result of the raid was to bring about, temporarily, friendlier feelings between the two churches. The next Sunday, so many people were still out of town that union services were held, but were "interrupted in middle of sermon with news of burning of Norwalk on enemy's landing. Congregation broke up, and spent the day in moving furniture and effects."

Smaller raids occurred from time to time, one in Guilford in June, 1781, in West Haven in September, and in Madison in May, 1782. "Cow boys," plunderers who were mostly refugees, made incursions from Long Island to get cattle and sheep to sell to the British. Many boats belonging to people in the coast towns were taken by the enemy, sometimes from their own wharfs.

Defense of the Coast

New Haven County had a special problem of defense, because of its situation on the sea-board, and a special opportunity to extend the war to the Sound. The General Assembly in 1775 appointed a committee to consider the defense of the sea-coast. Besides general measures, there was provision for defense at certain points, among them Guilford, Milford, and New Haven in this county. Men were sent to New Haven, cannon were borrowed from New York, arms were sent from the colony supply, defenses were built at Black Rock, and whale boats and armed sloops were ordered to cruise off the harbor. The town itself took measures of defense. It appointed a committee to put up a beacon on Beacon Hill "to communicate an alarm to the neighboring towns." Other committees had duties such as to procure floating batteries for the harbor and to request the Tories to depart. Milford received help also. In 1776 the town voted to accept the grant by the General Assembly of permission to make fortifications. A battery, Fort Trumbull, was built at town expense with a small grant from the Assembly, and the selectmen were given permission to have four of the colony cannon there and were supplied with ammunition. A guard was kept during the war at the expense of the state, and companies of soldiers were stationed at other places. Guilford from time to time set a watch of its own, and at times was helped by the militia. Arrangements were made for signals in case of raids, by firing guns and ringing bells in a particular manner.

It is interesting that one of the colony ships of war cruising about to prevent raids, was called the *Guilford*. This boat had been cast ashore at Guilford, captured and re-named. It was re-captured by the enemy, at New Haven, July, 1779, and lost at sea the same year. A frigate, *Milford*, belonged to the enemy, and on one occasion overcame the *Yankee Hero*.

As to offensive war on the Sound, a committee reported to the Governor and Council with regard to acquiring vessels of war, "that people differed about the policy of the measure; some thought we could not compete with the British ships; that it would provoke insult, and expose our sea coasts and vessels inward bound to greater danger; and others that it would be a protection. The council ordered a brig, the *Minerva*, * * * to be prepared for an armed vessel, according to a resolve of the Assembly." Giles Hall of Wallingford was captain, and two men from Derby were on it. There were several other colony boats for defense in which New Haven County was particularly interested, the

Spy, and the brig *Defence*, on which John McCleave was second lieutenant. Among others were the row galley, *Whiting*, built in New Haven, on which he was captain for a time; the letter of marque *Firebrand*, from New Haven, so named because it was built from the hull of an unfinished vessel burned during an attack from British cruisers; and the sloop *Polly*, on which Thomas Painter served. After the loss of Long Island many people wished to leave, and the towns along the Connecticut shore were asked to help move them and their property. The sloop *Polly* made five trips bringing horses, cattle, sheep, hogs, people and household goods. Sets of whale boats patrolled the Sound, some of them in command of Lieut. Joseph Hull of Derby.

Privateers were also fitted out in the hope of falling in with English merchantmen, a service which appealed to some men. Thomas Painter of West Haven enlisted first as a soldier, but found some aspects of army life not to his liking. He said, "Thoroughly sick of a soldier's life I determined if I went into the war again to have my furniture conveyed without having it slung at my back." Adam Babcock, one of the men who borrowed money from the colony treasury for the expedition to Ticonderoga in 1775, and who served on many Revolutionary committees, was given permission in 1776 to buy 200 pounds of gun powder for his privateer then fitting out; and Colonel Fitch, the county agent, was to give him some from the colony stores if he needed it. Other permissions were given him for supplies of various kinds.

In 1778 the French fleet arrived, witness of the alliance with France. At first it was unable to do anything, for it was hemmed in at Newport by the British, but in 1780-1, after consultation between Washington and Rochambeau at Hartford, a plan of united action was decided on which led to victory. At this time Clinton was in New York, Cornwallis in the South, and the fear was that they would unite. Instead, Washington was able to get past Clinton and unite with the French against Cornwallis. In the homely words of Captain Miles of New Haven, who was present at Yorktown, "We had him where we could shell the *corn* off his body and leave him *Cobwallis*." His surrender at Yorktown and the evacuation of New York brought about negotiations for peace. In Virginia Lafayette had harassed the troops of Cornwallis, having under his command five companies of the Connecticut Line, and he had ten companies at Yorktown.

In going from Newport to join Washington for these operations, and returning from them, the French Army, "in complete uniform of white broadcloth faced with green," and hats with two corners instead of three, marched through New Haven County, to the great admiration of its inhabitants, for their clothing, behavior, splendid train of artillery, and payment of expenses. When six hundred of them went through New Haven, it was remarked that the "strictest order and discipline was observed among them." They camped on one occasion in the neighborhood of Waterbury, stopping one day to wash and bake, doing it so thoroughly

that the water in the wells was used up. Mr. Bradley in his account of Derby says, "June 27, 1781, a French army of 600 men under the Duc de Lauzun left New Haven and encamped for the night upon Sentinel Hill, some of the officers being entertained in Brownie Castle by Squire Beard. The next day they came down from the hills and passing through the town, crossed over the river to Ripton, to take part a few months later in the final conflict at Yorktown." It is said that when they saw the Sabba-day houses in their marches, they thought them the remains of military encampments.

In the closing scenes of the war, a man from New Haven County had a picturesque part, Colonel Humphreys of Derby, or as his friend Joel Barlow wrote,—“See Humphreys glorious from the field retire.” It was pleasant that the exertions of Connecticut in the war should be recognized in this way, and the individual chosen merited the distinction. He had served on the Hudson under Putnam, and had been aide to Washington himself. It is said that Humphreys was appointed to the latter position at the suggestion of Gen. William Hull, another soldier from Derby. Hull was invited to become one of Washington’s aides, and on declining suggested his fellow townsman for the place. Humphreys had also given the use of his name and influence to a company of colored infantry, which was attached to Colonel Meigs’ regiment of the Connecticut Line, with Humphreys as nominal captain. He had a separate command at Yorktown, where he so distinguished himself that he was chosen by Washington to deliver the captured standards to the Congress at Philadelphia. His mother was “Lady Humphreys,” Sarah Riggs Humphreys, for whom the D. A. R. chapter is named.

The case of a Wallingford soldier, John Mansfield, might be taken among many as exemplifying the services of New Haven County men in the Revolution. His experiences were related in an address given at the celebration of the Meriden Centennial. “John Mansfield of Wallingford enlisted on the first call for troops by the Legislature April-May, ’75 in Captain Isaac Cook’s company and served as sergeant until the 28th of November next following, when he was mustered out of service; reenlisting in the Fifth Battalion, Wadsworth’s brigade, in June, ’76. He was appointed ensign, participated in the battle of White Plains in the following October, and was discharged on the expiration of his term of service December 25. On the formation of the ‘Continental Line’ in January, ’77, he reenlisted for the war, was commissioned lieutenant March 4, ’77; first lieutenant March 31, ’79, and continued in the service until he retired with the army in June, ’83. Detached from the service for that purpose, he was made lieutenant of the Light Infantry Corps under the command of Lafayette at the southward in ’81, and participated in the terrific assault on the enemy’s redoubt at Yorktown October 14th. Before the advance was made, Lafayette called for twenty volunteers to form a ‘forlorn hope’ * * * The first man to respond was our own John Mansfield, who led his companions of the ‘forlorn hope’ up the steep

face of the redoubt, and, though wounded in the conflict, was first to gain the parapet."

Lyman Beecher's uncle told him of the celebration in North Guilford at the close of the war. "They sent us a cannon from New Haven, and we fired it thirteen times, one for every state. The last time they filled it full of stones, and let drive into the top of a great oak-tree." One can imagine such celebrations in villages everywhere.

CHAPTER III

ORGANIZATION AT HOME

In order to carry on the war, something more was needed than summoning men to arms. The country must be organized to furnish supplies of all kinds, and, as in the preceding wars, the county was the unit for some things. In April, 1775, the General Assembly appointed a commissary general for the colony, and commissaries for each of the several counties. They were immediately directed to procure for the soldiers barrels of pork, and bread in prescribed quantities. These orders were repeated in 1776, when a man in each county was to buy pork and put it in store to prevent a shortage. The commissaries were also directed to get for the troops large quantities of other supplies. New England and West India rum was wanted, and muscovado sugar, molasses, coffee, chocolate, cheese, tobacco, one pipe of wine, "Madeira, Lisbon, or Canara." Clothing was to be procured, woolen cloth for vests and breeches, linen shirting, tow cloth, shoes, stockings, yarn, linen, felt hats.

The task was not always easy. In June, 1777, the commissaries reported difficulty in buying West India goods for the troops, though it was known that there were large quantities of such goods in the hands of persons in the counties of New Haven, New London, Hartford and Windham. At first warrants were issued to the sheriffs in the counties to impress such goods to a certain amount. Later the warrants were suspended, it was proposed to use the method of impressment only as a last resort, and the sheriffs were told to release any articles of the sort they had seized.

Another difficulty may be mentioned. In 1778 it was feared that oxen were being used to transport private property from place to place to such an extent as "to lessen the business of agriculture, particularly the raising of grain and provisions, and shorten the supply of beef for the army." It was accordingly enacted that only one pair of oxen should be used in this manner, except under certain specified conditions, without a written certificate from the proper authorities. Grand jurors, constables, etc., were enjoined to see that this law was obeyed. Violations of the regulation were to be examined in the county courts and seized goods sold, one half the proceeds to go to the State Treasury and one half to the informer.

In similar fashion, in order to get military supplies, one gentleman in each county was appointed in April, 1775, to take charge of the colony supply of powder in his county, Jonathan Fitch acting for this county. This powder was to be kept by him "subject only to the order of the General Assembly, except on some sudden emergency, then by order of the selectmen of the several towns where lodged." Flints were also distributed in each county. Fire-arms procured by the committee appointed for this purpose in the several counties, were to be divided to the several towns according to their lists. The selectmen were to deliver them to the troops and the town treasurer to care for them when returned. Thus when New Haven feared an attack from the enemy in November, 1775, 100 of the colony arms were ordered there from the counties of New Haven or Litchfield,—to be returned.

A great and obvious need was for powder. One man wrote that "Old Put" was continually crying, "Powder, powder. Ye gods give us powder!" It is noticeable that when the Convention met in New Haven in 1770 to encourage non-importation and domestic manufacture, the list of enumerated articles that might be imported began with Powder and Shot. In March, 1776, four men asked permission to start a powder mill, the firm coming to be known as "Doolittle and Atwater," and doing much business. Accordingly the following advertisement from New Haven soon appeared: "The subscribers having erected a Powder Mill, near this town, would hereby inform the Public, that they are ready to receive any quantity of Salt Petre for manufacturing into Powder. Isaac Doolittle, Jeremiah Atwater Who want to purchase a quantity of Sulphur, for which they will give a generous price." Within a short time the firm had manufactured 4,100 pounds of powder. President Stiles wrote in his diary at the end of the year 1780, "Mr. Doolittle tells me there has been made at his Powder Mill in New Haven, eighty thousand pounds of powder since the commencement of this War."

The selectmen of the several towns were required to apply to the governor for orders on the powder makers for such supplies as they needed for their store according to law. The following are some of the orders filled by this firm in the county from March to June, 1777, (there was another firm in the colony): 800 lbs. to New Haven; 150 lbs. of cannon powder to Milford; 625 to Waterbury; 200 to Durham; 400 for the armed vessels being fitted out. General Garth's forces in July, 1779, tried unsuccessfully to destroy the powder mill.

An allied business was that of supplying fire-arms. A New Haven advertisement of May, 1775, said, "The subscriber informs the public that he has entered into the business of making bayonets of any size, and will warrant them to be equal in goodness to any ever imported into this country. Any gentleman may be supplied with a bayonet fitted to his gun on the shortest notice; and all favors will be gratefully acknowledged by their humble servant, Samuel Huggins." It is worthy of remark that a man named Elihu Yale in Wallingford, a blacksmith, was one of the

first in Connecticut who began the manufacture of scythes and bayonets. He lived from 1747 until 1806, served in the Revolution, and accumulated a large estate.

Similar measures were taken to supply clothing and tents for the army. July, 1776, Jonathan Fitch was appointed on a committee with other gentlemen "to purchase all the tow cloth in their respective counties, and cause the same to be made into tents, in the most expeditious manner, for the use of the troops of the colony, and to report to the governor. Upon the recommendation of Congress the purchase was ordered of a quantity of home made cloth, (or other cloth if that could not be obtained), of a brown color, for 3,000 coats and 3,000 waist coats, and as many blankets as could be obtained in the colony; 3,000 felt hats, check flannel or linen for 6,000 shirts, 6,000 pairs of shoes, all these to be collected and deposited in the proper stores in the several counties proportioned to each county." An individual order to Jonathan Fitch in 1777 was to purchase all the shoes, stockings, felt hats, home made cloth, linen or woolen, rum, cheese and spirits he could, in the county of New Haven, and send his account of all such purchases to the governor.

Supplies were also required from the towns,—for example in 1776 each town was to supply one tent, one iron pot, two wooden bowls, and three canteens for every £1,000 on the grand list of 1775. Blankets were to be supplied in the same way. The requirements were sometimes made according to the number of soldiers from the town. In September, 1777, the governor and Council "resolved that each town in the state should procure immediately, one shirt or more, either linen or flannel; one hunting shirt or frock; one pair of overalls; one or two pair of stockings, and a pair of good shoes, for each non-commissioned officer and soldier in the continental army, belonging to each town, and deliver the same" to an appointed person, at prices stated for each article. In each county one or more persons should be appointed to cause the selectmen or committee of clothing in each town to collect these supplies, which were to be transported at state expense, either to the army or to an appointed place. Capt. John Cochran was named for the duty in this county.

An example of a definite case of carrying out this order may be given from Waterbury. The quota of the town at one time was 131 soldiers. Later the town presented the following bill against the state, for 115 woolen shirts, 24 linen shirts, 133 hunting frocks, 130 pairs of overalls, 184 pairs of stockings, 127 pairs of shoes, 5 sacks of tow cloth for transporting the clothing.

In order to keep up the supplies the Assembly placed an embargo on articles of necessity. Permission was occasionally given individuals to export these articles if they would bring back commodities needed. Adam Babcock of New Haven was allowed to export a certain amount of cheese to South Carolina if he would bring back some rice for the army. Two other New Haven men were given permission to export some of the for-

bidden articles to Massachusetts Bay to be exchanged for salt, oil and sugar. Disobedience was punished. In 1776 a sloop was taken in Milford which had on board a quantity of pork, etc., for the West Indies, contrary to the embargo act. It was brought to the port of New Haven and "at a special county court, held on the 22d of April, 1776, forfeited to the treasury of the State (the cargo on the said sloop) 22½ barrels of pork, 60 barrels and 20 tierces of flour."

Salt seems to have caused the same trouble in the Revolution that sugar did in the World War. Many permissions to export prohibited articles were given on condition of a return cargo of salt. The state itself imported some, and distributed it pro rata to the different towns. Of one supply New Haven was allowed 138 bushels, Branford 34, Milford 35, and Guilford 48. The orders for Branford and New Haven were delivered to Roger Sherman, and the selectmen paid the storage. The towns appointed committees to distribute it among their inhabitants according to various interesting plans. Milford took the opportunity to make it a help in gathering supplies for the army, and distributed it to such persons as would procure clothing for the soldiers, though no one family could have more than a peck. New Haven distributed salt among the members of the societies, taking care that no Tories received any.

Derby appointed the same man to receive the state salt and put up the provisions for the army. Meriden distributed it according to the lists; and Cheshire followed a similar principle, counting every £1,000 in the list as one head in the salt division, somewhat like the procedure followed in dividing the land. At first Cheshire voted to sell enough to pay for bringing it from Boston and distribute the rest among the poor of the town and the families of soldiers but later changed to selling it publicly, only to those inhabitants who had taken the oath of fidelity, no one to have more than half a bushel. In 1780 this notice appeared, "The Steward of Yale College wants to purchase a quantity of Butter and Cheese, for which he will pay the best kind of Rock salt, Molasses or State's money, or part in hard money."

The state tried to get a supply by offering bounties to those who would manufacture it from salt water. Some was made in New Haven and in East Haven, and Guilford tried to set up salt works, but they were not successful and the town sold the kettles and equipment bought for the purpose.

The following recommendation of the General Assembly has nothing to do with county history, but is interesting as showing the presence of some so-called modern ideas as to diet and war gardens. "Feb. 21, 1781. Whereas the officers and soldiers employed in the defense of this and the United States have suffered much by want of the article of sauce, so necessary for their health and comfort, which inconvenience cannot be remedied except by the exertions of the people: Therefore resolved That it be recommended to the inhabitants of the several towns in this state, that they remember their brethren in the field, and endeavor the next

season to raise a quantity of peas and beans, sufficient to supply the officers and soldiers in public service belonging to this state, for which they shall receive a generous reward. And the several printers in this State are requested to print this resolve."

Besides the embargo on exportation, it was necessary to make efforts to keep prices within limits. In November, 1776, the Assembly passed an act regulating prices of labor, supplies, and goods imported from Europe. In 1778, "a convention was held in New Haven" to regulate and ascertain the price of labor, manufactures, and internal produce, and commodities imported from foreign parts (military stores excepted)." This convention was called in accordance with an act of Congress, met in the State House, was in session about two weeks, and adopted a report fixing prices for all the necessities of life. Roger Sherman was one of the delegates, most appropriately, for, although already a prominent man, he kept a small country store.

Care of Soldiers, Prisoners, Loyalists

One of the burdens which fell on the people of this county because of its geographical situation was the care of sick and wounded soldiers on their way home from the army. For those who were not sick was the hospitality, shown by stories of women baking all day for passing soldiers. Many returned both through New Haven and on the great "continental road" farther inland, which ran through Waterbury, and was the nearest the sea that was safe. After the campaign around New York in 1776, the Assembly directed that "hospitals" should be provided, one or more in each town from New Haven to King's Bridge, N. Y. Two examples will illustrate this burden. A soldier on his way home was taken sick in Meriden, and stayed in a home six weeks with the care of a doctor, nurses, and watchers. In October, 1776, a sailor from Boston who said he had been captured by the British on his way back from the West Indies, and landed in Virginia "with the other wounded men, without any of the necessaries of life, and in his disabled situation had arrived at New Haven on his way home; that he had lived on charity by begging, and prayed the Assembly to grant him a small sum of money to enable him to return home." So many went by the inland road that in 1780 the Town of Waterbury directed the selectmen to "prepare a memorial to the General Assembly, asking that a provision be made for cost arising by soldiers when sick on the road to and from the army belonging to this state."

Another burden which fell on the whole state from its situation was the care of British prisoners and American Tories, sent here in such numbers that the jail and public buildings were full. Many were sent to Wallingford and confined in different houses. In January the town voted that regular prisoners should not be allowed to go about without license from the head of the family with whom they were staying. One of the most famous of these prisoners was Governor Franklin of New Jersey, son of Benjamin Franklin. He was sent to Wallingford July,

1776, as a "virulent enemy of the colonies and a person that may prove dangerous," a "ministerial tool and exceedingly busy in perplexing the cause of liberty." Franklin wished to go to Stratford, and when told that he could not, but might go to Wallingford, returned "his message that Gov. Trumbull might do as he pleased with him,&c." He consented to go to Wallingford and signed his parole. At first he was in a tavern, which, crowded with patriot soldiers and travelers was very disagreeable to him. He was then transferred to the house of Mrs. Jared Potter, whose husband was away with the army as a surgeon. This was agreeable to Franklin, but not to the people of the town, who feared that he was plotting, and he was removed to another place out of the county.

Prisoners also required nursing. In 1777 a man from Guilford received money from the General Assembly to pay for the care of his wife. She had been hired by the selectmen of Durham to nurse two prisoners from New York who had the smallpox, and got a fever from cleaning their clothes. Discharged or exchanged American prisoners also needed care. In January, 1777, under a flag of truce, a vessel arrived in Milford with 200 American soldiers who had been confined in a prison ship, "whose rueful faces too well depicted their ill treatment, while prisoners in New York." Many of these died. At one time sixty-four women from Long Island were landed in one day in Milford.

Instructions to Clinton at the time of the attack on New Haven said there were "many friends" in that region. Tories are said to have been more numerous in Connecticut than in any New England colony. One reason was that here reaction against the Great Awakening had turned many into the Episcopal Church. The clergy of that church were naturally inclined to be loyal to England, for they were missionaries of the Society for Propagating the Gospel, the English society, and as such had taken the oath of allegiance, and received most of the money for their support from that source. In spite of their numbers, however, Tories were not persecuted in Connecticut so much as in other colonies. There were few emigrations and few confiscations of property.

In New Haven the Loyalists were numerous and contained among their numbers some of the more prominent families. Many business men were inclined to be Tories. In 1776 six men were complained of to the Assembly, and two were found guilty and banished to Eastbury. One of them was Mr. Ralph Isaacs, who came originally from Norwalk, was graduated from Yale (1761), and settled in New Haven as a merchant. After the war began, it was remarked that he was "pleased to be in the company of Tories, that he was making presents to Tory prisoners, and indulging in criticism of the Continental troops." He was sent into the country, by order of the General Assembly. Later, on his petition that his property, and that left by the wills of his father and brother, was suffering he was allowed, on taking the oath of fidelity, to attend the courts. He retired to his farm in Branford. Another "Recanter" was Abiatha Camp. He too was not a native of New Haven, but came from

Durham, and was a successful merchant and ship-master. He had considerable wealth, owned farms in Eastbury and Wallingford, and was vestryman of Trinity Church. He was proved to have been in the company of Tories, was sent to Eastbury, refused permission to attend Episcopal worship in Middletown, and then on his petition was let out on parole. He took the oath of fidelity, but went off with the British in 1779 and died in Nova Scotia. His son, Abiatha, Jr., and his son-in-law Daniel Lyman, Jr., went with him. While in college the son was taken to task by his fellow students for his Loyalist sentiments.

Another prominent family with Loyalist sympathies was that of Joshua Chandler. He too was not a native of New Haven, but came from Woodstock. Unlike Camp and Isaacs, Chandler was a Congregationalist, and a lawyer. He held many offices, justice of the peace, selectman, deputy, and moved in the best society. His house was on the site of the post office, but he had bought land in the suburbs, and after 1765 spent most of his time in North Haven. One son entered the British Army in 1777, raised a company in New York, and with a younger brother, guided the British on their invasion of New Haven. Chandler left with the British in 1779, abandoning property worth £4,000. His son-in-law, Amos Botsford, was obliged to leave also. Abraham Blakeley, captain of a military company in New Haven, was removed from office for manifesting dissatisfaction with the government, as was Capt. Hezekiah Brown in Waterbury.

There were of course many who found it hard to rebel against the mother-country, but who came either to join the patriot cause or to acquiesce as well as they could. Among those were Judge Thomas Darling of Woodbridge, son-in-law of Rev. Joseph Noyes, pastor of the First Church of New Haven, who for a time was under the suspicion of the authorities. Another, his classmate at Yale, was the minister for whom the town was afterwards named, Benjamin Woodbridge. Two Episcopal clergymen kept their places with more or less trouble, throughout the Revolution. Rev. Bela Hubbard of New Haven and Richard Mansfield of Derby, though the latter was once obliged to flee in great haste to Long Island. Both were Yale graduates and later received honorary degrees from the college. Col. Elihu Hall of Wallingford, Yale 1731, brother-in-law of Rev. Chauncey Whittelsey, was one who could not acquiesce. He was a lawyer with an extensive practice, which took him often to England, and naturally made him fond of the mother country. He fled to New York in 1779, and gave reports of conditions in the colony which showed poor judgment and were very misleading. After the war he lived in London in great poverty, with a small pension. Two Episcopal clergymen left after the war, Parson Andrews of Wallingford and James Scovill of Waterbury. Waterbury had so many Tories and so many political prisoners that the town felt obliged to make an example of a Tory, Moses Dunbar, who was put to death. Milford had few Tories, and they made no trouble. Meriden too had few, only two confiscated farms were

sold by the state. In Bethany was the famous Dayton robbery, in March, 1780.

At this time Bethany was considered an especially safe place in which to live, for it was distant from the war. For this reason Capt. Ebenezer Dayton had moved there from Long Island, having come first to Milford. A merchant, belonging to a good family, he was an ardent patriot, and had carried on privateering against the enemy on Long Island Sound. He had accumulated wealth, and annoyed the British, so a large bounty was offered for his head. A man named Graham, a deserter from the Continental Army, was commissioned to get some of his money. Graham went to a tavern six miles from Dayton's house, got together a small company of young men who were in the habit of spending their evenings there, and made a plan to rob the Dayton house. One night when, as it happened, Captain Dayton was in Boston, leaving his wife, three small children and two negro slave children alone in the house, this band broke in, tied the hands of Mrs. Dayton and the servants, threatened her life if she made any noise, ransacked the house, and got £450 in money, large bundles of silk goods and destroyed much property. On their way towards Naugatuck they met a young man, Chauncey Judd, who knew some of them. To prevent his revealing their identity, they took him along, and although the leader Graham wished to kill him, his friends managed to save his life. They had many narrow escapes, but succeeded in getting away to Long Island in a whale boat, a little ahead of their pursuers. An old sea captain watched their course from the belfry of the Stratford church, the pursuers followed in two whale boats, captured the men, recovered the money, and rescued Chauncey Judd. Graham was executed as a deserter from the American Army, three of the band were sent to Newgate, some were fined, and two were allowed to turn state's evidence. Captain Dayton received large sums for damages, and Chauncey Judd, whose hands were so frozen that he was a cripple for life, was given \$4,000, married the girl on whom he had been calling on the fateful night, and became the hero of a novel. Captain Dayton later went to Seymour to live and kept a tavern opposite the house where the plot to rob him had been made.

In "restraining and punishing persons inimical to the liberties of this and other of the united colonies" the following procedure was employed, using the organization of the county. It was enacted in 1775 that if a person should be convicted, and ordered disarmed, a warrant was to be issued, directed to the sheriff, to disarm him. If the person refused to give up his arms, then the sheriff on the advice of two justices, was authorized to raise the militia of the county, or part of them, to help him. Real estate owned by any person under the protection of the "ministerial forces" should be attached by the county court and put in care of some proper person to be improved for the use of the colony.

Fear of Tories wandering from place to place to get information for the British led to the regulation that strangers must have a pass from

the proper authorities. All officers were given the duty of stopping unknown or suspected persons and demanding that they produce such certificates. Among officers thus commissioned were sheriffs, constables, grand jury men, and tithing men.

There were many cases such as the following, of persons carried off more or less unwillingly. "Michael Ames, of New Haven, and James Benham, of Wallingford, stated that by the influence of designing men, they were induced to go to Long Island and were there induced, partly by threats and partly by necessity to enter the service of the enemy, until the proclamation offering pardon to such as should leave the British service and return to Connecticut was issued—but by sickness was detained after the 1st day of August, 1777, (after the time limited in said proclamation); that they escaped on the 7th day of August, 1777, and returned home, with a determination of becoming good subjects of the state. The Assembly pardoned them, on condition of their taking the oath of fidelity, and discharged them from imprisonment, upon their paying the cost of apprehending them and confining them to the time of their discharge."

After the war the town of New Haven decided to "admit as inhabitants, such Tories as are of fair character and will be good and usefull members of Society, and faithful citizens of this State, but that no persons who committed unauthorized and lawless plundering or Murder or had waged war against these United States, contrary to the laws and Usages of Civilized Nations—should be admitted." President Stiles did not entirely approve of this. "The city-politics," he said, "are founded in an endeavor silently to bring Tories into an equality and supremacy among the Whigs. * * * Perhaps one third of the citizens may be hearty Tories, one third Whigs, and one third indifferent." The Tories thus had considerable weight in public affairs after the war, and joined with the group which became Tolerationists, and Jeffersonians.

The Clergy and the War

As might have been expected from the ecclesiastical battles among ministers over the Saybrook Platform, the Congregational clergy in general believed in the right of the colonies to resist the demands of the mother country. Indeed, at first, it is said that they alone of the cultivated classes, for a while opposed the Stamp Act. A few specific examples of the attitude of the clergy of New Haven County may be given. Those connected with Yale College took a decided stand. The Rev. Prof. Daggett made a spirited outburst against the Stamp Act. The British said to him in 1779, "But we understand that you have been praying against our cause." "Yes, and I never made more sincere prayers in my life." President Stiles was an outspoken and devoted patriot from the first. Professor Dexter suggests that this was the attitude of the college. "The only other permanent member of the Faculty, the Rev. Nehemiah Strong, the Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy * * *

was decidedly lukewarm in his support of the Revolution, and perhaps for this reason in part was provided so meagre a stipend that he found himself in the course of the struggle driven to resign his post."

As the conflict progressed, ministers gave it their benediction at every stage. The Wallingford town meeting which appointed committees of correspondence, etc., was opened with a prayer by Mr. Dana, and he also addressed it with a patriotic speech. At the corresponding meeting in Waterbury Rev. Mr. Leavenworth made a prayer. He had three sons in the service during the Revolution,—Captain Jesse, Assistant Adjutant-General Mark, and Surgeon's Mate Nathan. Soldiers marched away to fight with ministers wishing them Godspeed, and often accompanying them as chaplains. Benedict Arnold's men in April, 1775, had a service before their departure, with prayers and an address by Rev. Jonathan Edwards, "an ardent advocate of the Revolution." It is interesting to notice that the company had voted on Thursday evening, April 20, 1775, "That the clergy living in the town of New Haven be invited to dine with this company on the 2d day of May," a dinner which never came off. So too when Capt. Phineas Porter's company started its march from Waterbury to New York in 1775, they heard a sermon by Mr. Leavenworth. Another who performed similar acts for his soldier-parishioners was the Rev. Samuel Hall of Cheshire. In fact his last sermon was preached October, 1775, urging the minute men of Cheshire to help drive the British from Boston.

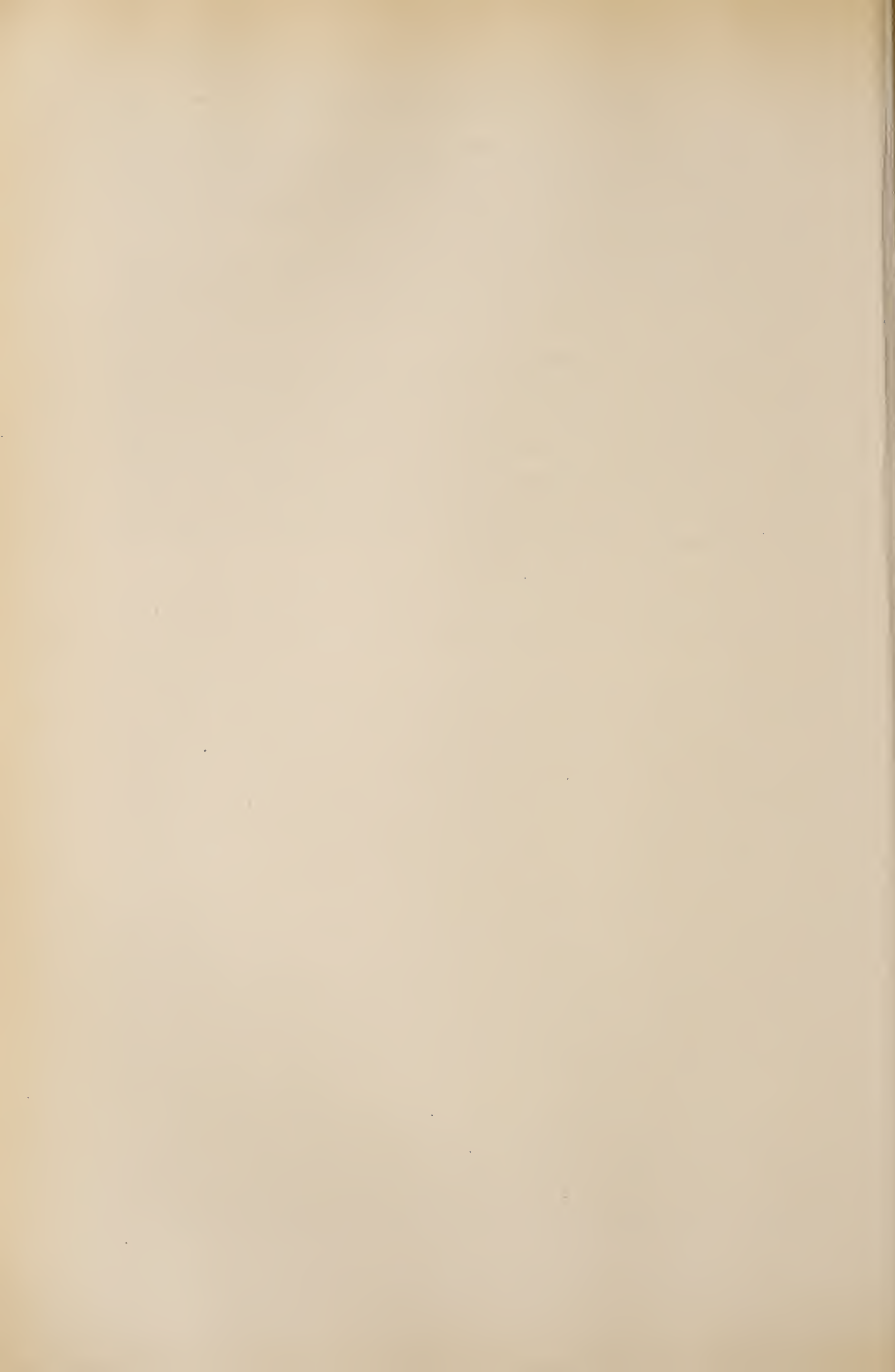
Ministers could help in other ways. When New Haven put signals on Beacon Hill in November, 1775, the committee added to its announcement of the arrangements, "The ministers of the several parishes of this and neighboring towns are requested to mention to their respective congregations the time when the Beacon will be fired." Mr. Whittelsey also read Governor Trumbull's urgent appeal of 1776 after service. Ministers went even further. At the call for troops in 1777 which came to Branford while the people were at service, the Rev. Samuel Eells stopped, read the notice from the pulpit, and invited all to adjourn to the Green. There a company of sixty men was at once formed, of which he was captain. Rev. Benjamin Trumbull was equally vigorous. He too came down from his pulpit, turned up the leaf of the communion table, and invited his parishioners to enlist. He himself served twice as chaplain of fighting regiments; in 1777 he formed a volunteer company of his own; in 1779 he went down to New Haven to fight the invaders, and it is said helped destroy one of the bridges. He lived up to the words of Dr. Wheelock's sermon at his ordination, that he was not a "sensual, sleepy, lazy, dumb dog that cannot bark."

Dr. Dana, in Mr. Whittelsey's church in New Haven, at the time of a session of the General Assembly, preached a sermon so strongly in support of independence that it did much to restore him to popular favor. The clergy did not always mince their words. Nicholas Street of East Haven preached against George III as "a prince whose character

was marked by every act that may define a tyrant." On the British evacuation of Boston, he said in the pulpit, "A year of jubilee! Angels announced the joyous tidings. Prisoners leaped to loose their chains. Joy sparkled in every eye, pleasure sat on every countenance, and the tender gushing tear bedewed many a cheek."

A case of practical patriotism is given in Dickerman's history of "The Old Mt. Carmel Parish." The Rev. Mr. Sherman in 1778 lent the government £600. His confidence was so great that he expected to receive interest.

The attitude of the clergymen of the Church of England has already been mentioned. Dr. Mansfield of Derby got into trouble from some letters he wrote, December 1775, to the Venerable Society, saying that he had preached and taught subjection to the king and parent state; that 110 of the 130 families in his charge were loyal; and that the "worthy Mr. Scovil" of Waterbury had been even more successful in his congregation, where almost every one "hath persevered steadfastly in his duty and loyalty." An intercepted letter to General Tryon necessitated his fleeing and staying away for a time.



CHAPTER IV

THE WAR OF 1812 AND THE MEXICAN WAR

At the close of the Revolution shipping was almost extinguished, New Haven in 1783 having only one vessel of thirty tons, and the wharfage receipts at Long Wharf being farmed out in 1785 for £102. After the end of the Revolution, and with European war removing foreign competition and making it necessary for fleets of the warring countries to get provisions in their colonies in the West Indies, there was great growth of American shipping and carrying trade. From 1783 to 1793 the arrival and departure at New Haven of vessels making foreign voyages averaged seventy a year. There were the West India fleets engaged in the main commerce, and those employed in foreign trade. In the early years of the nineteenth century cargoes were coming in of wine and spirits from Marseilles; silk and claret from Bordeaux; wines, olive oil and opium from Cadiz; and manufactured goods from London. There were also the sealing and South Sea ships. About 1800 these ships numbered twenty, with crews of about forty men, armed with ten to twenty-six pound guns, muskets, cutlasses, etc. They went to the Pacific Ocean for seal fishing, thence to Canton where the skins were sold, and home with tea, silks, nankeen and china. Some brought spice from Spice Islands. The voyages lasted from twenty to thirty months. The most famous and profitable was that of the *Neptune*, built in New Haven, commanded by Capt. Daniel Green, which on the return from its voyage around the world in 1799, with a cargo of tea, silks and nankeen, paid about \$70,000 in customs duties, and made net profits of \$240,000. There was enough of the sealing trade to cause a tract on the coast of Patagonia where the skins were dried, to be called the New Haven Green. Some of the skins were brought home.

In those days the commercial greatness of New Haven was measured by its water front, not as it is today by its railroad facilities. There was a shipyard where the "Yellow Building" now stands. In 1790 it was necessary to make the wharf longer, and the General Assembly granted a lottery for the purpose. By 1800 New Haven had three shipyards, and 11,000 tons of shipping. A few years later there were over one hundred shipwrights and almost all the inhabitants depended in one way or another on foreign commerce. The exports of New Haven averaged \$560,000, and the imports \$390,000 annually during the years 1801-9. Merchants in other towns in the state had interests in these ships. Eleven

men owned the cargo of the *Betsy*, which paid the third largest duty in the custom house. In the latter part of the period fully one hundred vessels cleared annually for foreign ports. There was activity in other parts of the county. In 1807 the Derby Fishing Company was organized by men from New Haven and Derby. This company took fish from the Banks of Newfoundland to Europe and the West Indies, bringing back cargoes from those countries. It flourished for a few years, but through various losses of ships and bad debts, failed in 1815. Just before 1800 Derby carried on an extensive trade with New York, Boston and the West Indies. "At one time," says her historian Beardsley, "Derby Narrows was nearly blockaded with carts and wagons loaded with all sorts of produce from Waterbury, Woodbury and other towns. * * * Importation was also large. * * * Derby became a port of delivery by the establishment of the collection district of New Haven on the second of March, 1799, 'to comprise the waters and the shores from the west line of the district of Middletown westerly to the Housatonic River, in which New Haven shall be the port of entry, and Guilford, Branford, Milford and Derby ports of delivery.' * * * we had an indirect trade with Europe through the Colonies and the West Indies, in which Derby sloops of eighty to one hundred tons, carried live stock and provisions to the leeward and windward islands of the Caribbean sea. In return they brought the products of those islands, also wines, fruits and manufactured goods of France, Spain and Holland, to whom these islands then belonged. This prosperity reached its culminating point about 1800, and began to decline about 1807." There was also much ship building here.

In 1810 Guilford had three vessels in the coasting trade, and five regular packets going to New York, besides twenty to thirty oyster boats. Her West India trade was quite important. There was some ship building here also.

Depredations were made on all this trade by English and French cruisers. In 1794 nineteen New Haven vessels were held in West India ports as prizes. American vessels were seized on the slightest suspicion that they contained English or French property. Cruisers were so numerous in the Atlantic that many neutral ships were boarded several times on one voyage. A New Haven brig, *Anne*, was boarded twice by French and three times by British war vessels in one voyage from the Danish island of Santa Cruz. The French officers removed everything edible, saying pine shavings were good enough food for *Yankees*. One of the six brigs held in a port in 1794 had been hopefully named the *Neutrality*, but of the six only one was released. The others were condemned and sold. To protect themselves vessels were armed and given a document called a Municipal Letter, of which the following is an example. "Most Serene, Most Puissant, High, Noble, Illustrious, Honorable, Venerable, Wise and Prudent Lords, Emperors, Kings, Republics, Princes, Dukes, Earls, Barons, Lords, Burgomasters, Schepens, Counselors, as also Judges, Officers, Justiciaries, and Regents of all the good Cities

and places whether ecclesiastical or secular who shall see these patents or hear them read, We, Samuel Bishop, Mayor, make known that the Master of the *Catherine* of 84 tons burthen, which he at present navigates is of the United States of America, and that no subject of the present belligerent powers has any part or portion therein directly or indirectly; and as we wish to see the said Master prosper in his lawful Affairs, our prayer is to all of the before-named and to each of them separately where the said Master shall arrive with his vessel, they may be pleased to receive the said Master with goodness, and treat him in a kind, becoming manner, permitting him upon the usual tolls and expenses in passing and re-passing to pass, navigate, and frequent the Ports, Places, and Territories to the end to transact the business where and in what manner he shall think proper. In which We shall be willingly indebted: (Signed) Samuel Bishop, Mayor." If words were protection, vessels thus armed were safe.

These troubles were probably one reason for the formation in 1794 of the New Haven Chamber of Commerce, the second to be formed in the United States. Its first business was to prepare a memorial to Congress on the subject, to be presented with a similar one from Norwich. The United States had no navy to protect its trade, and 1805 forbade vessels to be armed as they had been, except by special permission. Beginning in 1806 the French and English governments issued decrees and orders in council stopping all neutral commerce. Violations of the orders were to be followed by seizure of the ships and cargoes. Ships were searched almost in our own harbors. The impressment of American seamen and the insufficiency of our naval force to protect our vessels brought forth another memorial from the New Haven Chamber of Commerce, in 1806, prepared by a committee of which Noah Webster was a member. A similar protest was prepared in 1811, Noah Webster again on the committee. They hoped for action from other places, but other towns were less affected, and response came only from Derby and Meriden. Among those affected were Claudius and Jerrod Barthelme of Derby, who had three merchantmen confiscated by the French government.

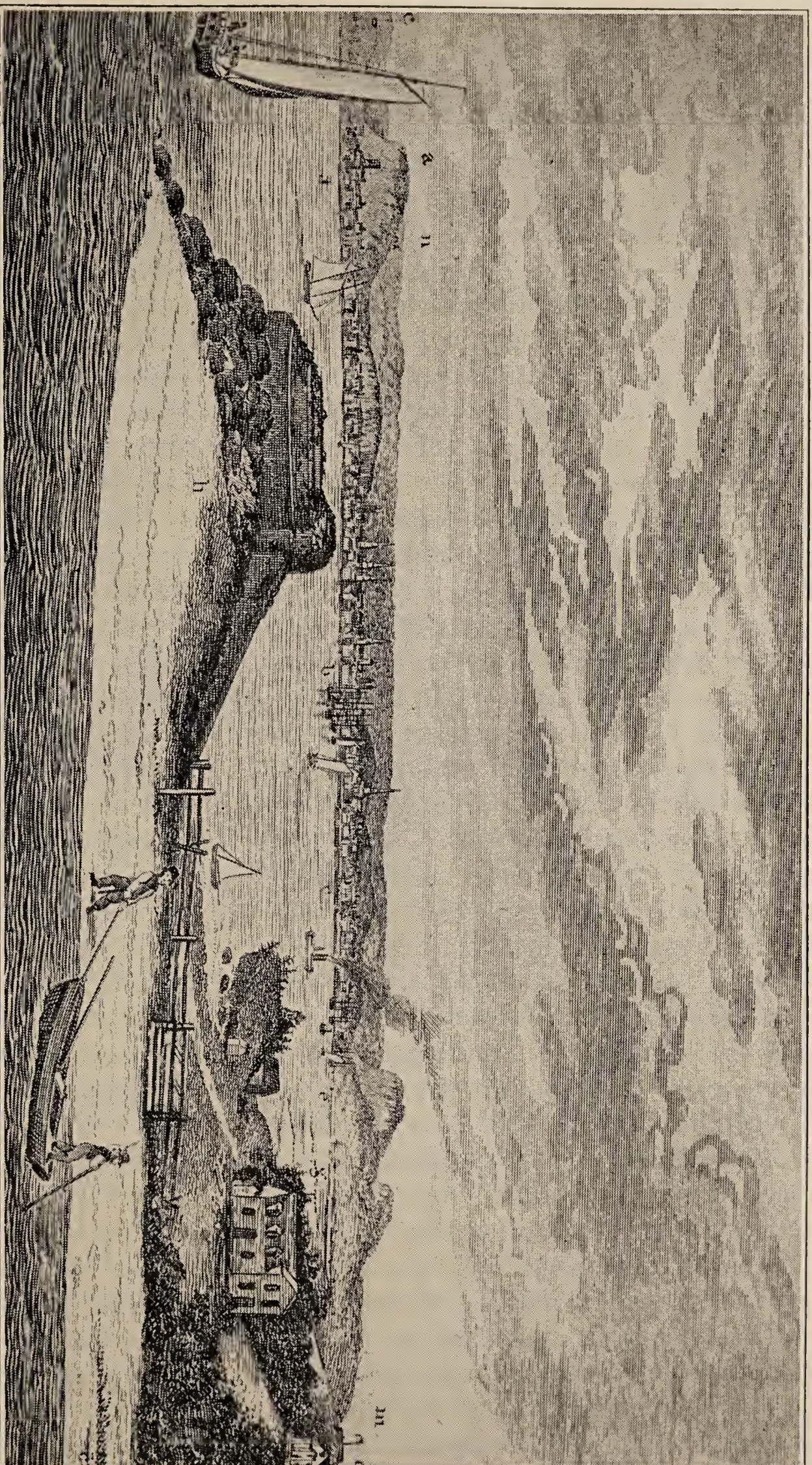
In 1807 Jefferson passed an embargo prohibiting all foreign commerce, and restricting coastwise trade. His object was punishment for searching American vessels and impressing American seamen. By 1808 over 3,000 Americans were forcibly detained in the British Navy. Jefferson's idea was that commerce should cease altogether until it could be carried on without causing international trouble. Meanwhile the country should live on its own products. He hoped also that it would cause such distress in the British West India Islands as to compel Great Britain to give up the search of our vessels. Neither hope was realized, and the great prices paid in the British West Indies for American cereals made some merchants undertake the risk. Two brigantines from New Haven, which eluded "Jefferson's Gun Boats," and reached the West Indies with cargoes of flour realized 550 per cent. These were the only two.

Distress resulted from the embargo, but it was not where Jefferson hoped. In the summer of 1808 seventy-eight ships were in New Haven harbor and in three years duties fell to one-third of their former value. "Our lately busy and cheerful harbor" was empty of sails, and seamen were idle and dependent, and had to be cared for by charity and fed at soup kitchens. In fact there was great distress among many people in New Haven, for all were more or less directly dependent on shipping and the trades connected with it, such as rope making. A town meeting was held on the "dambargo" or "Ograbme," praying for its modification or suspension. Noah Webster was on this committee also.

The sentiments of a New Haven town-meeting, January, 1809, are worth quoting as applying the political philosophy of the Revolution to the case in hand, and perhaps as foreshadowing the sentiments of the Hartford Convention. "We will submit to national laws, consistent with the principle of the federal compact * * * When the rulers of a free people transgress the limits of their authority, it is the right and duty of citizens to manifest a sense of injury and to seek redress." Guilford in 1808 had passed similar resolutions, that "we view the act, laying an Embargo for an unlimited time, & the act, making further provisions for enforcing the same, as an infringement upon the Constitutional Compact, entered into by the Several States, as it encroaches upon the State Sovereignities & prostrates them to a system of measures, which we have too much reason to fear have been affected by foreign influence. * * * Resolved, That we will unite with the well disposed of our fellow Citizens in a constitutional & peaceable way, in our endeavor to obtain a speedy redress of our grievances and to avert the evils, with which we are threatened, & will support the rights, liberties, independence, and steady habits of our Country with a becoming firmness & patriotic resolution, against every invasion whether foreign or domestic."

Early in 1809 Jefferson's policy was modified, to allow partial restoration of commerce, and by May, 1810, enforcement of all the restraining acts ceased. In less than a month after the removal of the embargo thirty-three vessels were re-fitted in New Haven. In the autumn the French government revoked its decrees, and flourishing times followed until the spring of 1812, when an embargo of ninety days was laid, just before the declaration of war with Great Britain, and ships were again dismantled and laid up in the river.

After war was declared, the distress caused by the loss of the West India trade was increased by the capture of ships by English privateers. New Haven had six hundred idle seamen. Some of them enlisted in the navy; some made trouble at home. In the summer of 1813 the Foot Guards were called out to suppress a sailor's riot at Long Wharf, where the idle sailors had got into a row with Swedish and Portuguese sailors of the neutral merchant service. The Foot Guards, with fixed bayonets, accompanied by music and the mayor, marched down the wharf. The sailors retreated and the soldiers remained on guard during the night.



(From the collection of the New Haven Colony Historical Society)

VIEW OF NEW HAVEN AND FORT HALE

Printed from the original copper plate in an early edition of Barber's History of New Haven

a. West Rock; b. Long Wharf; c. Campbell's grave; d. Townsend House; e. East Rock; g. Tomlinson's bridge; h. Fort Hale; m. Fort Webster, the ruins of which are seen on Beacon Hill; n. Cave at West Rock, where the regicides Goffe and Whalley were concealed. Fort Hale, named 1812, the first public recognition of Nathan Hale in his native state

Some of the sailors engaged in privateering, though in general this was done at a loss. Among other boats engaged in privateering was the *New Broom*, captured and sent into New York instead of sweeping the seas; and the *Actress* taken by the British frigate *Spartan* which it had attempted to capture, thinking it a merchant vessel. Other seamen were on gunboats which patrolled the harbor, and others worked on the defenses.

Except as a starting place for privateers, Connecticut was almost entirely free from war within her borders. The war was not popular, and there was little interest in it or excitement about it, and little in the records. New Haven County was always expecting an attack from the British ships in the Sound, and there were two or three alarms, and threats of invasion, but no serious attempts. A few soldiers landed in Branford and at various points, once in Guilford, to get water, and carried off some property, but no damage was done except to alarm the shore towns, and call out the volunteer companies to the places of rendezvous appointed for an alarm, and the troops for a few days. Ports were blockaded by the British, and travel was dangerous. A system of signals told when the way was clear, especially of one much-dreaded boat, the *Liverpool Packet*, though not always successfully. The packet *Susan*, leaving New York on such signal on a return voyage to New Haven, with a cargo worth \$15,000 and some leading citizens as passengers, was captured on the Sound and made to pay ransom for its cargo.

Points along the coast were fortified, among them the old Revolutionary Black Rock fort, now re-named, first Fort Treadwell for the governor, and then Fort Hale; and Beacon Hill, now called Fort Wooster. Some of New Haven's idle seamen were in a company called the "Ring Bolt Guard," which helped build the works at Fort Wooster. A small guard was placed in Milford harbor, and the famous Milford Grenadiers went to Fort Trumbull, the fortifications built during the Revolution. This company, organized in 1796 and lasting until 1836, must have presented as gorgeous an appearance as the Foot Guards, with their uniform of scarlet coats with buff facings and gold lace trimmings, drab knee breeches with buckles, tasseled boots and tall caps with ostrich feathers.

Guilford had a volunteer artillery company, with two brass field pieces, and there was a company in Madison with an iron cannon. State troops were raised, but subject only to the order of the commander-in-chief of the militia, and not to serve outside of Connecticut.

A call was issued for voluntary subscriptions to complete the supplementary fortifications on Beacon Hill or Fort Wooster. So many associations responded that it was necessary to assign days. Among them were the Governor's Foot Guards and the Mechanics' Literary company of New Haven, the carpenters for a day, and workers in other trades each for a day. Men came from all the towns round about: Col. Andrew Hull from Cheshire with about one hundred men; Capt. Jared Whiting from Hamden with as many more; a hundred each from Meriden and Wallingford; and groups from Branford, Derby and Naugatuck. Some-

times the workers camped near by and worked two or more days. The aged Dr. Trumbull of North Haven, doubtless recalling his service at the invasion of New Haven during the Revolution, gave his help once more. The *Columbian Register* for October 4, 1814 has the following item concerning the work on the fortifications: "On Thursday one hundred men from the Town of North Haven, under the direction of their Rev. Pastor, Dr. Trumbull, the venerable historian of Connecticut, 86 years of age, volunteered their services and spent the day in the same patriotic work. This aged minister addressed the throne of grace and implored the divine blessing on their undertaking." As these various delegations of volunteer workers passed through the city, they were saluted at the Green and were served refreshments.

In general the attitude of the clergy was quite different in this war from what it had been in the Revolution. They regarded it as an unrighteous conflict and preached many sermons against it. This helped strengthen the feeling of the State against the administration, though the war was more popular towards the end. When a company from Waterbury for instance were ready to march, the minister wished to have a service in the meeting-house, but the captain, Buckingham, would allow this only on condition that no mention of the war be made. The reason for this singular stipulation was apparently the feeling in the region of hostility to the war, and the fear that mention of it on this occasion might be the signal for an outburst.

The forts were garrisoned by men from the Fourth Connecticut Militia. Some were volunteers, but most of them were drafted, though recruiting signs were posted, to encourage the enlistment of "young men of patriotism",—such as "Freedom—for those who dare fight for it;" and "To your Posts—March!" The only fighting these men saw was to fire on British ships several times, which forced them to keep away. Another defence for New Haven was a Block-House at the end of the pier, in charge of some more of the seamen out of work.

In 1813 Commodore Decatur with his squadron was chased into the harbor of New London, and the British fleet was re-enforced. Expecting an attack on New London, six hundred Connecticut militia were summoned to the neighborhood. Companies from towns in New Haven County were there, formed as has been said, to serve during the war, but not to go outside the State. The authorities took the same position as to service outside the State, and under other than State commanders that had been taken at the time of the demands of Governor Fletcher. Soldiers were ordered out for the defence of her own borders, as in the case of those sent to New London, and some officers and a few men went into the regular army.

It was thought possible for the new and feeble United States to wage war with Great Britain because of her possession of Canada, perhaps recalling exploits there in previous wars. But no plans had been made, no supplies gathered, no army formed or trained. The blame for almost

inevitable failure in the campaign in the northwest was laid on a man from New Haven County, William Hull of Derby. He was born 1753, graduated from Yale 1772, a lawyer who had first studied divinity, and then law with Tapping Reeve, a veteran of the Revolution, who had settled in Massachusetts, and in 1805 had been appointed Governor of Michigan Territory by Jefferson. With a small force of Regulars in what was called the Northwestern Army, and some Ohio militia, he was supposed, against his judgment, to coöperate with the army of the center, and conquer Canada. But he had no supplies, and was left at Detroit, caught in a position from which escape was impossible, as the commander-in-chief, Dearborn, had made an armistice with the British commander, which did not include Hull's army. Hull surrendered to superior numbers, because the English leader threatened not only to fight, but to let loose an Indian massacre over the whole region. This gave the entire northwest territory to the British until the Americans got control of Lake Erie. Hull was court-martialed for treason, by a body presided over by Dearborn. Acquitted of treason, he was sentenced to be shot for cowardice, but Madison instead ordered his name taken from the rolls of the army. General Hull was able to vindicate himself before he died.

The names of both the man and the town, Hull and Derby, received glory in this war as well as injustice. The illustrious hero of the navy, to whom the first British flag was struck on the ocean in the War of 1812, Commodore Isaac Hull of Derby, was a nephew of Gen. William Hull. Isaac Hull was son of a sea captain, had been in the merchant service, commanding a West Indiaman from New Haven, and at the age of twenty-three was appointed Lieutenant in the United States Navy, where he had considerable experience before this war. At that time he was in command of the frigate *Constitution*. His first exploit was by skilful seamanship, to escape from several British ships which he came upon while on his way alone from Annapolis to join his squadron at Boston. Somewhat later he sailed to Newfoundland, and stationed himself off the Gulf of St. Lawrence to intercept trade. He captured two merchant vessels and came upon the British frigate *Guerrière*. He fought in disobedience to orders, and with a new crew reported by him "as yet unacquainted with a ship of war, as many have but lately joined and have never been on an armed ship before." In a short conflict he captured the frigate with the loss of only seven men killed and seven wounded having handled his ship faultlessly. The *Constitution* had to replace a few cut ropes, and change a few sails, and was ready to take on another *Guerrière*. As there were only thirty minutes of actual fighting, (though two hours from the time of the first shot), and the *Guerrière* sank within twelve hours, a song said,—“Thus, in thirty minutes ended

Mischief that never could be mended,
Masts and yards and ship descended,
All to David Jones' locker,
Such a ship in such a pucker.”

It is said that the captain of the *Guerrière* had ordered his men to play "Yankee Doodle" in derision, and that he told the crew he would give them twenty minutes to take the *Constitution*.

Howe's "History of New Haven" also repeats an incident which may or may not have been the first example of cheer leading. Hull ordered the men not to fire until he gave word. "When the auspicious moment came for his annihilating broadside, he suddenly sprang high in air, and then, on coming down, shouted 'Fire' with tremendous emphasis; as he alighted his person naturally assumed a bending posture, his hands falling to his knees, the whole being done with such force of action as to rend a nether garment." College cheer leaders have developed a better technique, but this was a moment of much excitement.

Besides calling out the men of this region for garrisons and patrolling the shore, there were three occasions for summons to service. The first alarm was in the early fall of 1813, when a British fleet was in Long Island Sound, causing fear of an attack on the coast; another was in the spring of the next year; and a third in the fall. Most of the towns sent men on these alarms, and for garrison duty at New Haven and New London, and some of them had a few men who enlisted in the regular army and saw service in Mexico. The record of one town is practically the record of all. Waterbury furnished men for part of a company sent to New London for two short periods, (August 3 or 13 to September 16-20, 1813, and September 8 to October 20, 1814); and had fifteen men in the regular army, for about a year. Henry Leavenworth, a New Haven lawyer, became a regular army officer, was made Lieutenant-colonel, after the battle of Chippewa, and colonel for service at Lundy's Lane. The records of some of the towns (Cheshire and North Haven) concerning the war, have been lost; and pension records of the war are arranged alphabetically, according to the names of soldiers, not according to the towns from which they came. The only records of Derby are the resolution introduced by Colonel Humphreys complimentary to Commodore Isaac Hull, who by the way wore a coat of "Humphrey's cloth." The resolutions said, "Gold and silver we have not," and the thanks of the town were given to Hull "in a box made of heart of oak, the genial growth of his native hills."

England allowed neutral trade with a few ports, one of which was New Haven. This was of course used by other than neutrals and an extensive trade followed. When President Madison heard of it, he tried to stop it. A general feeling prevailed that New England was sacrificed by the national government, and Massachusetts took the first step towards a convention to safeguard the interests of this region. The first object was to adopt some mode of defence for New England, and the ultimate object was to advise with each other as to reforms of the constitution. Delegates were sent to Hartford from Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Vermont and Connecticut. The convention lasted three weeks, meeting in secret session. This, and the fact that it

was in opposition to the government and in the midst of war caused it to be regarded as seditious and treasonable. Troops were sent to Hartford ostensibly to recruit for the regular army, but really to watch proceedings. They took their station near the convention's place of meeting, and their fifers played the Rogue's March. From New Haven County went two of the best men as delegates, Roger Sherman and James Hillhouse.

The convention met in December, and peace came before the results of its deliberations were delivered. News of the treaty of peace were told in New Haven from the pulpit of the old Blue Meeting-House on Sunday, February 13th 1815, having just been communicated by the post rider as he passed the door. To celebrate the end of the war, the city was illuminated with candles in the windows and on the tops of fence posts around the Green and college buildings. The last guns fired from Fort Hale and Fort Wooster were set off on this occasion. "Henceforth, and we trust forever," said the newspaper, "are American ships to enjoy to the full extent their heritage of the ocean, to journey through its most frequented waters, to voyage over its most distant seas, feeling that the standard under which they sail is forever a sign manual to be respected by friends and to be feared by foes."

The English, on the other hand, talked of the "young lion" * * * first flushed with the taste of our flock," and of the "boastful, insolent and naturally vain Americans," quite forgetting that at that time the Americans were of almost pure English blood.

The Militia and its Reorganization

After the Revolution the military system of Connecticut was still that of colonial days,—every able bodied man between the ages of eighteen and forty-five enrolled in the militia and obliged to appear fully armed on appointed days for parade and review. Col. C. W. Burpee, from whose accounts in various places this summary is made up, describes conditions during the period.

The officers had a uniform, "blue coats faced with red, lined with white, white underdress, white buttons, and blue worsted knot on each shoulder. The men wore 'white frocks and overalls.' The light infantry men were distinguished by a black feather tipped with red, worn in the hat." Since every one must be enrolled, the numbers were large and the forces unmanageable, and from time to time reorganization of the militia was made. In 1823 an order was issued that flank companies must wear uniforms. In contrast to them the other companies, which by this time usually wore nothing in the way of uniform, were often derisively called "Rag-toes" or "String-bean Milish." Twice a year, in spring and fall, the companies met for drill, parade and inspection. Once a year the regiments met for the same purpose. Each man must bring the required equipment of cartridges, flints, powder horn etc., besides musket, bayonet and knapsack. Officers held meetings before and after training days to transact business, such as imposing fines for non-attend-

These are the Banks, which our Cities
 adorn
 That give Credit to Rags all tatter'd and
 torn
 By which the poor Farmers all fleec'd and
 forlorn
 And th' unfortunate Traders all shaven
 and shorn,
 Are robb'd of their Goods, and their Beef,
 Pork and Corn.

And here are the Brokers with Profit and
 scorn
 That laugh in their sleeves at the losers
 forlorn
 And buy the rags all tatter'd and torn
 Refus'd by the Banks which our Cities
 adorn.



BROTHER JONATHAN'S SOLILOQUY ON THE TIMES

It must be so Jonathan. Thou reasonest well, else whence this dearth of cash, this cry of Duns, this breaking up of Merchants and of Bankers? Why shrinks the hand from proffered chartered Bills and fears they are insolvent? Or whence this secret dread, or strong suspicion that they may come to naught? T'is the deficiency of precious metals, T'is trade herself whose ballance turn'd against us now intimates economy to all. Economy! Thou homespun fireside thought! Thro' what variety of untried habits! Thro' what great games of Bankers rags we've pass'd! The safe the saving prospect lies before us but Luxury, Pride and Custom, war against it. Here will I hold. If there's a plan can save us (and that there is the papers all proclaim throughout the land) it must be followed promptly, and that which it proposes must relieve us. But where or whence we'll get supplies of specie I'm weary of conjectures this may end 'em (looking at the Newspaper). Thus am I then informed India and Spain and the Isles and South America are full of it, which in a tangent could our wants supply, but those Im told don't wish to let it go. Where we secured in there assistance we'd smile at Papermongers and defy the world. Our credit it may fail! Commerce herself be damped and checked, but thou shalt flourish our beloved republick amidst the wars of Potentates, the wreck of Monarchies, and fall of Kings.

(From a print in the collection of the New Haven Colony Historical Society)

PRINT PUBLISHED BY THOMAS KENSETT, ENGRAVER, CHESHIRE, CONN-
 TICUT, ABOUT 1817, SHOWING THE PECUNIARY PRESSURE OF THE
 TIMES AFTER THE WAR OF 1812

ance at meetings. Training days themselves became red letter holidays, with banquets following the parade, the expense borne by the officers, apportioned according to their rank.

After the war had been over a few years, men lost interest in military matters, and the militia entered upon a period when parades were little more than a farce, and it was difficult to distinguish between the militia, with its motley attire and lack of discipline, and the "Fantastics" or "Antiques and Horribles," who came out to make sport on holidays and training days, armed with broom sticks and clubs. These were so characteristic of the time as to appear as a division in the parade held at the centennial of the city of New Haven in 1884. The members of the militia themselves came to try to out-do each other in ridiculous appearance, and on those "festive, bibulous holiday" occasions—training days—exaggerated their lack of uniform. A description of the annual muster of the Second Regiment in October 1843 quoted from one of the papers said, "No particular sort of uniform was seen, but every variety of garment was represented. Some had short coats, some knapsacks on their shoulders, and others had some of their wives' apparel reaching nearly to their heels. The officers made a good display of red facings and cotton epaulets." The men were to appear with whatever kind of gun they happened to own, and were consequently armed with a variety of weapons equal to the variety of uniform. Under these conditions officers naturally had but a semblance of authority. Stories are told of a captain chased over a fence or into a tavern, after giving the order to charge bayonets, or of occasions such as the following in Waterbury. In the summer of 1840 the men were summoned to choose a commander. "They came provided with pitch-forks, broom handles, and axe helves; blacksmiths with their sleeves rolled up and wearing their aprons, farmers in their roughest dress, and every one else who could spare the time, dressed in working clothes and bent upon having some rare comedy." For nearly two hours they enjoyed themselves voting for all the incompetent characters they could think of, but finally electing a suitable person. A procession was then formed, which marched around town until it came to the tavern, where the day ended in the usual fashion.

A few independent companies, which provided their own equipment and uniform, except arms, redeemed training days during this period from absolute discredit, and kept alive a spark of military interest in the communities. Several such companies existed in different towns in the county,—the Milford Grenadiers, formed in 1796; the Governor's Foot Guards (1775) and Horse Guards (1809); the New Haven Light Infantry (1816), known as the Grays, the "North Haven Blues," Light Infantry (1838). The Grays decided on a uniform of that color, the cloth to be of American manufacture, and from one factory, but with many gilt buttons and a red vest, and the officers with feathers of different colors to denote their rank. Their muskets were all alike, probably furnished by the State and from Whitney's factory. There was also the New Haven Blues, formed 1828 and first called the City Artillery.

The Mexican War

This was the condition of military matters at the beginning of the Mexican War. The old question of service of the state troops outside its own borders did not arise in this war, as the United States government called for volunteers at large, asking for troops to serve twelve months. The response in New Haven County was not so great even as in the War of 1812, for the war was considered to have been brought about by the pro-slavery party, and to be a Southern affair. The name of only one volunteer is found in Guilford, one from Meriden, one from Seymour, and two from Madison. A recruiting station was opened in Waterbury, where only a few enlisted. Later men entered the service and were sent to Vera Cruz, to join General Scott's command, where they were at the storming of Chapultapec, the first to mount the walls. Alfred H. Terry, of later Civil War fame, served in this war. Another man from the county who was at Vera Cruz was Julius J. B. Kingsbury of Waterbury, a graduate of West Point, stationed at the outbreak of the war at Fort Brady, at the outlet of Lake Superior. At the siege of Vera Cruz also was a man belonging to New Haven County and graduate of West Point, Joseph Gilbert Totten. He had served in the War of 1812 in the Engineer Corps. In this war he was assigned to the engineering operations of Scott's army, and directed the siege of Vera Cruz. He was later brigadier-general in the Civil War.

This war inspired a Waterbury man, John Kendrick, to write a macaronic poem which had a wide circulation at the time, and is considered a good example of that kind of poetry. A few lines show its style:—

“Santa Anna, antedictus,
(Homo qui never yet has licked us)
Multum jactatus that he could
Split Taylor into kindling wood,
Marched boldly up, confiding in
Those twenty thousand scamps to win
The bloody pugnam and to crack
Alike the head and hopes of Zack.”

In 1847 the General Assembly began the improvement of the militia by dividing men into two classes,—the enrolled, that is every one of the proper age, and the active 18 to 35 (later 45)—the word militia still applied to both classes. The former were to pay a poll tax, at first one dollar, later two. Duty was required of the active militia for three successive days in the year, with state pay of \$1.50 per day. The old militia companies or train bands were for the most part disbanded. The enrolled militia was subject to call at time of need, was exempt from training, and paid the tax to defray expenses for the training of the active militia.

CHAPTER V

THE QUESTION OF SLAVERY

SLAVERY IN NEW HAVEN COUNTY—GROWTH OF ANTI-SLAVERY SENTIMENT—
CONFLICTS IN MERIDEN, WOLCOTT, GUILFORD—FEELING IN NEW HAVEN
—TROUBLE IN WATERBURY—L'AMISTAD CASE

Slaves, both Indian and negro, had been held in New Haven County from an early time, and that too by people representing the best part of society. Gov. Robert Treat's inventory listed two slaves appraised at £85, to go back no further. Names of well-known ministers occur as owners of one or two slaves, men who themselves suffered for liberty of thought and action in other things,—Rev. Philemon Robbins, Samuel Andrews, Samuel Bird, Daniel Humphreys, and Rector Elisha Williams,—to mention a few familiar names. The minister in North Guilford, "Priest" Fowler, had a slave who "was quite the man of business." Leading laymen in the communities were also owners of a slave or two,—Samuel Mix, "vir summae probitatis," had three; the first slave known in Waterbury was a boy belonging to Deacon Clark about 1730; Deacon Garnsey had one or more; the earliest on record in Meriden was a negro woman bequeathed by Nathaniel Royce in his will dated 1718.

Slaves were usually kindly treated, and often regarded as members of the family. Whitefield on his first visit to New England said, "The negroes I think better used, both in body and soul, than in any other province I have yet seen." They were received as members of the churches, six of them communicants in the two Presbyterian churches in New Haven in 1800, according to President Dwight. One of the subscribers to the building of the first Episcopal Church in Branford was Cambrig Primus, probably a slave or freedman. Pews in the meeting-houses were provided for them, though to be sure they were placed in the corners, or in the second or top gallery, as in the Derby Church. The Milford meeting-house, built in 1727, had a gallery for slaves and other blacks who were numerous at that time. In 1791 there were thirty-one in Milford, owned by twenty-two different persons, most of them having one slave, and one man with four. This gallery was closed in 1803. In the church records of Meriden, kept by Rev. Theophilus Hall, one of the entries among twenty similar ones for other persons, was the baptism in 1758 of "My Negro child Gin" and of "My negro child Rose." Deaths

of slaves were also recorded, and there are a few notices of their marriages. Dr. Richard Mansfield of Derby performed the marriage ceremony for some colored people, perhaps slaves, promising to do it "like white folks." They promised to pay in the same way, but declined afterwards, saying, "You no sing the psalm nor kiss the bride, as you do white folks."

Slaves might become owners of property, and at the death of their masters often were allowed to choose to which of his heirs they should belong. Thus Deacon Clark's Mingo at his death chose to live with one of his sons, but when he began to keep a tavern, Mingo preferred to live with the other son. Rev. John Southmayd of the same town, Waterbury, disposed of his slaves as follows when he died in 1755. "My negro man Sampson and my negro Girl Fillis, if they be faithful, careful and industrious in helping to bring up my Grand children, William, Samuel, Anna, John and Daniel Southmayd, till the youngest be twelve years of age, then they may be free and live with any of my children they shall choose, or any other person, and if they live with any of mine, and should live to be a charge the charge to be levied out of my estate, except that it should appear that those they have lived with have been considerably profited by them." Captain Titus Brockett of Meriden who died in 1773, left his slaves Esau and Grace to his wife so long as she lived and remained a widow, but when she died or remarried Esau should be free. Rev. Samuel Hall of Cheshire (died 1776) willed that after his wife's death his slave could choose with which son he should live, and if he could not support himself, some property was to be used for this purpose. Property was sometimes left them directly. The widow of Captain Brockett on her death in 1777 left the two slaves her homestead, with cows, furniture and farming utensils. Capt. John Webb (died 1799) left property for the support of two slaves, whom he had already emancipated.

There was some slave trade, and buying and selling of those already here. Capt. Francis Browne of New Haven, who did many errands for people brought a "Jarsey boy" from Boston to Samuel Riggs, a wealthy merchant of Derby. A man in Derby was carrying on this business about 1770, both for shipping slaves and for the home market. There was another in Wallingford a little earlier. Occasional notices were put up of the sale of negroes. One man paid for building part of his house by the sale of a slave at auction. Comparatively few persons, however, could afford to own slaves, or if they did, to own more than one or two. Birth records in Cheshire, for instance, show only twenty or twenty-five in that parish; only a few were reported in Waterbury; and eighty-five in New Haven in 1800. The county then had 500 slaves, twice as many as any other county. Within ten years there were only 230.

Colonial law took notice of them in 1708 as having become numerous in some parts of Connecticut, and as disturbing the peace by their turbulence and quarrelsomeness. Laws were made regulating their travel and absences from home. Provision was made for their proper treatment

and later for their ultimate freedom. Slave owners who maltreated their slaves were punished, and there were lawsuits over holding in slavery those whose servitude was in doubt. In 1774 a law was passed against further importation of slaves, and ten years later it was enacted that no negro child born after that date should be held a slave after it had reached the age of twenty-five. Connecticut was about the first state to pass such a law. Slave owners were fined if they did not file a birth certificate.

About the time of the Revolution occur frequent notices of freeing slaves. Josiah Atkins, a Revolutionary soldier, wrote in his diary as he went south to Yorktown, "Alas! That persons who pretend to stand for the *rights of mankind*, for the liberties of society, can delight in oppression and evil of the worst kind." But people here also took it directly to themselves. Rev. Samuel Andrews preached a Fast Day sermon in July 1775 making this application. "And here, as we profess to be now contending for those liberties which God and nature have given us: and in common with us, to all the human race; is it not worth our serious consideration, whether our detaining in captivity, a part of our fellow creatures, can be reconciled with our principles of liberty, and if not, to examine whether it is not necessary, either to change our principles, or let the oppressed go free: for how can we expect God will work that deliverance for us, which we refuse to give to others?"

A law of 1777 made regulations concerning freeing slaves, that it should be done to their real advantage, and with a probability that they could support themselves. Rev. Mr. Street of East Haven (died 1806) according to the historian of the town, Eversull, owned a negro slave Tom, who used to come and say, "Master I wish I could be free!" and the reply always was, "You may be free any day, Tom, if you will let me draw up a writing that shall clear me from the obligation to take care of you when you are old and can earn nothing." This reply always satisfied Tom but he never accepted the offer. Among the notices of setting slaves free at this time the following is a good example of the feeling that it was the reasonable thing to do. "I Rachael Johnson for divers good reasons and causes but more especially because I believe all mankind should be free I do hereby manumit my servant maid Dolly who is about eight years of age, that is I do make her free from all bonds that she is under to me when she shall be eighteen years of age." Rev. Mr. Todd of Guilford who died in 1791, in his will freed his slaves, saying, "I have long been convinced in my own mind that the enslaving of the Africans brought from Africa or those born in this country is unjust; and it is one of the sins of the land, and I would endeavor to free my estate from the cry of such sin against it."

The Revolution was the cause of freeing some slaves. In 1777 three slaves belonging to a Tory in this region were set free. Freedom was offered some if they would enlist in the army, though there was occasional trouble in getting these promises redeemed. Joseph Mun of Water-

bury, "a poor African servant" petitioned in 1780 for his liberty, because he had served in the war. His owner had first, "on condition of his faithful service for three years, encouraged him with his freedom," and then refused to grant it. Mun then offered to enlist. His master consented, and he served in the army almost continuously for several years. The petition was finally negatived, perhaps because by this time the slave had stiff knees and was broken down.

Sharpe's "History of Seymour" gives the following vote of January 1781, "that the authority and selectmen be empowered and directed to give certificates to Capt. Daniel Holbrook and Capt. John Wooster, to free and emancipate their servants, negro men, on condition that the said negro men enlist into the state regiment to be raised for the defence of the state, for the term of one year."

Soon after the Revolution there began to be public expressions of anti-slavery sentiments. Such a one in 1788 is interesting because the motion came from this county. At a meeting of the General Association of Connecticut, "On motion made by the Association of the western district of New Haven County, the Association voted that the slave trade is UNJUST, and that every justifiable measure ought to be taken to suppress it. Voted also that Drs. Goodrich, Edwards and Wales be a committee to draw up an address and petition to the General Assembly that some effectual laws be made for the abolition of the slave trade." Of this trade President Stiles had said in 1783, "Is it possible to think of this without horror?" although he had earlier sent a barrel of rum to Africa to be exchanged for a negro. In 1790 the Connecticut Anti-Slavery Society, with President Stiles at its head, was formed, and about this time a movement began in New Haven for schools for colored children. Two schools were set up, one for boys and one for girls. "These institutions," said President Dwight, "furnish the first rational hope of a reformation among the people."

In 1848 slavery in Connecticut was ended by law. The last slave owned in Connecticut was Cato, a family servant belonging to John Barker of Meriden.

As might be expected this question was a fruitful cause of trouble in the churches. In 1837 an anti-slavery lecturer came to speak in the Congregational meeting-house in Meriden. A mob tried to break up the meeting by throwing stones, and, breaking down the locked doors with a log of wood, threw eggs and stones at Mr. Ludlow, the lecturer, and the audience, both inside the building, and as they came out. One observer said the work was done so thoroughly that "they looked like a lot of pumpkin pies." There were some fist fights. A number of persons were arrested, and after a long trial, some were fined and imprisoned.

The case was brought before the Consociation, when some persons questioned the action of the minister, Mr. Granger in allowing the meeting in the first place. The Consociation upheld him, and took occasion to say, "The erroneous principle which lies at the foundation of your difficulties

we discover to be this—an opinion among some that the subject of slavery is not proper to be introduced into the pulpit. It is the judgement of the Consociation that a minister is at perfect liberty to introduce into the pulpit all subjects that pertain to the relations which men sustain to each other and to God. * * * Your Pastor has maintained his neutrality on this subject of slavery, as long as we think he consistently could with a sacred regard to the welfare of this place, and the interests of eternal truth." It is fair to add that a few years later (1846) "The Church met this day by special appointment, and after deliberation adopted the following vote. Resolved, that the system of slavery, as it exists in the United States is essentially sinful, and admits of no justification from the word of God." The Meriden Anti-Slavery Society was formed in 1836, three years after the New Haven Society. It had 119 members and some stations on the underground railway. Two men Curtis and Isbell, at one time voted the anti-slavery ticket in Meriden, and their factory was burned down.

Wolcott had its troubles over this question. Rev. Mr. Chapman the minister was strongly against slavery, and soon after his settlement in 1837, difficulties began. The manes and tails of horses belonging to him and to anti-slavery members of the church were sheared, and one man who had no horse found his cow treated in that fashion instead. In 1839 the meeting-house was burned after the notice of an anti-slavery meeting to be held there. Powder was put in the stove, perhaps with the less violent intention of merely destroying the stove. The meeting was held the next day at the ruins. Some persons were brought to trial for this, but to no effect because the principal witness fled after threats. In 1840 the anti-slavery men withdrew from the church, and the others got rid of Mr. Chapman. A second church was formed by those who withdrew, and the Consociation was called. It decided that the two churches should unite on the following general platform,—that the pastor could discuss any moral and religious subject without dictation from the church, and that the church had the right of redress only through "regular ecclesiastical and civil process." The factions thereupon acknowledged "it to be a sacred right of all individuals to enjoy, undisturbed, their own views in respect to Moral Reform, Anti-slavery, Temperance, and kindred subjects, and that we will not disturb, and will use our influence to prevent others from disturbing, any public meeting held for the discussion of these subjects * * * and endeavor hereafter to support the gospel there in peace and harmony, it being mutually understood that said house shall be opened for discussion of the above subjects whenever it shall be requested by a majority of the church."

The Guilford church also experienced trouble on this subject, when the minister, Mr. Aaron Dutton, became an Abolitionist. In 1842 the minority of the church was so dissatisfied with his position that they asked to be dismissed to form a new church. This was refused, but Mr. Dutton soon left. The next year, 1843, the church declined to allow its

building to be used for the meetings of the local Anti-Slavery Society, and as a result of this and sympathy for Mr. Dutton, the difficulties increased to such an extent that a division was brought about. One hundred and twenty-three persons withdrew and formed the Third Congregational Church, their building being known as the "Abolitionist Meeting-House." The first minister of this new church, Mr. David Root, is described as "a pioneer and untiring laborer in the anti-slavery cause." The next minister, Mr. Chipman, was active during the war in the interests of the freedmen.

New Haven churches made their contributions to the cause. In the North Church occurred the Kansas rifle meeting in the early spring of 1856. A band of citizens were going to Kansas in the interests of freedom, one of them a deacon of this church, and a week-day meeting was held to wish them Godspeed. Professor Silliman, aged seventy-six, suggested giving them rifles, and offered to head a subscription to buy them. Fifty rifles were offered, and among the contributors was the sister of Mr. Dutton, mistress of the girl's school, Grove Hall. It was said that this gift cost her \$25, much abuse and the loss of much patronage for her school. Henry Ward Beecher was present and addressed the meeting, and as the precedent of giving rifles was followed by emigrant aid societies elsewhere a line of a song was, "Beecher rifles guard their rest." The North Church was for a time known as "The Old Fort," and "The Kansas Stamping Ground." The rifles were actually presented at a later farewell meeting. During the Civil War the same North Church was the scene of the funeral of the son of the leader of this band, who had fallen in battle there.

It should be mentioned that of the letters in New Haven signed by a President of the United States, one is the reply in President Buchanan's own hand to a memorial on the Kansas troubles. Another is from Jefferson in reply to protests over the appointment of Samuel Bishop as collector of the port of New Haven. The interest of New Haven in Kansas did not end with the purchase of rifles. A remonstrance was drawn up in July 1856, signed by forty-two citizens, mostly from New Haven, protesting against the use of United States troops in Kansas to enforce the Lecompton constitution and other laws of that party. This, and the correspondence which followed, known as the Silliman Letters, caused the President and his Cabinet to express openly their pro-slavery intentions.

Center Church, (the First Church of New Haven), also made an important contribution to the cause of freedom, through a pamphlet written by the pastor, Dr. Leonard Bacon, which President Lincoln said formed the code and creed by which he guided his course. Dr. Bacon's own words on this are interesting. "Somewhat less than twenty years ago, I published a volume of Essays on Slavery, which I contributed to various periodicals. A copy of the volume fell into the hands of a village lawyer in one of our great western states. He was at that time quite

unknown to fame, but his neighbors knew him well as an intelligent, sagacious, honest man, capable of great things and worthy of the highest trusts; and he had just then been elected, for the first time and the last, to be their representative in Congress. Less than four years ago, not knowing that he had ever heard of me, I had the privilege of an interview with him; and his first word, after our introduction to each other, was a reference to that volume, with a frank approval of its principles. Since then I have heard of his mentioning the same book to a friend of mine in terms which showed that it had made an impression on his earnest and thoughtful soul * * * it is something to think of [that] * * * the studies and debates through which I had been conducted were in any way serviceable to him." In the same address in which Dr. Bacon told of this he said, "you know how I have been blamed and even execrated, in these later years, for declaring, here and elsewhere, the wickedness of buying and selling human beings, or of violating in any way those human rights which are inseparable from human nature."

The town of New Haven had some years earlier, 1819, passed a series of resolutions that "The existence of Slavery in the United States is, * * * an evil, of great magnitude. It is the high and solemn duty of this free and enlightened nation to prevent by all constitutional means the extension of Slavery." But when it was proposed in 1831 to establish in the city a college for the education of negroes, with a mechanical department it is to be noticed, a meeting called by the Mayor declared such proposals "unwarrantable and dangerous," and the mayor and city officials pledged themselves to resist it by every lawful means. The sentiment changed later, enough so the town appropriated \$150 for a school for colored children, and there were soon two such schools. In 1833 an Anti-Slavery Society was formed. New Haven, as well as Guilford, saw a church started because of difference of opinion on this subject,—the Howard Avenue Congregational Church.

Trouble occurred in the church in Waterbury. In 1841 the First Church did not call a certain man as minister because some members feared that he held too strong anti-slavery beliefs. Instead, Dr. David Root was called, but he soon uttered such fiery sentiments on the subject that he was dismissed after a troubled ministry of only three years. He became, as we have seen, the first minister of the newly formed Abolitionist Church in Guilford. The Waterbury Church had trouble later in the ministry of the brother of Dr. Horace Bushnell, who was pastor from 1858 to 1865. Anti-slavery lecturers in Waterbury were entertained at the home of Deacon Timothy Porter of the Baptist Church. His house was at times a station on the underground railway, and Deacon Porter belonged to the Liberty party which polled 174 votes in Connecticut in 1840.

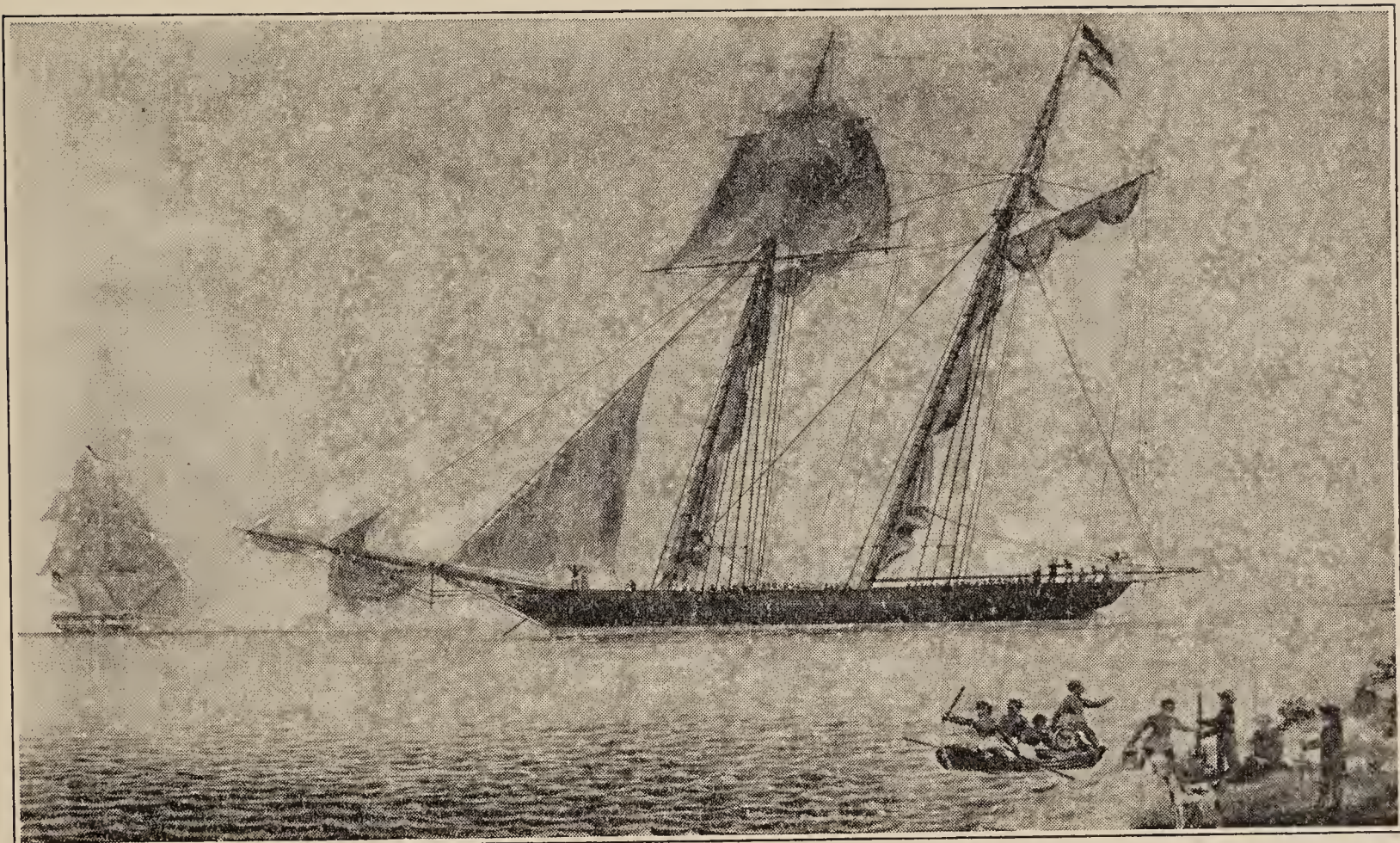
There was strong anti-slavery feeling in East Haven, and in North Haven a few families left the Congregational Church for the Episcopal St. Johns when the minister, Mr. Page, spoke too strongly against slavery to suit them.

Connected with slavery and the slave trade was the *Amistad* case, one of the most famous ever tried in the United States. It had many interesting angles,—the tragedy of the slave trade, politics and the bitter feeling over abolition, and legal and diplomatic complications. It drew in an array of legal luminaries, including an ex-president of the United States, a judge who as lawyer had argued against Prudence Crandall, and it was the cause of starting the Mendi Mission.

In the spring of 1839 some Africans on the west coast were kidnapped by agents of Spanish slave traders, and taken in a Portugese slave ship to Havana and sold to two Cubans. The slave trade had been abolished in Spain in 1820 as a result of a treaty with Great Britain, but the law was practically a dead letter in the Spanish colonies in America. A small schooner, *L'Amistad*, was chartered to take the captives with a cargo of merchandise, from Havana to another Cuban port. To do this the ship's papers were fixed up by collusion between the authorities and the slave traders. The captives on this trip were not chained as they had been on the other voyage, but were kept on short rations of food and water, and when they asked the cook where they were being taken, received the mocking reply that they were to be killed and eaten. This was the final event which caused the captives, under the leadership of one of their number, Cinquè, to arm themselves with sugar-cane knives, kill the captain, and the cook, bind some of the others, and get possession of the ship, the crew escaping in a boat. Their purchasers, Ruiz and Montez, were taken along to navigate the vessels. But knowing only that home was "three moons" distant towards the east, and deceived as to the course, they were brought, by sailing east by day and north by night for two months, to a place near Montauk Point on Long Island.

They came ashore for water and provisions, met some people of the neighborhood, and a government coast-survey brig, the *Washington*, came along which captured them and their boat. The negroes were arrested, charged with murder and piracy, brought to New Haven and put in the county jail, then on the site of the City Hall, and later were sent to Westville. They could speak no English to tell their story, but anti-slavery men, among them the Rev. Simeon S. Jocelyn, at one time pastor of one of the New Haven churches for colored people, took up their cause, issued a public appeal printed in the *Emancipator*, and secured counsel for them. An interpreter was found for them through Professor Gibbs of the Divinity School, who visited them and took down the sounds representing the first ten numerals, and after going about among the vessels here and in New York found a boy through whom they could communicate.

Various questions were involved in the case,—salvage claims of the officers of the *Washington* and the people of Montauk Point; claims of the Spanish government for delivery of the boat and cargo and slaves on board; claims of the purchasers of the slaves; and charges of murder



(Courtesy of the New Haven Colony Historical Society)

L'AMISTAD

and piracy against the captives. The case was reduced to the last of these questions, and whether the captives were slaves or free. The decision that since the acts complained of were committed on a Spanish vessel they had committed no crime against our laws meant greater freedom for the negroes, and on pleasant days they were allowed to exercise on the Green, to the great entertainment of the public. They had so many visitors that the jailer finally charged admission, using the money for their benefit.

When the trial came, in January 1840, John Quincy Adams was added to their counsel, (though he did not appear in New Haven), the others being Roger Sherman Baldwin, Seth Staples and Theodore Sedgwick of New York. Ralph Ingersoll and William Hungerford were counsel for the Spanish crown. Judge Judson was the man who as lawyer had brought criminal proceedings against Prudence Crandall for receiving colored girls in her school in Canterbury, but his decision in this case was that "Cinquè and Grabeau shall not sigh for Africa in vain. Bloody as must be their hands, they shall yet embrace their kindred."

The case was finally appealed to the Supreme Court of the United States, and the hearing was held in February 1841. Mr. Adams acted as senior counsel for the captives, appearing in person. Francis Scott Key, author of the Star Spangled Banner happened to be District Attorney of the United States for the District of Columbia at the time. Early in March the decision of the Court was handed down, that the captives "be declared free, and be dismissed from the custody of the Court and go without day." Mr. Adams wrote that in closing the case the Attorney General reviewed "with great moderation of manner, chiefly Mr. Baldwin's argument, and very slightly noticing mine."

During the affair the government boat, the *Grampus*, (on which Andrew Hull Foote had served early in his career), was sent to New Haven, in the expectation that it would be required to take the negroes to Havana. At the same time friends of the captives had another vessel here prepared to spirit them away in case of an adverse decision of the court. Of course they had no means of returning home, and more subscriptions were taken with which they were sent back to Africa in 1842, accompanied by two missionaries.

CHAPTER VI

THE CIVIL WAR

THREE MONTHS TROOPS AND BULL RUN—SERVICE OF REGIMENTS WITH NEW HAVEN COUNTY MEN

Connecticut's quota at the first call for soldiers on the outbreak of war, April, 1861, was one regiment, but three were quickly formed. The President's call was issued Monday the 15th, the Governor's proclamation followed the next day, and within four days the First regiment was in camp in New Haven, within six days the Second, and in two weeks the Third, in Hartford. Three weeks after the President's call for troops five thousand men had assembled, five times the number required, and men were offering money for places in the ranks. By the personal entreaty of Governor Buckingham the three regiments were accepted by the President and allowed to go to the front, on condition that two three-year regiments would be formed. Since there was question of the right of the Governor to answer the requisition for a regiment and to order the militia to serve outside the State, volunteers were called for. The delay enabled a Massachusetts regiment to start first for Washington, which was welcomed by multitudes as it passed through New Haven.

New Haven County was as prompt as the state to respond to the country's need for men. The first company to be accepted by Governor Buckingham was the West Meriden militia company, their captain, Theodore Byxbee, having got word to him of their desire to volunteer, and received the reply, "Accepted," the day after the issue of his proclamation calling for troops. Two days later the company was mustered into the United States service, and in less than three weeks was on the way to Washington with the regiment.

In order to get men ready in this short time all sorts of volunteer help were used since there were not enough companies in the state, organized and properly equipped, to form an effective regiment. The supply of rifles was insufficient, and to enable the Governor to buy more, loans of more than a million dollars were offered and accepted from various sources, public and private. Among the early offers were those from two New Haven banks, the Elm City Bank offering \$50,000 and the Mechanics' Bank \$25,000. Uniforms were supplied in like fashion, ladies of the city distributing and making 500 in ten days, and in the case of one

company, furnishing something like a temporary uniform by sewing stripes on the trousers of the men's ordinary clothes. To make up for the scarcity of drill-masters, boys from Russell's Military School were detailed to act in that capacity. William H. Russell, the head of this school, was a strong Abolitionist, a friend of John Brown, and one of the trustees of his will. More than 300 men who had been in his school were in the Civil War, many of them as Union officers.

It is impossible to give in brief space a complete history of the county in the war, or in fact anything more than the merest outline. Men from any particular town served in many branches of the army,—Waterbury for example, was represented in thirty-one different companies, besides those enlisted in the navy and in other States. Companies and commanders were changed about. One of the earliest to enlist was Company H, Second Regiment from Waterbury, called the City Guard, and just before the call for troops changed to Company B, Artillery. When it reached camp in the spring of 1861, it was assigned to the First Regiment, and its captain, Chatfield, was promoted to be colonel of another regiment. A company from Meriden, the Light Guard, had a similar experience.

The first call for troops was for three months, limited to that time both because it was not expected that the war would be long, and because that was the length of time state troops could be called on to put down insurrection. Later, men were asked to enlist for three years or the war, with calls for nine-months and ninety-day regiments at special times. Certain regiments represented the county as such more completely than others, which might nevertheless contain many men from this region. These were the old Second, at this time including also men from other parts of the state; the Fifteenth, a three-years regiment formed during the war; two nine-months regiments, the Twenty-third from New Haven County and its old companion Fairfield; and the Twenty-seventh, recruited wholly from New Haven County.

The First Regiment of Connecticut Volunteers, under Daniel Tyler, assembled in New Haven April 20th, spending a few nights in the college buildings, available because of vacation, and then went into camp in open fields near the hospital. May 9th, with 780 men, it left by steamer *Bienville* for Washington where it was received with enthusiasm because of its complete equipment. Company D from Waterbury, (originally Company H, infantry, the City Guard, and just before the war changed to Company B, artillery, Second Regiment) had the largest number in its ranks of any single company from that city during the war—79 men and officers. Its captain, Chatfield, was made major of the regiment, later colonel of the Third, and later still of the Sixth. Company F was from Meriden, also formerly of the Second Regiment. These men were at Bull Run, after which special mention was made of Colonel Chatfield for gallantry, and at the preceding minor engagements. Its term of enlistment expired before Bull Run, but it voted to participate in the

battle. The first man to enlist from Milford was in Captain Chatfield's company, George Van Horn, for whom the Milford G. A. R. Post is named.

The Second Regiment, Colonel Terry, one of the three to volunteer at the outbreak of the war, for three months, left camp in Brewster's Park in New Haven May 10th, embarking at Long Wharf in the steamer *Cahawba*. Among the companies from the county were the New Haven Grays under Captain Osborn, carrying a new national flag presented by the ladies of the city; Company F, also from New Haven; Company D from Derby. Its camp near Washington, about a mile and a half from the capitol, was given a Connecticut name famous in the Revolution, Trumbull. It was on high ground in the midst of woods, which left a handsome grove when the underbrush was cleared away. Like the First Regiment, the Second soon left for another camp nearer the front, was in minor engagements, having its principal experience at Bull Run, where it suffered only slight loss, two killed and five wounded. Special mention was made of Colonel Terry for gallantry and good conduct. Terry was descended, among other illustrious ancestors, from two founders of Yale, James Pierpont and Noadiah Russell, was a graduate of the Yale Law school and practicing law in New Haven, but was interested in military matters and had been a member of the Grays for years.

The other three months regiment, the Third, also contained men from the county. It saw the same service in the Connecticut brigade. Colonel Tyler of Norwich was the only professional soldier, and was soon promoted to be in charge of the three regiments. His drill and discipline brought them to a state of efficiency. One of the New Haven officers wrote of him, "Col. Daniel Tyler of the First Regiment has been made a brigadier. Our Connecticut regiments will form one brigade, and he will command. He is a superior officer, and we all have confidence in him." At first the men regarded him without enthusiasm as a crusty soldier, for while they were volunteers, he was from West Point and a strict disciplinarian. But his bravery and watchful care of the men gained their admiration and respect, if not love. In his report after the battle of Bull Run he said, "At seven o'clock Tuesday evening I saw the three Connecticut regiments, with 2,000 bayonets, march under the guns of Fort Corcoran in good order, after having saved us not only a large amount of public property, but the mortification of seeing our standing camps fall into the hands of the enemy." General Tyler fired the first gun at Bull Run, the Connecticut troops led the advance, and were the last to leave the field. The three regiments were mustered out July 1861.

Bull Run taught the necessity of preparing for a long war. During the summer and autumn of 1861, the drums of recruiting squads were heard everywhere, and regiments enlisted for three years or the war were sent off. Many of the men from the three months regiments re-enlisted.

The Fifth Regiment mustered July 1861, in Hartford, but containing many men from New Haven County, was known as the "Marching Fifth"

because it tramped more miles than any Connecticut regiment. It was in twenty-three engagements, the most terrible that of Cedar Mountain, September 1862, when Lieutenant Dutton of New Haven and many officers were killed; and it marched with Sherman to the sea.

The Sixth, organized in New Haven, August 1861, with Colonel Chatfield at its head, succeeded by another Waterbury man, Redfield Duryee and by A. P. Rockwell of Meriden, had the Foot Guards as Company K, and the Phoenix Guards of Waterbury as Company D. On account of the terms of their charter, the Foot Guards could not leave the State, and organized a separate company for war, while the home command served in a variety of ways. This regiment served in twenty-five engagements, some of them around Charleston, and lost its colonel of wounds received at Morris Island, S. C. It served at Petersburg, Richmond, and at the capture of Fort Fisher. When it returned at the end of its term of service, many re-enlisted.

The Seventh, organized in the summer of 1861 under Colonel Terry, fought in nineteen engagements,—in the Department of the South, first in Georgia, North and South Carolina and in Virginia. Company G, whose captain, E. S. Hitchcock, and most of the men were from the Grays and from New Haven, were called the Townsend Rifles, after James M. Townsend a former captain, who always did much for the company. They were in the Port Royal expedition, the first company of Union troops to land on the soil of South Carolina; in the operations around Fort Pulaski, and their flag was the first flag in Georgia after the rebellion broke out; they were also in Florida, and with the Sixth and Tenth, were in the expedition against Charleston, where they had a battery called the "swamp angel." The Sixth and Seventh were called the "Fighting Regiments," and sister regiments, since they were often brigaded together. These two, with the Tenth, were used in the bitter contest to get Fort Fisher. Supposably impregnable, this fort was guardian of the last port, Wilmington, held by the South, through which imports of munitions and exports of cotton could pass. Terry, the "hero of Fort Fisher," captured seven blockade runners, 160 guns, and 2,000 men, and was made a major-general in the regular army, the only civilian officer in the war thus honored.

The Eighth Regiment which left Hartford October 1861, had one of the longest terms of service, four years and two months. Company E was the third regular volunteer company from Waterbury. It was at Newbern, N. C., fought at Antietam with great loss, when only a hundred of the regiment could gather around the colors; at Fredericksburg; at Roanoke Island and at Cold Harbor. At one time it was constantly under arms for eight days, and lost one third of its fighting strength.

The Ninth, organized September 1861 at Camp English, New Haven, was composed almost wholly of Irishmen, and most of them from this county, with Thomas Cahill of New Haven as first colonel. This regiment saw service in the Shenandoah valley, at Cedar Creek and Savannah.

NEW HAVEN GRAY'S GRAND MARCH



View from Chapel St. looking old
State House and
Castle. 1859.

Composed & arranged for the
PIANO FORTE
and most respectfully dedicated to
CAPT. J. M. TOWNSEND

J. M. HUBBARD

NEW YORK
PUBLISHED BY S. T. GORDON 706 BROADWAY
NEW HAVEN SKINNER & SPERRY 154 CHAPEL ST.

(Courtesy of R. C. Chamberlain, New Haven)

It lost many men while digging Farragut's canal at Vicksburg, 153 of the 350 employed there dying of disease. It was allowed to make the first public parade through New Orleans after the capture of the city. Its history before the war is interesting. Two companies of the old Second Regiment, D and E, of New Haven and Birmingham, had been made up of young Irishmen. In 1855 they had disbanded because of the "Know Nothing" excitement, since they were foreign born, but in 1857 an independent organization, the Emmet Guards, was formed by some of the officers of the two companies. This remained as an independent company until it became the nucleus of the Ninth Regiment, its captain, Cahill, becoming colonel. After the war the Emmet Guards were re-organized as the Sarsfield Guards, Company C, Second Regiment, C. N. G. The first military funeral of the war in Waterbury was for Lieut. Patrick Claffey, October 1862.

Another regiment in which the county was particularly interested was the Tenth. Its first colonel, Charles N. Russell of Derby,—one of the six men from that town who rose to be colonels,—who had been with the Second Regiment on its three months service, brought a whole company with him to this regiment. He had raised a company for the Eighth regiment, and when the Governor offered him the position of lieutenant-colonel of the Tenth, the company objected to his going, with the result that the matter was compromised by transferring the company. He went with Burnside to North Carolina, and was killed at Roanoke Island, while leading a charge. He was followed as colonel by E. D. S. Goodyear of North Haven, who was wounded at Fort Gregg, and by E. S. Greeley. This regiment was in twenty-seven engagements, among them Butler's expedition up the James River to cut off Richmond from the South. It distinguished itself at Kinston, where it captured 500 prisoners with small arms and eleven guns.

The Fourteenth Regiment was the first of the seven regiments which Connecticut put in the field when Lincoln called for 300,000 more volunteers, July 1, 1862. This one, formed in August from the State in general, was in twenty-four engagements, and in proportion to its numbers and length of service had the heaviest percentage of losses. It was in the battle of Antietam without drill, and with only partial equipment, having been mustered in only two weeks, and fought for thirty-six hours without anything to drink, and only a little hard-tack to eat. It lost heavily at Fredericksburg and Chancellorsville. The greatest number of men from Waterbury in any single regiment were in this, 157 in all. The minister of the Second Congregational Church of Guilford, Rev. Samuel Fisk, enlisted in this regiment as a private, later becoming captain. He was captured at Chancellorsville, was in Libby prison, released, wounded the first day of the battle of the Wilderness, and died soon. Under his pen name he wrote "Dunn Browne in the Army." At Gettysburg the regiment made a brilliant charge, capturing five battle flags and forty prisoners.



(Courtesy of the New Haven Grays)

AT THE CORNER OF CHURCH AND CHAPEL STREETS, NEW HAVEN, 1864

The Twentieth, recruited in New Haven County, with the exception of three companies from Hartford County, had a similar record. It fought with heavy losses at Chancellorsville, Gettysburg, and was in Sherman's march to the sea. After its first colonel was wounded at Chancellorsville, it was commanded by Colonel Wooster of Derby and Colonel Buckingham of Seymour. Companies F and G were from New Haven, Company H from Waterbury, and Hamden had forty-seven men in the regiment, most of them in Company I. Mr. H. M. Bradley says of Colonel Wooster, "a descendant of the first settler, [he] was on the military affairs committee of the legislature at the opening of the war. He became colonel of the 20th Connecticut Infantry in 1862; was captured at Chancellorsville and confined in Libby Prison, but was exchanged in time to lead his regiment at Gettysburg. In 1864 he became colonel of the 29th colored regiment and was made judge of the city of Richmond after its capture."

When the men were called for three years it was first proposed to have a regiment from the town of New Haven, but in order to raise it in thirty days, the plan was changed to a county regiment. "Grand Union Rallies" were held, and impassioned appeals made to form such a regiment. Governor Buckingham said, "Close your factories and workshops, turn aside from your farms, and your homes, meet face to face the enemies of your liberties." In the summer of 1862 one-third of the employes of the Waterbury Clock Company were in the service. On the other hand, Waterbury furnished, besides other things, two-thirds of the brass ornaments worn by the soldiers, an average of one pound to each man in the army. To hasten enlistments, committees were formed, several offices were opened in New Haven, some in tents on the Green, and two in Meriden. The regiment, the Fifteenth, was called the Lyon Regiment, for a Connecticut man, Gen. Nathaniel Lyon of the regular army, who had been recently killed at Wilson's Creek, Missouri, in a wavering state saved to the Union by his energetic action, the first Union general killed in the war. The regiment went into camp in August, 1861, at Camp Lyon, Oyster Point, New Haven, and late in the same month left by rail and transport for the front. It arrived at the time of the second battle of Bull Run, and could see the movements of the army, and hear the guns. Many of the officers as well as men were from the Second Regiment, recently returned from the first three months service. Its colonels were Dexter Wright, C. L. Upham and Samuel Tolles. It was made up as follows,—Companies A and F from Meriden, Company A under Capt. Julius Bassett being the first to arrive in camp with 85 men; Company B under the special patronage of the New Haven Grays, from Branford, New Haven, North Haven and East Haven; the latter having 31 men in the regiment, the most in any during the war; Companies C and I from New Haven; Company E from New Haven, East Haven, Enfield, Milford and Orange; Company G from thirteen different towns in the state; Company H from Naugatuck and New Haven; Company K from Wallingford, North Haven and Northford; and Company N from Branford. It was

thus particularly a New Haven County regiment. It was stationed for a time at Long Bridge, Virginia, doing a kind of police duty at the capital of the nation, for this was the only route leading directly from Washington to the Confederacy. Here many men were lost from ague and malaria, in guarding the foggy marshes on the Potomac below Washington, "those accursed Potomac flats." The regiment was in thirty-one engagements, including the battle of Fredericksburg, and the siege of Suffolk, Virginia. It went through an epidemic of yellow fever at Newbern, N. C., where a monument to the regiment has been erected. Many men were taken prisoners when it was surrounded at Kinston, and twenty-four were killed, including Captain Bassett, and nineteen wounded. The brigade had been posted where a rebel force of 15,000 men could come between it and the main column and attack it from the rear. The men were in Libby Prison for a few days until their paroles were ready.

The Twenty-third, a nine months regiment formed in 1862 at Camp Terry, Grape Vine Point, New Haven, from this and Fairfield counties, had for its colonel a Waterbury man, C. E. L. Holmes. Waterbury men were in Company A, organized in 1861 as the Union Guard, a home company, successor to the City Guard gone with the First Regiment; and Company H, the Zouaves, also recently organized of young men under twenty. This regiment served under General Banks in the Department of the Gulf. It carried a flag decorated, besides the state coat of arms, with designs representing among other things, Judges Cave and the Charter Oak.

Another nine months regiment formed at this time, the Twenty-seventh, was, like the Fifteenth, a child of the Second, recruited wholly from this county, "composed," says an official record, "of some of the finest and best educated young men resident in the county." One company, under Captain Sloat, was recruited in the name of the New Haven Grays, and before its departure was given by them a full complement of knapsacks of the best make, more serviceable and convenient than those furnished by the state. When taken prisoners after the battle of Chancellorsville, the men destroyed these knapsacks in a bonfire to prevent their falling into the hands of the rebels. The suggestion to do this came from a remark of Lieut.-Colonel Merwin's, "Boys, those knapsacks will make a good fire for our coffee tonight." Its colonels, R. S. Bostwick, H. C. Merwin, and J. H. Coburn, were all from New Haven. It left October, 1862, with 829 men and was assigned to the Army of the Potomac. Though in service for only a short time, it was in the battles of Fredericksburg, in December, where it lost heavily, 105 officers and men killed and wounded and three missing; at Chancellorsville in May, also with heavy losses, 292 officers and men, most of whom were captured, all but two companies cut off and taken prisoners. After this battle many were in Libby Prison but were soon exchanged. Seventy-five of the regiment who were not captured at Chancellorsville, fought at Gettysburg, planting the colors on Round Top. Thirty-nine were killed,

wounded and missing in this battle. Lieutenant-Colonel Merwin, just out of a Southern prison, was killed. He had been a sergeant in the three months campaign, and was one of the leading spirits in recruiting and organizing the Twenty-seventh.

Others should be mentioned but for lack of space, such as the Twenty-ninth, the first colored regiment sent from Connecticut, with William B. Wooster of Derby colonel, and David Torrance as lieutenant-colonel, the latter pursuing his legal studies with his colonel, and later becoming his partner in the practice of law. This regiment was one of the first to enter Richmond after its evacuation. Another,—one of the most famous organizations in which the county was represented,—the First Connecticut Cavalry, grew from a battalion of four companies organized in Meriden, to a regiment. It was in service nearly four years, under Erastus Blakeslee and Brayton Ives. It participated in 88 engagements, won three of the Congressional Medals given to Connecticut soldiers, and suffered casualties of 550, or over 56%. Special honors were given it. It was detailed to escort General Grant when he went to receive Lee's surrender, when its bugler, Harmon Voltz, who has recently died, sounded taps as part of the formal ceremony. It was allowed to return to the state mounted, a privilege granted no other regiment. A battalion was sent to Gettysburg at the laying of the cornerstone of the soldiers' monument.

Commodore Foote on the Mississippi

One of the most important achievements of the war was carried out by Commodore Andrew Hull Foote of New Haven. He had had a long and varied experience before this war, having in the course of his duties been around the world. Entering the navy as a midshipman, the first duty to which he was assigned was in the West Indies; he had been in the Pacific, the East Indies, two years in the Mediterranean, on the coast of Africa, suppressing the slave trade, in China, and in 1861 was in charge of the Brooklyn Navy Yard. In August he was put in command of the "naval operations upon the western waters," to storm the forts which the rebels had built on the Mississippi, Tennessee and Cumberland rivers, with the coöperation of land forces. He built and organized a flotilla of gunboats, and with them in February captured Fort Henry on the Tennessee without help from the army, which did not arrive in time. A combined attack with Grant caused the surrender in the same month of Fort Donelson. Here Foote was severely wounded and the gunboats received heavy losses. In the next two months New Madrid and Island Number Ten were taken. The passage down the Mississippi was cleared and the way opened for the Union forces. After this Foote was promoted to be rear admiral, but while preparing to go to the South Atlantic Squadron, died of disease and wound received at Fort Donelson. One incident of this campaign is like a happening in the Revolution under General Wooster. Commodore Foote on leaving Cairo against the forts, went to church, and finding no minister there, went



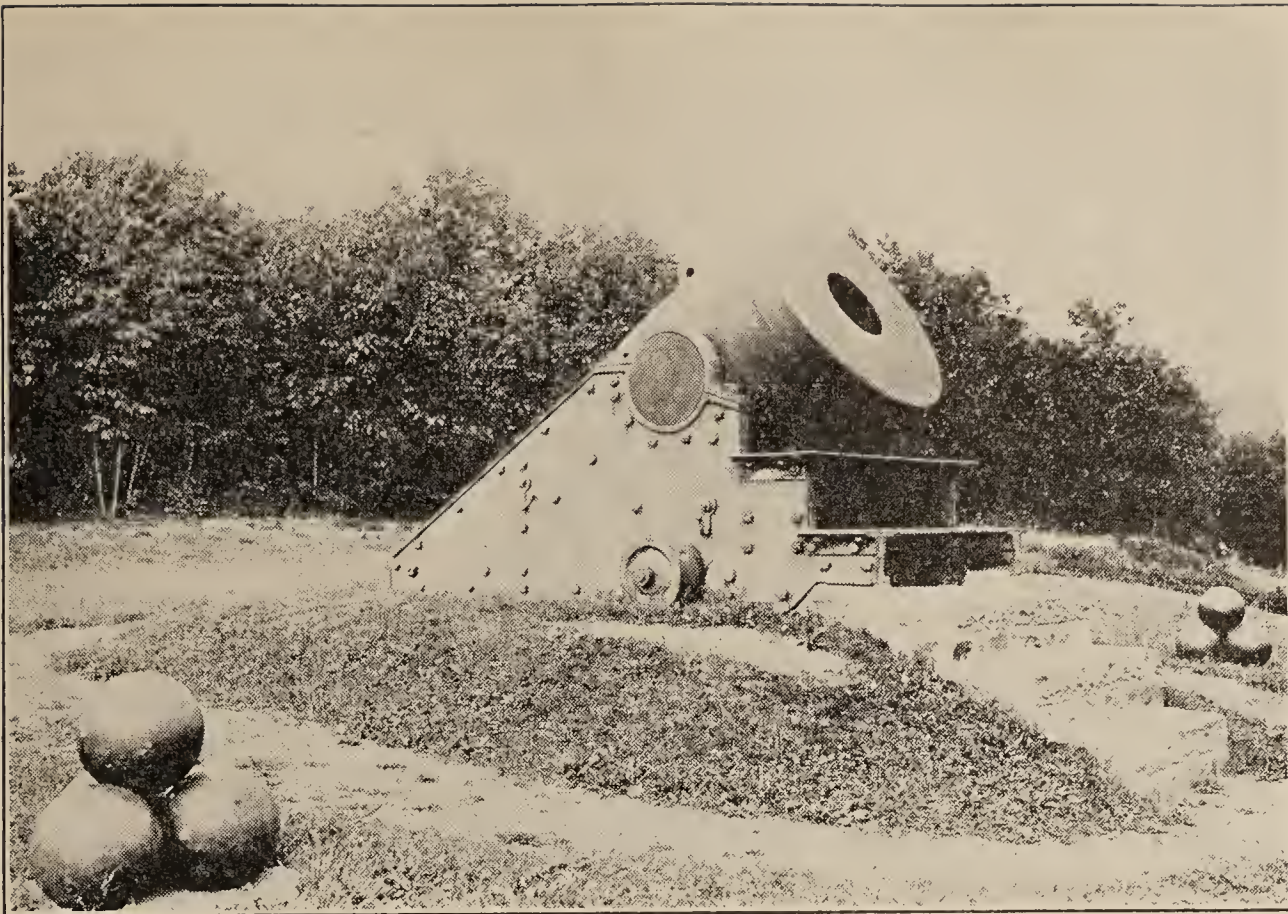
THE OLD GOVERNOR FOOTE PLACE, CHESHIRE
Home of Admiral Foote

into the pulpit and conducted service, including a sermon. This sort of thing was nothing new for him, for as Ensign Foote he had appealed with great success to Wallingford children to sign temperance pledges, and twice sailors on his ships, one of them the *Cumberland*, had given up their ration of spirits. He was also the first president of the Soldiers Aid Society, organized in Washington to receive and distribute supplies sent to soldiers by their friends.

The Monitor and the Merrimac

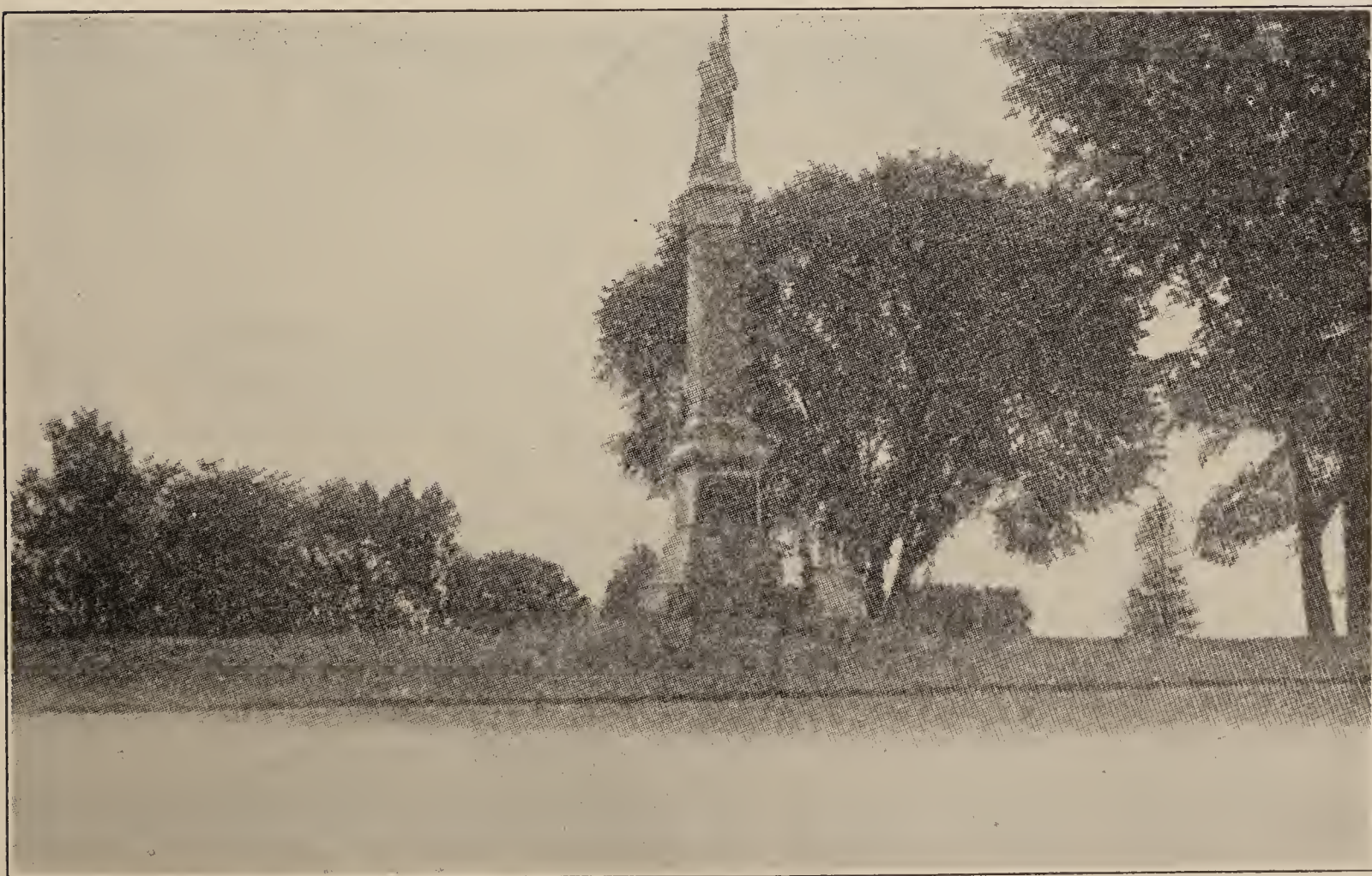
This war also saw a revolution in naval warfare, in which a man from this county, C. S. Bushnell, played an important part,—the building of the *Monitor*, whose achievements meant the coming of the day of ironclads. In the words of its inventor, "The impregnable and aggressive character of this structure will admonish the leaders of the Southern Rebellion that the batteries on the banks of their rivers will no longer present barriers to the entrance of the Union forces. The ironclad intruder will thus prove a severe *monitor* to them." In 1861 Bushnell consulted the Swedish inventor, John Ericsson, a naturalized American citizen, in the course of a business conference in connection with building the proposed ironclad *Galena*. At the close of the interview, Ericsson brought out a small dust-covered box from which he took the plans and paste-board model of a floating battery which had been offered to Napoleon III in the Crimean War too late to be of service and returned with a medal and letter of courteous thanks. This, Ericsson said, would be absolutely impregnable to the heaviest shot or shell, and moreover could be built in time to go against the *Merrimac* at once.

Mr. Bushnell instantly saw the value of the invention, and with great promptness and energy acted to get it adopted by the Naval Board at Washington, which must approve all plans of ironclad vessels. To convince all the members of the Board it became necessary for the inventor himself to appear before them. To bring this about was a difficult matter, since Ericsson felt that he had been badly treated in the matter of the *Princeton*, and had said that he would have nothing more to do with the Government, or ever set his foot in Washington. Mr. Bushnell managed to get him there, and said "he thrilled every person present with his vivid description of what the little boat would be and what she could do; that in ninety days time she could be built; although the rebels had already been four months at work on the *Merrimac*, with all the appliances of the Norfolk Navy Yard to help them." The Naval Board, however, was not so thrilled as to prevent them from making a good bargain with the promoters of the new boat. Again in Mr. Bushnell's words,— "For their own protection, therefore, and out of their superabundant caution, they insisted on inserting in the contract a clause requiring us to guarantee the complete success of the Battery, so that in case she proved a failure, the Government might be refunded the amounts advanced us from time to time during her construction."



(Photograph by E. G. Wooster, New Haven)

MORTAR USED AT PETERSBURG, VIRGINIA, IN THE CIVIL
WAR, HUBBARD PARK, MERIDEN



SOLDIERS' MONUMENT, BRANFORD

Four men, one of them Mr. Bushnell, took the risks, N. D. Sperry of New Haven one of two bondsmen giving Mr. Bushnell's bond the endorsement the Government required. The *Monitor* was still the property of her builders on what was really a trial trip when she defeated the *Merrimac*. The United States Government did not accept her until after her success was determined. Thus the Naval Board got the model for an epoch making vessel without spending anything in experiments. On the other hand, there was great clamor that the Battery would prove another "Ericcson failure" and disgrace the Board for recommending it, and as Secretary Welles, another Connecticut man, wrote Mr. Bushnell, they were the ones "who took the responsibility and would have incurred the disgrace had Ericcson's invention proved a failure," and who "adopted and pursued through ridicule and assault the *Monitor* experiment." Thomas Fitch Rowland, who built the hull and turret of the *Monitor*, was the son of George Rowland of New Haven. It may be added that C. S. Bushnell built more steamships for the Government than any other builder in the country,—eight monitor batteries, among them the *Puritan* and the *Dictator*.

On March 9th, 1862, the *Monitor* was sent against the *Merrimac*, which had sunk the *Cumberland* and burned the *Congress* on the day before, and seemed about to destroy the Union Navy. "Our ships were as paper, our cannon as popguns. The monster could laugh at our forts and frigates." This would have meant losing Fortress Monroe with the hold on Virginia, the raising of the blockade and the recognition of the Confederacy abroad. In the engagement, because of the caution of the Admiral, only fifteen pounds of powder were used at a charge in the guns on the *Monitor*, though Captain Ericcson was confident that if thirty pounds had been used the *Merrimac* would have been sunk inside of thirty minutes after the battle opened. The "Cheese-box on a raft" had vindicated the faith of its inventor and builders.

The Sanitary Commission and Work at Home

While the soldiers were fighting, there was much work to be done at home. In 1861 the Directors of the General Hospital in New Haven offered accommodation to such sick and wounded soldiers as the Surgeon General of the United States Army should send. Its use was gradually extended until 1863, when it was taken over by the War Department as a military hospital, the State hospital moving to a building on Whalley Avenue. Temporary barracks and tents increased its capacity to 1,500 beds and it was used in this way until 1865. The State Legislature appropriated several thousand dollars for this purpose, and it was called the Knight Hospital, for Dr. Jonathan Knight of New Haven. After one battle, that of Fair Oaks, 250 sick and wounded soldiers arrived, and in all over 25,000 soldiers were treated here. In 1865 the military hospital was closed and the State Hospital returned to its buildings. In 1870 a monument was put up in Grove Street Cemetery by the State

for the 204 United States soldiers who died in this hospital and were buried there.

In the summer of 1862 the U. S. Sanitary Commission was organized and in the same year the New Haven Soldiers Aid Society. The latter was soon authorized by the U. S. Sanitary Commission to act for it throughout the whole state. This society forwarded 1,412 boxes to the Connecticut regiments and to the hospitals, filled with all kinds of supplies from New Haven and the 120 towns which had local associations. The amount of work accomplished was enormous. Madison women once sent off 5,000 yards of bandages in three days; and one woman in New Haven during two years superintended in her house the cutting out of 7,000 shirts and pairs of drawers. To raise money great fairs were held.

The Chaplains' Aid Society was organized in New Haven soon after. Its object was to supply the chaplains of Connecticut regiments with chapel-tents, furnished with books, in a portable book case provided by Francis Wayland of New Haven, magazines, newspapers. Sunday Schools contributed money for tents, but not many were sent, for they could too easily be seized for military use and were hard to transport. Eight regiments received them. Those which had been sent were left behind or used for hospitals, but they might be considered predecessors of the Y. M. C. A. huts in the World War. When the Connecticut Branch of the U. S. Christian Commission was organized in 1864 this society became a branch of that organization. In this connection should be noticed the efforts of Mr. Alfred Walker, father of the chaplain who first suggested the chapel tents, who organized and carried on an efficient system for sending things to the soldiers at the front, without expense to the individual senders. Money was contributed by individuals, and the work done by Mr. Walker and his helpers. He got free transportation to New York whence the government carried the shipments to Washington. Boxes forwarded by him were sent to the Commission and to Connecticut regiments.

There was also some military organization among those at home. This may be shown by the work done by the Grays. The Veteran Grays were formed at the beginning of the war, with officers, uniform, drills and parades, "an organization of the past members," in the words of the vote to organize, "to continue the company's home establishment." Its duties were "to be the almoner of contribution for the families and friends of our brave associates who are so nobly serving their country, taking charge of their armory during their absence at the seat of war, and (to) guard and protect their property left behind, and to receive their shares of appropriations which the city has made for the families of those who have volunteered their service and invest the same for their benefit." One of the first public appearances of the Veteran Grays was as part of the escort of the active Grays on their march from the Green to the steamship on which they left for the front. They soon acted as part of the military escort at the funeral of Maj. Theodore Winthrop, killed

in an engagement in Virginia, and took part in many funeral ceremonies for soldiers,—of Colonel Russell of Derby, killed at Roanoke Island, of Admiral Foote, of Colonel Merwin, and others. A pleasant duty was welcoming regiments as they returned from their terms of enlistment.

The active Grays after their return, performed the same duties; and were also on guard at the armory when draft riots were feared, and over a band of conscripts at Grape Vine Point, escorting them from the camp to the steamboat. As has been seen, they were active in recruiting and giving equipment to companies going to the front, and twice offered their services as a company at times of special alarm.

Military Affairs Until the World War

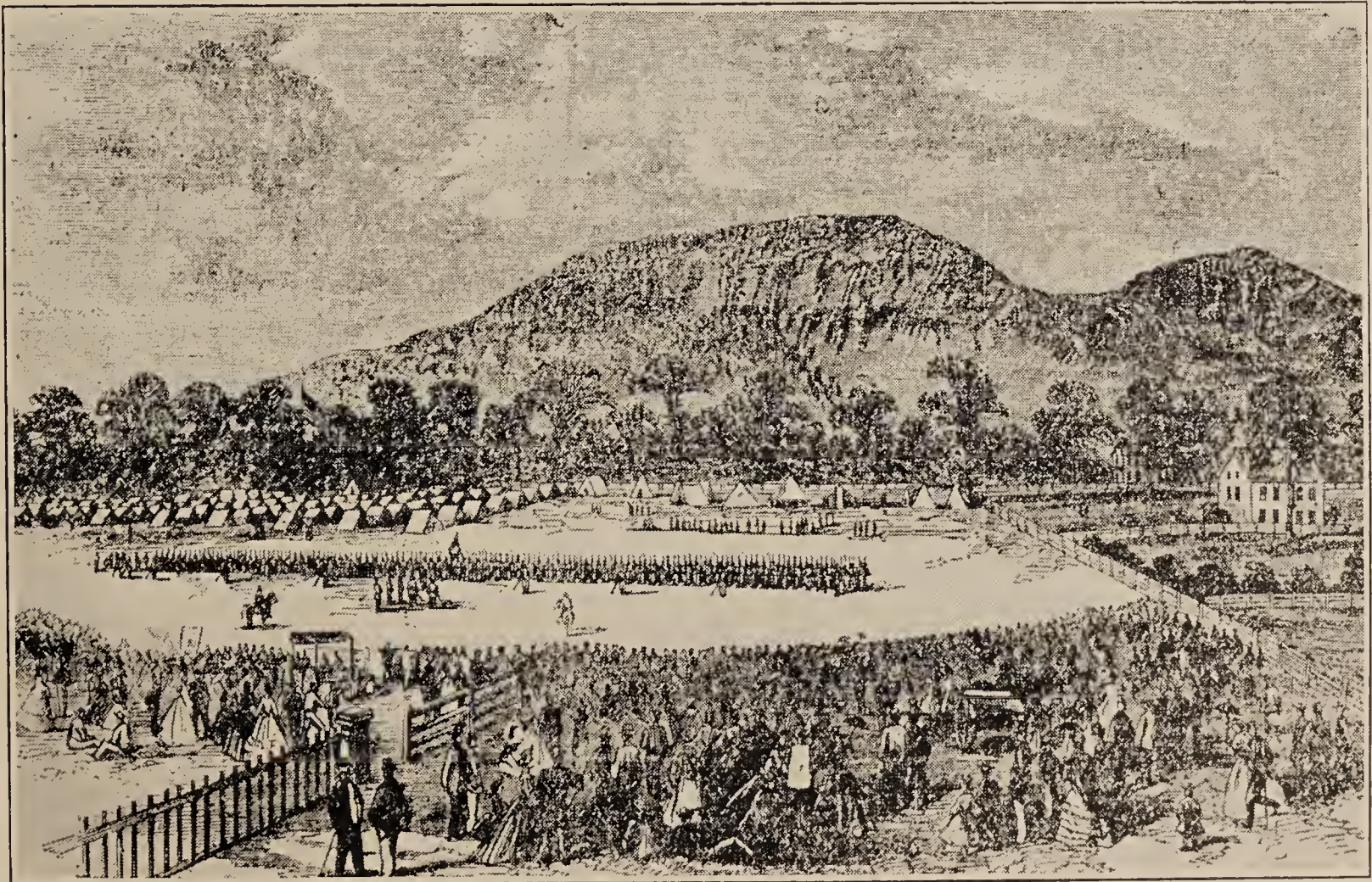
Immediately after the Civil War the military forces of the state were reorganized, under the new name of Connecticut National Guard, which is in a sense a misnomer. The state once more had eight regiments, formed into two brigades, the Second Regiment in the Second Brigade. In 1867 the number of regiments was reduced to four, one for each Congressional district, and 1871 the number of brigades to one. New Haven County men did most to bring about this reorganization; Stephen W. Kellogg of Waterbury and William H. Russell of New Haven. The former drafted the law and was soon made brigadier-general of the Second Brigade, followed as colonel by S. E. Merwin, Jr., of New Haven. William H. Russell was major-general of the militia of the state, and his chief of staff was Francis Wayland, also of New Haven.

According to the law of 1865 six-day encampments were held, at first in different places in the districts of the regiments, as Camp Russell in New Haven in 1866, and Camp Mansfield in Bridgeport in 1867. The time was reduced to four days in 1867, and returned to six by the new law of 1871. Later the state leased ground at Niantic, and 1882 began buying land near the village. After that the whole brigade went into camp at the same time.

By the law of 1865 the state furnished uniforms, which were required, to the regret of some of the older companies. The Grays for instance explained that they did not intend to discard the old uniform altogether. "In fact," their captain wrote, "the determination exists to cling to the gray, and make good use of it on all parades not ordered by the state or military officials, and thus endeavor to perpetuate the name of the time-honored corps." In the spring of 1866, accordingly, the company drilled in the morning in the blue state uniform, and paraded in the afternoon in the gray; and again, most appropriately in the gray in the fall at their semi-centennial. In 1871 regiments were allowed to choose their own uniforms, the state paying \$25 toward them, further expense to be made up by the companies themselves. Various familiar means were taken to raise "uniform funds," sociables and lectures, one of the latter being given in Waterbury by O'Donovan Rossa, "the famous hot-cannon ball



SOLDIERS' MONUMENT, EAST ROCK, NEW HAVEN



(From the collection of the New Haven Colony Historical Society)

CAMP RUSSELL, EAST ROCK, 1865
Named after General William H. Russell

tosser." The Second Regiment chose a uniform of gray, with black and gold trimmings. In 1886 the different uniforms of the regiments were discarded, and all must appear alike in blue uniforms, furnished by the state and made similar to those of the Regular Army, dark blue coats, light blue trousers and white trimmings.

Other happenings for the thirty years after the close of the Civil War were peaceful drills, parades, encampments, dedications of soldiers' monuments, social events and visits exchanged with other companies and regiments. Particularly noteworthy among the latter are the visit to Washington to participate in the inaugural parade for General Grant, when the Second Regiment, through no fault of its own, did not arrive in time for the parade, and was given a separate review the next day; and the annual encampment of 1876 held by special arrangement in Philadelphia for a week in September. The Grays had also been invited to represent the state in the "Centennial Legion" parade on July Fourth, made up of companies from each of the thirteen original states, and led by an ex-Confederate general.

The one war-like event of these years has already been described, the excursion to Charles Island on the occasion of the prize fight proposed to be held there by some New York toughs.

The military system in 1890, a quarter of a century after the close of the Civil War was described by Colonel Burpee for the interest as he said of "any one who, years hence, may be looking up the military history and customs of these times. Enlistment is for five years. The drill season is from November 1 to June 1, each company being required to drill each week long enough to make a total of five hours for the month. Special attention is bestowed upon guard duty and skirmish drill. Particular instruction is given to line officers and also to non-commissioned officers who meet regularly for that purpose. And after January 1 each year, there is at least one battalion drill a month. In the spring each company in the state is required to devote one day to out-of-door drill and one day in the fall is likewise set apart for target practice. There is also one annual muster and inspection. Late in summer, the whole brigade, four regiments, goes into camp on the State's grounds at Niantic for a six days' tour of duty." Regulations are made for pay and fines. "The entire militia is governed by the State Regulations."

The Second Regiment was made up of the following companies:

Company A, the Chatfield Guard from Waterbury.

Company B, the City Guard, New Haven, organized 1861 by young Germans.

Company C, the Sarsfield Guard, New Haven, (the old Emmet Guard) organized 1865 by Irishmen.

Company D for a time was the Sherman Guard of Waterbury, disbanded in 1871. The National Blues of New Haven, organized 1828 as an artillery company, attached for a time to the Second Regiment as Battery F, and later becoming Infantry Company D.

Company E, the Light Guards of New Haven, organized 1862.

Company F, the Grays, organized 1816.

Company G, the Waterbury Light Guard organized 1871.

Company H, from Middletown.

Company I, the Eaton Guard organized in Meriden at the time of draft riots 1863.

Company K, from Wallingford.

Company L, the Chamberlain Guard, from Meriden.

Besides these were the Second Company of Governor's Foot Guards, and the Second Company Governor's Horse Guards. The latter in 1901 became Troop A of the State Militia. Another independent company was the (colored) Wilkin's Guard. The charter of the Foot Guards had been changed in 1809 to enable men to enlist from East Haven, North Haven, Hamden and Woodbridge.

When the Spanish War broke out in 1898 the United States Government called for men to serve for two years, Connecticut to furnish one regiment of infantry, one light battery, and two heavy batteries. All the state organizations offered their services even before the actual declaration of war, and were requested to recruit to war strength. It was arranged that those which went should go as volunteer units, excused from state service, and under Federal control during the war. The Second Regiment twice offered its services, but as choice was made according to the seniority of colonels, the First and Third were the regiments accepted. The others, with good equipment and full quota, held themselves in readiness, and spent time in drill and field work. Men served as volunteers, however, both in the army and navy, and both in Cuba and the Philippines, eighty-two from Waterbury alone.

The units accepted from this county were Battery A, Light Artillery, Branford; Battery C, and Battery A (Yale), Heavy Artillery; and the Naval Reserves. A Meriden company, known officially as Company L, First Infantry, United States Volunteers, was recruited by Capt. C. B. Bowen, on the call for additional forces. The men were sent first to the state camp at Niantic, then to the artillery stations in Connecticut, and the infantry company to Fort Knox, Maine, and later to Camp Alger, Virginia. No Connecticut organizations were sent to Cuba. The troops suffered from the unprepared condition of the War Department, having poor shoes and worn-out tents at Niantic, inefficient commissary and transportation service and unsanitary camps. An auxiliary cruiser, named the *Yale* by the government was presented by the University with two guns called Eli and Handsome Dan. This cruiser took many prizes, and did valuable service in holding the Spanish fleet in Santiago.

In June, 1916, the National Guard was called out for service on the Mexican border for a few months, to keep the rebel chieftain, Villa, from carrying out a supposed plan of invading the United States, and to prevent any trouble that might come from the war between him and Carranza.



STATE ARMORY, MERIDEN

CHAPTER VII

THE WORLD WAR

Formation of a New England Division

In the World War, the "first strong call on the united nation since 1775," the original design of the authorities had been to have the American forces represent the country as a whole. This was changed to a scheme of territorial organization, which put together men of neighboring localities, with one exception, the Forty-second or Rainbow Division. Accordingly a New England or "Yankee" Division, the Twenty-sixth, was formed, in which every state in New England was represented. Emerson G. Taylor, the historian of "New England in France," speaks of the historical appropriateness of this plan. "Units of the New England Militia have had a long history. Many of them dated their organization back to the days of the Revolution or even earlier; they were lineal descendants of Colonial train bands or of Washington's brigades. Many had played a gallant part in previous wars of the Nation. The fathers and grandfathers of not a few company officers had been captains or lieutenants in the same company a generation or two before." His history, he says, "is a record of the expression of that love for its own territorial, localized military unit which has always linked closely together the American community and the American soldier."

In quoting Pershing's words to Foch: "My position was stated quite clearly, that strategical employment of the First Army as a unit would be undertaken when desired, but its disruption to carry out these proposals would not be entertained," Colonel Burpee comments, "The words have a familiar ring to readers of Connecticut history," and speaks of the "old, old problem of state sentiment and federal direction, dating back to the founding of the nation." All this calls to mind from Connecticut history responses to demands such as those of Governor Fletcher of Colonial days, and the state's attitude in the War of 1812 on service of its troops under other than state commanders.

In 1917 National Guard units were drafted into Federal service with their own officers in many instances. Local troops were grouped as the One Hundred and Second Infantry under Colonel Isbell, in the Yankee Division, the Twenty-sixth. (Numbers of the first 25 divisions and the first 100 regiments were reserved for the Regular Army). This division contained the First and Second Connecticut Infantry, with some men from

Massachusetts and Vermont; the One Hundred and Third Field Artillery under Col. Emory T. Smith, U. S. A., also containing some men from outside Connecticut; the One Hundred and First Machine Gun Battalion under Maj. James L. Howard, with some Vermont men in its ranks; and an ambulance and Field Hospital in the One Hundred and First Sanitary Train. The Naval Militia were distributed among ships and navy yards and held as Federal reserves.

Men were chosen by a select service law, according to which they were selected by lot from classes arranged after complete compulsory registration of all citizens between the ages of twenty-one and thirty. There were four classes, but as a matter of fact, men were drawn from only the first class. Some difficulties were experienced over the "Work or Fight" rule and the exclusion of aliens, who then took over the good jobs of the soldiers. Some of course took out citizenship papers.

This was a citizen army, old regiments filled up with enthusiastic recruits, moved of course by many reasons, adventure as well as patriotism. They were called out at various dates after the last of March, 1917, and first put on guard duty at places like munition plants. Later, when war had been declared, they were assembled, towards the end of July, in state camps for physical examinations of all kinds, and intensive training, for they had to learn about the new equipment and organization due to the new kind of warfare. Their status at first was that of state troops temporarily in Federal service, but in August they were drafted into United States service, and organized in the Twenty-sixth Division under Maj.-Gen. Clarence R. Edwards.

As in the Civil War, every kind of agency, Federal, state, private, was called on to furnish equipment and clothing, though much was to be issued in France. Days of the Revolution were recalled, when Connecticut was known as the Provision State, and of the Civil War, when a Connecticut regiment called forth the comment in Washington, "Thank God for one regiment fully equipped." "The first invoice of overcoats (for the Home Guards)," said Colonel Burpee, "was turned over to the government at cost price for shivering boys in cantonments at a time when the government could get none of that quality anywhere at any price. It was much the same story with ball cartridges. With customary stoicism Governor Holcomb received the comment of a high officer in Washington who for weeks had been scouring the country for spare cartridges for use at training camps and had ascertained on inquiry at Hartford that Connecticut was supplying herself from a lot of them in Washington State, sent there two years previously by enterprising dealers for use by seal-hunters; the brief comment was: 'Trust Connecticut to find what's needed'."

After the Division was organized it was rumored that it would be sent to Camp Greene, N. C., for training, and a detail of men was in fact sent there to prepare division headquarters. Such rumors were useful to help keep the secret of actual departure overseas. When the time came

for leaving, there were no parades, but without announcement as to withdrawal or destination, troops disappeared from camps.

Training in France

The Twenty-sixth Division was sent to France in the autumn as fast as the authorities could get ships and convoy. The One Hundred and Second Infantry sailed September 19, and arrived October 9, others of the division going about the same time. The Twenty-sixth was the first of all the combat forces of any kind to go as a complete division. Others had gone a few weeks before, but in detachments or lacking some units. On arrival on the other side, it was broken up at first by British officers who had authority over transportation and debarkation, and sent for a short time to various uncomfortable camps. Soon they all got to France and were established in training areas, some in villages around Neuf Chateau in Lorraine, in the country of Joan of Arc, and some, the artillery brigade and the ammunition train, in Brittany near Rennes. To the veteran troops of France and England they seemed untrained, of course. One French soldier said, "Today your fellows appear an enthusiastic mob. But wait a little—!"

A period of training lasting twelve weeks back of the lines followed, with much other work in organizing camps, preparing barracks, telephones, hospitals, roads. There was great difficulty in getting supplies, and the winter was one of discomfort, with the addition at first of long continuous rain. Some veteran French soldiers, of a regiment with a distinguished reputation for service, gave demonstration instruction by reproducing actual conditions of the front, formations, use of arms, construction of model trenches, and all the necessities of a sector. This was called the "Non-court sector."

Officers went for observation trips and instruction at the Army General Staff College, and to schools such as the one for training with British instructors in bayonet practice and setting up exercises, and for teaching modern infantry tactics. Principles and practices which the French and English had worked out for themselves were set forth in these various schools, but were modified and adapted by the Americans.

By February, 1918, it was time to supplement this training with experience in a "quiet" sector, under French supervision and instruction. Chemin des Dames was the place selected, and the artillery brigade and ammunition train were also included. By "quiet" was meant "a somewhat perfunctory daily harassing fire, occasional patrols, and a little raid to get prisoners." This sector was near Soissons and Laon and had been fiercely fought over. At first a platoon took over a small sub-sector, later larger divisions took over more of the line; and more of the new warfare was learned, such as patrolling and building wire entanglements. The first Connecticut group under fire was a working party of thirty-two men of Company A under Lieut. R. L. Bishop, sent out on the night of February 28th to build entanglements in Chavignon ravine, with French de-

tachments guarding its flanks. The Germans immediately opened fire, and the French withdrew. The Americans, having received no orders to retire, held their ground. The Germans took some of them prisoners and advanced to the trenches. They were stopped before they reached the wire entanglements, but had the prisoners, found out that American troops had arrived, and could get some idea of what they were like. Lieutenant Bishop received a decoration for "coolness and courage."

In the middle of March the men had a new lesson. The area held by the One Hundred and Second suffered an attack of all kinds of gas which lasted twenty-four hours, but was not followed up. Late in March was ended this period of instruction, which had lasted ten days longer than had been intended. A period of rest and re-fitting was planned at another training area, between the Marne and Gondrecourt. It took about a week to reach this, and the division had valuable experience in the management and discipline of a march.

At the Front

Officers had been changed after the arrival in France, and the colonel now in command was John H. Parker of the Regular Army, known as "Machine Gun Parker." This rest period, however, lasted only forty-eight hours, because of events on the Western Front, in Flanders and Picardy. Von Bulow had advanced against the British, and was about to try to separate their two armies and cut them off from French help from the south. Marshal Foch was put in supreme command and troops were rushed from every source. The Twenty-sixth, about April first, was given a sector, La Reine, with headquarters at Boucq north of Toul, the first complete American division to take over a divisional sector. It was about two miles long, awkward of defense and open to attack. It was a quiet sector, that is one in which operations of importance were not being undertaken, but was livelier than Chemin des Dames, for the slightest activity brought German gas or shells. The conformation of the country and the condition of the defenses were such that Germans could come and take prisoners almost at will. Their spies brought very exact information, and here they wanted not only to check reinforcements against their great advance elsewhere, but also to terrorize the new forces from the United States.

About the middle of April signs were seen of preparations for increased German activity here. Fighting began on the left at Bois Brulé where the division's line joined that of the French. A particularly hard part of the line to defend was the Beaumont sub-sector, which extended from the Village of Seicheprey to Rémieres Wood, about two miles long, on a ridge sloping toward the enemy, and with ravines on either flank. The "wood" was really only a collection of shell-torn stumps and tangled underbrush in a swamp. These two points of resistance were connected by a single trench, with good barbed wire entanglements but poor shelters. Plans for better defenses were made, but the work



WORLD WAR MEMORIAL COLONNADE



WORLD WAR MEMORIAL, YALE UNIVERSITY, NEW HAVEN

only begun. This line was assigned to the One Hundred and Second. The points were held by two companies, one in each place, who were there for observation of the enemy's actions and to delay or break up any attack, but were to expect no reinforcements. Two other companies were slightly in the rear.

On April 20th the companies were changed, Companies A, B, C, D taking over the position. Company D (from New Haven and Bristol, Captain G. C. Freeland, New Haven), took position in Seicheprey, which was battalion headquarters; Company C (from New Haven and Middletown, Captain A. H. Griswold from New Britain), in Rèmieres Wood; and Companies A and B a little in the rear, 1,000 yards back, in trenches nearer Beaumont. Company A was from Waterbury, Captain W. J. Shanahan and Company B from New Haven and Hartford, First Lieutenant Swanson. The only communication between these two companies and the two points was by a country road.

Early in the morning of April 20th, about two hours after the relief was in position, began a terrific bombardment which lasted two hours, until five o'clock. This destroyed communications and shelters, broke the garrisons into little isolated groups, and was followed by gases and heavy fog. From this fog at daybreak emerged three columns of German shock troops, with other battalions following, 3,000 men, some of them Sturm-battalion, against 500, coming with the evident intention of holding the place, not merely to make a raid. The Germans were at first successful. There was localized fighting under "withering hostile fire," and in the village of Seicheprey cooks, clerks and twenty American prisoners, "Regulars," fought with all sorts of weapons, including carving knives, clubs, and the cook's cleaver. The enemy was driven out of both places, by a "soldiers battle," nothing else possible because communication with headquarters was cut off, but "the Yankee infantry recovered its organization and fought successfully to a stand-up finish" on what is known as "Seicheprey Day." Preparations were made for a counter attack, but this was never carried out because the attack commander never ordered the advance. It was found the next day that the Germans had retired, though they had evidently intended something more than a raid. They had lost heavily in men, 600 casualties, 130 captured, had abandoned much valuable material, and had learned that the "despised New England militia," if not expert soldiers, could fight. The Americans lost 360 killed and 130 captured. The sector was still called "quiet," and new construction was begun. The last of June the Twenty-sixth was replaced and went to the area around Toul for a rest period, but, said Colonel Burpee, "It was not a time for Americans to rest."

Again, however, conditions were such that the division was sent at once to help where a German blow was expected, in the Aisne-Marne defensive, the second battle of the Marne, and the offensive at Chateau Thierry. The Connecticut men gradually took over fighting positions, and were given the "Pas Fini Sector," north of Thierry, with their right

at Vaux and the left beyond Belleau Wood. There were no trenches and no shelters but "fox holes," a foot or two deep and covered only with brush-wood.

At this time the initiative was about to pass or was passing from the Germans to the Allies. The Twenty-sixth was to start its advance on July 18th, but must not get ahead of the French on the left. General Dégoutte said, "On the very first day it was necessary to moderate the ardor of the Americans, who would willingly have gone beyond the first objectives." A week's continuous fighting advanced the front, through Torcy, Bouresches, Belleau, Gonetrie Farm to La Fère Forest. At Trugny and Epieds they suffered severely, and found the enemy expert in rear-guard fighting. When the One Hundred and Second Infantry was relieved July 25th nearly twelve miles had been gained, and a French general said, "The Twenty-sixth Division alone is responsible for the advance of the whole Sixth French Army in the Second Battle of the Marne." Citations for bravery were made, as after Seicheprey. The One Hundred and Second had lost 139 killed, 450 wounded, 61 gassed and 308 missing. It was taken to the Chatillon area for rest and training in open warfare and new tactics. A new colonel, Hiram Bearss, "Hiking Hiram" of the Marine Corps, was put in command.

General Pershing with a distinct American army was now given the task first of cutting off the St. Mihiel salient south of Verdun, and then the Verdun end of the battle line. Late in August, marching by night and camping by day in woods rather than in villages in order to insure secrecy, the Twenty-sixth was brought north to take part in the St. Mihiel, the first American offensive. It was given the "Rupt Sector," with the headquarters of General Edwards established at Rupt-en-Woevre on September 5th. Attacks from two directions were to meet at Vignuelles, an important railroad center, the Twenty-sixth to attack from the northwest, with the object of driving the enemy from the heights of the Meuse. It was an area of confused spurs and ravines, hard to traverse and was filled with underbrush, barbed wire and machine gun nests, "pill boxes" of solid concrete. The One Hundred and Second was at first in the reserve of the battle order. Three divisions were to move abreast, the attack to start September 11th, advancing to definite points at definite times. On the 12th, the One Hundred and Second, soaked with rain, passed through the lines to continue the attack, which on the first day had advanced the line about six kilometers. They continued the advance, reaching Vignuelles so much ahead of time that they were bombed by American airplanes, which wounded thirty. General orders of September 18th congratulated the One Hundred and Second Infantry for "having acquitted itself in the most inspiring manner. * * * This fine example of courage and soldierly acceptance of battle conditions is worthy of emulation."

Many prisoners were taken, and much material, with a minimum of losses. The civilian population was freed after four years of German

occupation, and the parish priest, A. Leclerc, who had remained at his "little listening post" on the advice of the Bishop, wrote a letter to the division commander, conveying their "heartfelt and unforgettable gratitude." The campaign was limited by Foch at this point.

Late in September occurred a local demonstration, a two-battalion raid at Riaville and Marcheville and the trenches connecting them, on a part of the line called the Troyon sector, where the enemy had returned after the advance stopped. Two columns were sent, one for each town, both under Colonel Bearss, the One Hundred and Second against Marcheville, under Major Thomson. As the engagement developed they were left there without support, and experienced heavy fighting, a "murderous day," the Americans withdrawing during the night, under protection of artillery barrage. There were heavy losses, but the object was accomplished of a local demonstration to divert attention from the real point of the allies' attack. General Blondlat wrote to the American commander-in-chief, "I urgently request that the First Battalion of the One Hundred and Second Infantry be cited in Army Orders on the following grounds:

"Picked troops who, trained by Col. Hiram Bearss, led the attack in the first line, carried out brilliantly and with splendid energy a particularly delicate operation; engaged in battle with a superb dash; won a victory after a violent combat over an enemy who was both stubborn and superior in numbers, entrenched in concrete shelters, strongly supported by numerous machine guns and powerful artillery, and who made use of, in the course of the action, infamous methods of warfare; heroically carried out their mission in capturing in heavy fighting a village where they maintained themselves all day in spite of four enemy attacks, and thus furnished the finest example of courage, abnegation and self-sacrifice." Many received decorations for valor. Headquarters were moved from Rupt to Troyon and a few days' lull followed.

About the middle of October the Twenty-sixth was called from the Troyon sector to participate in the Meuse-Argonne offensive on the hills before Verdun on the north and east where it got into place by October 19th, and fought for twenty-six days and nights in a series of operations. Orders were issued October 21 for the battle of H in Houppy Woods, to get local positions of commanding importance, for observation posts, etc. It was really a series of assaults and counter-attacks, Belleau Wood, Hill 360, Bois D'Ormont, the latter called by Pershing "one of the most formidable heights in that region." Bad weather conditions prevailed, influenza, difficulty in getting supplies, and just at this time General Edwards was relieved of the command of the division. On October 27 at the end of the series of attacks which had begun October 24th, the official report was as follows: "The First Battalion, One Hundred and Second Infantry, is commanded by the Regimental Adjutant, the only officer with it. At least two of the officers reported still present are suffering from injuries but are still holding on. It is reported that few non-commissioned officers and particularly sergeants are left. Every effort is being made

to collect stragglers and detached elements, and wherever possible these have been thrown into the line, including runners, orderlies, and others on special duty. It is difficult with the shortage of officers to enforce any kind of action now, because through exhaustion the remaining men have to be aroused by the employment of physical force before they can be made to understand that action is required. * * * there is still evidence to indicate that the percentage of killed is probably heavy. * * * The results expected from this attack have not been attained in full, and at this writing it is not certain that they have been attained in any considerable degree. But the efforts made by the troops of this brigade for their attainment and the spirit of sacrifice shown seem commendable to me."

Taylor groups the next series of operations of the division (November 7 to 11), as an endeavor "to hustle the German withdrawal" and watch "lest he withdraw his forces unperceived under cover of a screen of rear-guards." The special task of the Twenty-sixth was to make local raids and capture prisoners. November 8 parties of Germans began openly marching to the rear. In spite of rumors that the war was over, of weariness, sickness, and loss of men, they kept pushing ahead, until the hour publicly set for cessation of hostilities. "On that day," says Taylor, "the command passed. For twenty-six days the Division had occupied the Neptune sector and fought to enlarge its bounds, the longest period of service, be it said, which any division rendered during the Meuse-Argonne offensive of the First American Army. Only five and one-half kilometers of ground were gained; but what that ground was, let any testify who fought before Verdun, the historic field of blood, and tears, and imperishable glory, where, with every task accomplished, in the face of supreme difficulty, the Twenty-sixth ended an incomparable fighting career."

After Armistice Day the Division marched south, where the problem was that of keeping the men fit, amused and on good behavior. Prisoners were returned, and many who had been in hospitals or with other units. Sight-seeing leaves were arranged and at Christmas a visit from President Wilson to the Division, because it had had the longest period of service in France. The plan was changed to a review of detachments from all divisions in the region, near Humes. The Twenty-sixth sent a battalion of the four best drilled infantry companies of the four regiments, Company K going from the One Hundred and Second. In January General Pershing and General Petain came and the colors of the One Hundred and Second were decorated with the Croix de Guerre and those of the First Battalion which had been at Marcheville.

The One Hundred and Second was designated at first for the Army of Occupation, but was too worn out, and in January preparations were begun for return to the United States. The last of April the final review was held at Camp Devens. The bestowal of forty-five decorations on officers and men, the final parade in Boston reviewed by the governors of all the New England states, and the discharge of the officers and men ended the World War experience of the New England Division.

Organization at Home

Workers at home in connection with the war meant a large part of the population enlisted in some form of "preparedness," even before the entry of the country itself into the war. It is not necessary to remind ourselves of Heatless Monday, Meatless Tuesday, to repeat the story of the Red Cross, Y. M. C. A., Knights of Columbus and similar organizations, or to say more than that the state received from the government at Washington a flag for having the highest excess above quota of subscriptions to Liberty bonds of any state.

That this civilian service might be most effectively employed, census and registration of workers and capacity were made, and to direct the activities a State Council of Defense was formed. For home defense, which unfortunately was needed because of large alien population, a State Guard was organized, with a reserve corps of older men. These companies were active and useful in many ways,—in recruiting for the National Guard, in escort duty, in parades for the Liberty loans, besides work in connection with aliens and the disaffected.

A large part of the munitions for the Allies were being made in Connecticut, and this was the first state to act for self defense. Early in March the Connecticut Home Guard, later called the State Guard, was created by the Legislature. It was under the direction of the governor and a Military Emergency Board, and was made up of men from seventeen to sixty who were not eligible for active service or were exempt. So many men of all classes, from the highest to the lowest, responded that a reserve corps was formed, and later recruiting offices were closed. The Home Guard consisted of six regiments, two in this county, in command of Col. J. Richard North, and Col. James Geddes. They were called out both on Federal and State summons, and paid only at these times. They were continued until 1921.

The State Council of Defense was organized and members appointed in April, 1917, on request that a state body be formed similar to the National Council of Defense. Its object was "to marshal, by whatever means every force, material and moral, which might be of service in winning the war." The necessity for such a new organization to carry out Federal programs in the states, was due to the fact that the United States has an "almost total lack of local officials of the national government. * * * (and), * * * it was necessary that Federal influence and authority should be extended over the country." Instead of the use of existing officers, either State or Federal, it was desirable to have a temporary body, "uniform and flexible, able to use volunteer workers and to furnish a means by which both public and private agencies could coöperate, administer and secure capable representatives of the central committee and at the same time protect the interests of the state." Such a body was created by the Council of Defense. Its authority was conferred by the governor under the emergency act, and its members were chosen to represent various lines of activity. Connecticut was reported as one of the most efficiently organized states.

The particular aspect of the council which is of interest here is the development of the local agencies and the place of the county therein. The first plan was that county committees should be the local agencies, responsible to the Council for work in their area. Their duty was to secure town committees to which to turn over the business given them by the Council. These county committees were to hold weekly meetings, attended by the chairmen of the town committees, with reports forwarded each week to the state Council. A committee was accordingly formed for this county, of twelve persons including the chairman, Wilson H. Lee, six men from New Haven and six from other towns.

As the scheme of the council worked out, the county committees were gradually abandoned, after they had done the preliminary work of organizing the town committees. They came to be used for follow-up work, with the State Council having direct relations with the town committees. This was due to the fact that work was organized, not geographically, but according to lines of activity. These committees were under the direction of local war bureaus, with an executive committee made up of the heads of the chief activities, which acted as the local agent of the State Council. Field secretaries were appointed for each county, with duties of assisting in organizing war bureaus, helping secure funds for them, and keeping alive their spirit of activity. B. F. English served as secretary for New Haven County, and twenty-six war bureaus were formed.

In the reorganization of the local agencies into war bureaus, the county committees took little part, and when new forms of work were added it was done not by the county organization, but by a committee of the war bureau.

There were many uses, however, for county agents and the county area, in different lines. Thus county agents supervised the work of taking the agricultural census of the counties, and work done by census takers from the war bureaus. When the United States Boys' Working Reserve furnished boy labor on farms, the boys were looked after by a supervisor in each county, C. L. Kirschner acting for this county.

The Committee on Sanitation and Medicine had a physician from each county, and later a sub-committee of Sanitation and Medicine was formed in each county, under the direction of the county member of the general committee. Dr. Ralph MacDonald was the member for this county, followed on his resignation by Dr. Frank H. Wheeler.

The State Council of Defense had speakers in fifteen languages.

New Haven has been fortunate in receiving visits from many of the heroes of the various wars. It has already been mentioned that Washington was escorted through the town on his way to Boston. Only two, the earliest and in some ways the most picturesque of the others, will be mentioned particularly.

General Lafayette, who had passed through the town in 1778, came again in August, 1824. Howe's History describes the visit as "an occasion

of joyous excitement. Our then little city was illuminated by tallow candles, held by rows of laths placed across the windows, for gas was not then in use. Everywhere on the principal streets were transparencies with the words 'Welcome Lafayette.' While the fever was on, the ladies, the country through, wore calico dresses on which were printed the same joyous words. We remember him as a man of commanding appearance, full six feet in stature, and his countenance was beaming with benignity. He found here many old Revolutionary soldiers, who seemed almost to worship him." Lafayette was delayed in arriving, and instead of being here for the grand illumination in the evening, arrived at ten o'clock the next morning, and left in the early afternoon. He was received by the governor and Revolutionary veterans, and in this short time reviewed the troops and the students, inspected the college, visited the graves of the Regicides and of the Revolutionary soldiers in the new cemetery, besides making various calls and attending receptions, where he met the civil and military authorities, the clergy and college faculty. He departed, as he arrived, to the firing of guns. He visited East Haven, where speeches were made, and a liberty pole was erected in his honor on the Green. The house in which he stayed in 1778, where his servant had to wash his one shirt while he slept, is still standing. In Guilford he ate dinner and held a reception. Here he saw a Revolutionary veteran who had been his servant.

General Jackson came to New Haven in 1833, stopping at the Tontine Hotel, and receiving the citizens in the State House. "He was guiltless of the folly of shaking hands with the multitude, but stood upright, with his hands behind him, and bowed gracefully at regular intervals, with pauses between so as to take in about thirty of the staring, curious people at each bow." His visit occurred at the week end, and on Sunday he attended, with great impartiality, services in churches of three denominations,—Trinity Church in the morning, the North Church in the early afternoon, and the Methodist Church immediately after, the latter, it is said, having prolonged its service that he might arrive before its close.

SECTION IX—EDUCATION

CHAPTER I

PLANS FOR EDUCATION IN NEW HAVEN COLONY

President Dwight said in his Travels, "There is a schoolhouse sufficiently near to every man's door, to allow his children to go conveniently to school throughout the year." An account of educational matters in New Haven colony is confusing, because there were various lines of development, which at times coincided. The early town grammar schools gave way to the colony grammar school, and both were involved with Mr. Davenport's plans for a college or collegiate school. Later the Hopkins Grammar School which emerged from his efforts, was counted in the Connecticut Colony plans for grammar schools in each county town. The public grade or grammar schools of the present system developed from another line of effort, the common schools, which in New Haven at least, were assumed to exist, but at first received no public support.

From the beginning there was a desire in New Haven Colony for educational facilities, and provisions made for schools in the towns whose territory is represented by New Haven County. In fact a colony where every freeman could vote and was eligible for office, must make provision for "the better trayning upp of youth in the town, that through God's blessing they may be fitted for publique service hereafter either in church or commonwealth." Many years later President Dwight said the same thing, "probably three fourths of all the male inhabitants of the State of Connecticut sustain, in the course of life, some public office or other. To such a state of society * * * this general diffusion of knowledge seems indispensable."

Ideas and Efforts of John Davenport

It was Mr. Davenport's idea that the schools, unlike those in England, should be free, democratic and compulsory. By free was not meant free of cost to the pupil, but liberal, that is, free of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, though the leading influence in New Haven was the Rev. John Davenport, and the clergy of Connecticut have always taken a large part in the oversight of education, especially as school visitors. In Meriden, as late as 1857, seven of the nine school visitors were clergymen. This was natural and almost necessary, for the ministry was long the

only learned profession. In many cases the only instruction higher than that of the district schools was that furnished by the minister. Doctor Trumbull of North Haven, finding education much neglected, preached several sermons on the subject, and offered to give three months' teaching, if the town would build a schoolhouse in the center of the parish. This was done in 1764.

There was no idea that it was the duty of the state to maintain schools for all the children within its borders, but rather that higher schools should be provided, endowed and supported by public tax as well as by tuition charge. The community felt and assumed responsibility in the support of a schoolmaster as well as a minister, and he was not left to be entirely dependent on the number of pupils for his income.

The schools were democratic, for pupils might come from any class in the community, and laws were passed making a certain amount of education compulsory. A beginning was apparently made of elementary education, for the code of 1656 contained a regulation that apprentices must be kept at school, and earlier still, in 1639, a man was required to keep his apprentice at school, "One year, or else advantage him as much in his education as one year's schooling comes to." But, as has been said, these were not the schools receiving public support and the special attention of the leaders. Elementary education was an affair for parents to attend to, the schools supported by the public were to be grammar schools such as the planters were familiar with in England and some had attended,—Hopkins at Shrewsbury, Davenport and Eaton at Coventry, and Higginson at Leicester. Though such schools were not designed to give elementary instruction, little was demanded as requirement for admission except ability to read and spell. They were to teach Latin and begin the preparation of the brightest boys for the ministry. The result of this educational scheme was that parents were constantly annoying the teachers by trying to send young and unprepared children to the schools, and the authorities were constantly forbidding this.

Early Schools

In 1641 New Haven voted that a free school should be set up in the town under the guidance of the magistrates and Mr. Davenport. It was soon opened by young Ezekiel Cheever in his own house. He was a schoolmaster by profession and was paid a salary of £20 a year to dispense the "unexceptionable Cheeverian education", and "that not proueing a maintenance," the amount was increased to £30 in 1644. He also received money from parents of his pupils. Though only twenty-three years of age and not wealthy, Cheever was one of the prominent men of the plantation. He had been one of the twelve men chosen for the preliminary work of organizing the church, and even occasionally preached, though apparently not too well. He also held civil office, as deputy to the General Court in 1646, and literary laurels wreathed his brow. While he was in New Haven he wrote the first school book of

the classics, if not the first school book of any kind in the country, the famous "Accidence in Questions and Answers," or "A Short Introduction to the Latin Tongue," which went through more than twenty editions, the last appearing in 1838. In 1748 Jared Ingersoll, then in London, was commissioned by a friend in New York to buy a copy. Cheever also wrote a book on the millenium, entitled "Scripture Prophecies Explained."

Several "hopeful youths" of New Haven were prepared for Harvard by Cheever,—sons of Eaton, Allerton and Brewster,—before he followed the example of Samuel Eaton and Edward Hopkins and left New Haven in 1650. In spite of his important position he was brought before the church for discipline, which his schoolmaster spirit could not endure with equanimity, though he himself was a severe disciplinarian.

The contract with his successor is interesting. The court appointed a formidable committee of the Ruling Elder, four deputies and the Treasurer to treat with Mr. Hanford concerning terms. The agreement was "that hee propounds to haue 20l a yeere, and the Towne to paye for his chamber and dyet (wch they haue agreed wth Mr Atwater for, for 5s a weeke); that the Towne paye towards his charges in coming heither 30s; that he haue libbertie once a yeare to goe see his friends, wch wee propounded to be in harvest time; that his paye bee good, & some of it such as wherewth he may buy bookes & defraye charges in his travel: that if he bee called away (not to the same worke) but some other imployment, wch may bee for the Honnor of Christ, he may haue libbertie; And for this hee will teach the children of this Towne (hauing the benefit of strangers to himselfe) after they are entered and can read in ye Testament, to perfect them in English, and teach them their Latin tongue, as they are capeable, and to wright."

This contract provided for no vacation, except a sort of leave of absence provided for by special arrangement. Early schools had no holidays, but were kept for seven or eight hours a day and sometimes longer, six days a week, and throughout the year. In 1729 it was provided that Hopkins Grammar School, the successor of this school, should not have more than twelve play days a year; in 1776 it might have two vacations of a week each; and 1812 four weeks, with holidays on general training days. In 1713 Meriden "chose John Moss and Samuel Culver inspectors, to look after ye scool meester to see he keeps his howers."

Both Mr. Hanford and his successor Mr. Bowers complained because parents tried to send all their children to the school. The teacher found the place discouraging "because he hath so many English scholars which he must learn to spell, which was never the town's mind." The Court ordered parents not to send such children, and by 1660 the repressive measures were so successful that only eighteen "schollers" and often not more than six or eight came to school. Mr. Bowers "could not satisfy himself to goe on thus." By this time the project of a colony school was taking shape, which should include all the boys who could "make Latin."

Other towns had similar schools, Guilford's taught at first by Mr. Higginson, one of the officers of the church, and Milford's by Jasper Gunn, the town's first physician.

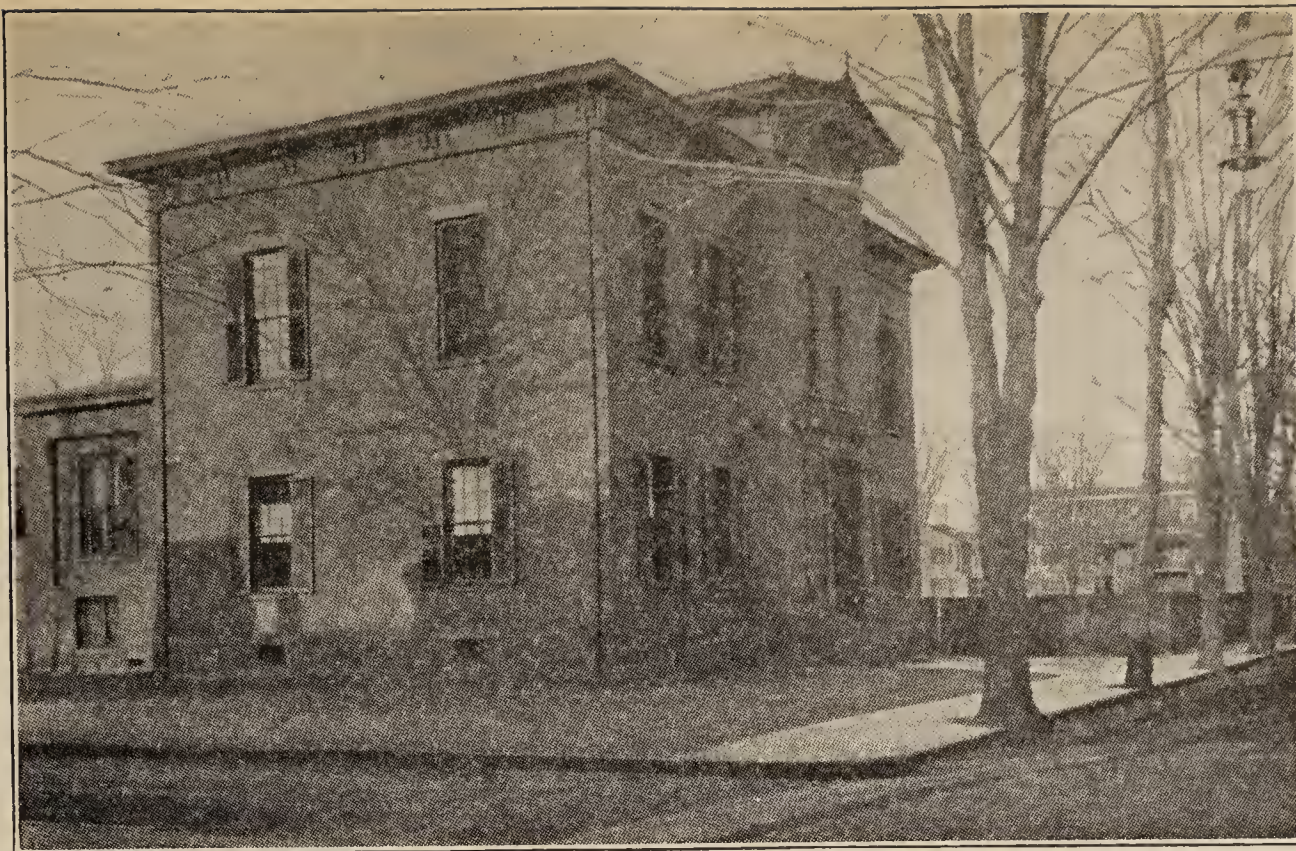
Besides the support of their own schools, the towns in 1644 agreed that each planter should give a peck of corn or wheat towards the maintenance of poor scholars at Harvard, and appointed men to receive the "college corn." In 1653 the colony voted £20 for a fellowship. New Haven also sent students to Harvard. Between 1660 and 1700, at least one in thirty of the Harvard graduates were from New Haven.

Attempts to Form a College

Mr. Davenport from the first had the idea of establishing a college in his colony as soon as it was possible. In laying out the town a large tract, the Oyster Shell Field, was reserved for the use of a college, that is to provide income; and in 1647 when land was being disposed of, the committee was directed to consider what lot would be "most meet and commodious for a college," that is, as a site for its buildings. This was the Eldred lot, where the Public Library now stands. At various times the subject of a college was definitely discussed, offers of houses were made, by individuals, and promises of money by towns of the colony, but some felt that it was too great an undertaking for New Haven alone, and that one college in New England was enough.

After one of these discussions, in 1655, Mr. Davenport, with the idea of getting help from a wealthy patron, wrote to Edward Hopkins. This was a natural move, for the English schools with which they were familiar, had endowments, and Hopkins, the step-son-in-law of Governor Eaton, though now returned to England, was still interested in the colony and possessor of a large fortune. He promised help, both for a Grammar School and college, but unfortunately died (1657) before anything was settled. By his will all his American estate, amounting to over £1,400, except some legacies, was left to Governor Eaton, Mr. Davenport and two Hartford men as trustees. "That which God hath given me in those parts," he said, "I ever designed the greatest part of it for the furtherance of the worke of Christe in those ends of the earth." The Hopkins fortune, unlike that of Governor Eaton, had increased.

Governor Eaton died about the same time, and the other trustees agreed to divide the estate between New Haven and Hartford, to give a sum to Harvard, and one to the town of Hadley where many Hartford people had gone. Mr. Eaton also remembered the college plan, and left in the care of Mr. Davenport certain books, lately belonging to his brother Samuel, "for the vse of the colledg." In 1669 Mr. Davenport offered this Hopkins bequest to the colony of New Haven "for promoting the college worke in a graduall way," with a statement of conditions attached, which were required of both colony and town. But the movement for a college was ended, for a time, by the troubles over the union with Connecticut, and it was more than fifty years, and long after the death of



HOME OF HOPKINS GRAMMAR SCHOOL FOR MANY YEARS
IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY, CORNER OF HIGH
AND WALL STREETS, NEW HAVEN

This is now part of the site of the new buildings of the Yale Law School. A corner of the old building (1838) can be seen at the left



OLD BUILDING OF THE HOPKINS
GRAMMAR SCHOOL



BALDWIN HALL, ONE OF THE BUILDINGS OF THE
HOPKINS GRAMMAR SCHOOL

Erected 1724-25. Wings are now being added to this building. Reproduced by permission of George E. Lovell, rector of the school

Mr. Davenport before such an institution, the desire of his heart, was established in New Haven. Before that time the Hopkins bequest had been otherwise disposed of, and the books, over a hundred volumes, had been turned over to the town, constituting probably the first municipal library in the United States.

The Grammar School

Meanwhile the question of the colony grammar school was receiving attention, for the school under Cheever's successors had not attained the ends desired. A school was to be located in one of the towns, "for teaching of lattine, Greeke, and Hebrew and fitt them for the Colledge." In 1659 New Haven voted £40 and Guilford offered Whitfield's house. Nothing came of this, but Davenport was ready to devote the Hopkins bequest, under specified conditions, to support such an institution as they could have until it should be possible to start a college, that is if it were located in New Haven. The colony then voted an additional sum and Mrs. Eldred's lot, and New Haven was given the school. The Hopkins land however was in Hartford, and legal obstacles were interposed delaying the settlement of the estate, so that for five years it was impossible to use it.

The colony grammar school was started in 1660 with great enthusiasm, with Mr. Jeremiah Peck of Guilford as teacher. Things did not go too well, and after two years the school was closed because of "ye distraction of ye time," and financial difficulties. In 1663 a town school was opened under George Pardee, who modestly said "he had lost much of what he formerly had attained," but he was the best to be found, and the town did not wish to lose the chance of getting the Hopkins money which was now available. This was an English, not Latin, school, and Mr. Davenport protested and threatened to withdraw the Hopkins money, on the ground that the wishes of the donor were not being carried out. It is said that for the next three years the son of the president of Harvard was the teacher. In 1668 Mr. Street, son of the minister, who was one of the trustees, became the teacher, and when Mr. Davenport left for Boston he formally turned over the bequest to local trustees, men of the New Haven Church and town, seven in number in the good fashion of pillars. He stipulated that the school should have the use of the Oyster Shell Field formerly set aside for the college and the Eldred lot, and he still reserved a negative voice in its affairs. The former grant to the colony school he said was null and void, since the school had been closed. The town paid Mr. Street £30, and he received £10 from the Hopkins fund. The school thus opened, Hopkins Grammar School, is still in existence in a flourishing state, the fourth oldest school in the United States. A formal vote about the middle of the nineteenth century decided on 1660, June 14th, as the date of the foundation of the school, the day the fund was first dedicated to the trustees by Mr. Davenport.

In 1672 the school entered on another phase. The Connecticut General Court changed the requirement that towns of over one hundred

families must have a grammar school, to county towns, and made grants of land, six hundred acres, for county Latin schools in each county town. Fines levied in the county court on towns which failed to keep up the requirements of the law for common schools were also granted them in 1677, and they themselves were to be fined for failure to maintain such a school. Those counties having Hopkins Schools were considered to have met the requirements for such county schools.

In 1673 Mr. Street followed the example of his predecessors and entered the ministry, going to the new settlement at Wallingford. There was difficulty in keeping the school going, and the committee neglected to get another teacher. In 1676 Governor Jones, son-in-law of Theophilus Eaton, and one of the original trustees appointed by Mr. Davenport, summoned the town by the county marshal to explain to the county court why the county school was not kept up according to law, and had even been closed a year. After "loving debate" in town meeting, the school was revived and has continued open ever since, the only one of the Hopkins schools that has not been absorbed into a local High school. Committees were twice formed in 1865 and 1887, to consider this change, but the trustees felt that the terms of their particular bequest as laid down by Mr. Davenport would not allow such action.

The school has had various relations with the county and the town of New Haven. In 1687 a surplus in the county treasury was ordered to be divided among the grammar schools, and 1690 the colony legislature granted annual appropriations and made a regulation giving the county magistrates and ministers the power of appointing, inspecting and dismissing the masters of the two free schools in New Haven and Hartford. These were of higher grade than the others, probably because they were endowed. In 1683 the school began keeping separate records, and about this time was started a series of real estate transactions by which, with town agreement, the trustees disposed of land granted the school, for, besides the Eldred lot and the Oyster Shell Field, the town gave the school land in each division. On one occasion at least the town voted a grant of money. The six hundred acres granted by the colony were sold in 1710 and the town grants were either let out on 999 year leases or sold, the last of the Oyster Shell Field in 1803. Should the town and the school be in existence at the millenium of the latter, the school will come into possession again of property in the centre of the city.

Until 1723 the school was held in a building belonging to the town, and from that time in its own building, its location having been moved several times. It is now in a beautiful situation at Edgewood, overlooking the city and has no connection with the town or state. By the laws of 1795 and 1798 county towns were no longer required to have a Latin School.



WESTOVER SCHOOL, MIDDLEBURY



SALEM SCHOOL, NAUGATUCK

CHAPTER II

ELEMENTARY EDUCATION

There is a certain difficulty in describing the school system as an historical whole, arising from confusion of terms, since not only the words grammar school and free school, but the term district vary in meaning at different times. It has been shown that a free school in early days required tuition from its pupils; that a grammar school corresponded more nearly to a modern High School than to what is called a grammar school today. It was not an elementary school, though it did not have the college aspirations of many of the later academies, except in the mind of John Davenport. At one time the term district meant a division of the town for all school purposes, with much independence, even the power to lay taxes. Today it is a geographical term, indicating the area of residence for attendance at a given school.

It will be noticed that the county division has played little part in the history of schools. It figured in the colony grammar school started in the Jurisdiction of New Haven. When the region later became the county of New Haven this grammar school served as the one required in each county. The county division was used for a time in the collection of the school tax according to the law of 1700. Suggestions were made at different times for county supervision of schools, and the county is represented on the State Board of Education. Otherwise the line of development has been in the smaller areas.

Elementary Schools Required by Law

The New Haven code of 1656 made education compulsory for all children and apprentices, that is, learning "to read the Scripture and other good and profitable printed books in the English tongue," with writing added later for boys. Every plantation must have a school and fines were imposed on parents and guardians who did not send their children. In the earliest days in New Haven there was, as has been said, no public provision for girls and younger boys, girls especially being left in an intellectual state of nature. Rudiments were to be taught either by parents themselves or by some one they paid to do it. In New Haven there was some difficulty in finding such a person. One or two men offered their services, and perhaps there were dame schools.

Provisions were made for elementary education in the colony of Con-

necticut in the period before the union with New Haven, but in 1678 the General Court ordered "that every town, when the Lord shall have increased their number to thirty famalys, they shall have and mayntaine a schoole to teach children to read and write." This, it will be remembered, was the number of families considered necessary for the support of a minister and the establishment of a new settlement. Thus the settlers moved with the Bible in one hand and the New England Primer in the other; the minister and the school-teacher, fellow-travelers, sometimes the same individual; and the schoolhouse often next the meeting-house on the village green. Ezekiel Cheever was not the only schoolmaster who could preach. The duties of the teacher in Guilford were "teaching all sorts and that from their A B C; secondly, to continue so doing for three years; thirdly to be helpful in preaching when required." Perhaps because of the latter requirement the school-teacher, if a college graduate, was given a title, and among Guilford teachers accordingly, were *Sir* Thomas Ruggles, *Sir* Nathaniel Ruggles, *Sir* Ebenezer Gould, and *Sir* William Hooker.

The number of families previously had been fifty, and the penalty for failure to have a school for three months during the year £5. Towns were allowed to lay taxes to help pay school expenses, though most of the money came from tuition and other sources. Lands and houses given for school purposes were later freed from taxes. Regulations were made from time to time on matters such as length of the school year, taxes, visiting the schools.

Records as to the earliest schools actually opened in the various towns are scanty. The date of the first record in Waterbury, (1698), is thought to be ten years after the Rev. Jeremiah Peck is supposed to have been teaching, but it is not known just where or when he began his labors. The earliest mention of schools in Derby is in 1701, when the town voted that the townsmen should get a schoolmaster as the law required. East Haven records begin about the same time. There is nothing in the Wallingford records about schools until eight years after its settlement, though here too it is thought there had been schools from an earlier time.

Management of Schools

Schools were managed by the towns, and when there came to be more than one parish in a town, school matters began to be separated from the town in the way we have seen done in the case of the church. In 1712 it was enacted that parishes or ecclesiastical societies were constituted school districts, but with the management still in the hands of the town. In 1714 the selectmen and civil authority were appointed to visit the schools, at least once each quarter and to report "disorders or misapplication of the public money." Authority was gradually transferred from the town to the parish. In 1717 parishes were given the power to lay school taxes, and later to sub-divide into districts. In 1794 these districts were given the power to lay taxes. Just before the

close of the century the system was changed entirely, and school societies were formed, separate and distinct from the town or the parish.

This line of development affords an interesting parallel to that of towns and ecclesiastical societies. The first period in each case might be called the town-meeting era, when affairs were managed in town meeting. One or two examples will show the similarity. The earliest record in Waterbury is the following. "Decembr: 19d 1698 ye town granted 30s with ye last yeirs rent of ye scooll land for ye incuragement of a scoll for four moneths or longer if it can be obtayned and deacen Thomas Judd Ensign Standly & John hopkins was chosen a committy to endeuiour to procure one to keep scoll to teach in righting as well as reading." The earliest record in Wallingford, 1678,—“The towne complied with what ye select men motioned & consented for ye incuragement of such a schoolemaster as ye select men shall approve of to alow ten pounds a yeare and three pence a weeke for all schollers males or females from six to sixteene years ould so long as they goe to schoole.” In Guilford teachers were chosen by the townsmen and confirmed by the town. If the tax of 40 shillings on the £1,000 voted by the General Assembly did not amount to £30, the town voted to make up the deficiency.

When population began to spread out there was need for schools in various parts of town, quite as much as for churches, and arrangements were similarly made to supply these settlements. In 1688 Guilford gave the East Farmers one fourth of their money for the children. When they were made a separate society they were given control of the school as well as of the church. Schools were opened from time to time as they were needed in other parts of Guilford. In 1714 a separate school was opened in Nut Plains; in 1721, in North Guilford; in 1766 Moose Hill was given 20s for keeping a school, and was made a separate district five years later. The same process was going on in other towns, with local variations. In 1737 Waterbury voted to keep school 21 weeks at the centre; 12 weeks at Wooster society; 6 weeks at Plymouth; 6 weeks at Judd's Meadow, and 3 weeks at Buck's Hill; one teacher doing all the work and the number of weeks proportioned to the number of scholars, on condition that there were seven scholars at each school.

Thus as towns were divided into parishes for churches and schools, the management of the latter was naturally done by these divisions rather than by the whole town. In the days before pedagogical theories, this probably seemed the simple and obvious thing to do. The next period therefore might be called the parish era. Annual meetings of the parishes appointed school committees, the law of 1717 requiring a school committee of three from each society, laid taxes to support the schools or “looke after the prudentialls of that affair,” as one town vote expressed it, and mapped out the school districts.

Conditions in the Schools

These separate schools, and indeed, the schools for the town as a whole, were held at first in private houses until the people could afford

to build a schoolhouse. Small, simple buildings answered their needs, that in Waterbury, probably built in 1710, being only sixteen by fourteen feet in length and breadth. Their appearance is familiar through many descriptions. One such, from Hughes' "History of East Haven," will answer for all. "As soon as the town was divided into districts, the inhabitants of each erected a schoolhouse in accordance with the times. These were considered then very commodious, but at the present day would be thought little better than common store-houses for miscellaneous articles. The houses were oblong in shape, with a narrow hall at one end and a huge stone chimney at the other. Inside was a wide mouthed fire-place of six feet, to burn the four foot 'back logs and fore-sticks.' All around the three sides of the room was a shelving desk, fastened to the wall, for writing and 'ciphering'. The seats were made of the outside of slabs of sawmill logs, rounding side down and not infrequently covered with the natural bark. On one side of the chimney was the 'dungeon' for the smaller refractory juveniles; on the other, a closet for the teacher's belongings. The smallest children sat on lower movable benches without backs, in front of the older scholars. Another row of movable benches was placed near the fireplace, to accomodate relays at the fireplace during the day, in answer to the frequent request, Please may I go to the fire?" In the school in North Guilford "the best writer" sat next the fire, while the fourth or fifth from the fire always had frozen ink in his pen.

Descriptions of the curriculum until about 1800 are equally familiar.

"He'll cypher bravely, write and read,
And say his catechism and creed,
And scorn to hesitate or falter,
In Primer, Spelling book or Psalter."

The books most commonly used were the New England Primer the "little bible of New England," and the Psalter, and the main object of the school was to teach children to read and write.

One description of a school day also will serve for all, taken from the same author. "The school hours were from nine to twelve A. M., and from one to four P. M. School opened with prayer, then the reading of the New Testament by all who could possibly read words of five or more letters, two verses apiece, round and round the room, reading, writing, 'ciphering', with some grammar for the most advanced. The teacher wrote out all the copies in the writing books, and made all the pens from goose quills brought by the scholars. All the working days of the week were school days, Saturday afternoon being devoted to learning and reciting the Congregational catechism and a preparation for Sunday."

Arithmetic was taught, but at first no one but the teacher had a book. Dilworth's Spelling Book was introduced 1740 and used a long time. This was so successful that he published a Schoolmaster's Assistant (Arithmetic) in 1743. The first Geography for schools was published

in 1784. When the mistress took charge, perhaps after May training day, embroidery, marking samplers, sewing were added to the instruction. This more feminine atmosphere was due to the fact that boys over twelve were busy on the farms. Text books were seldom changed. The children began again at the beginning each year, and promotions were made by age rather than proficiency.

The length of the school year was decided by the parish, which might make it longer than was required by law. Usually the school was kept during the winter by a man, for three or four months, and by a woman in the summer. The relation between the two may be seen by the following vote in one town: "Voted to hire a master for the winter and that what overplus there might be should be used to pay a Mistress in the summer."

School Income

Schools had other sources of income than the taxes and tuition already mentioned. Land was sometimes granted for school purposes, and in the earliest days was sometimes given to the schoolmaster as well as to the minister. Later, certain public funds were set aside for this purpose by the state, and occasionally individuals made gifts to towns. Parents also took their proportionate share in boarding the teacher, who thus went the rounds of the families. In one school in 1810 it was voted that boarding the teacher should be 7 cents per meal or 87½ cents per week, prices corresponding to the low salaries paid. This custom, which seems objectionable today, at least might have served to bring about an understanding between parents and teachers, such as is sought now through the formal organization of parent-teacher associations. A local poet has embalmed the custom in verse, of which the following are a few lines:

"How generous teachers then were found
They aired spare beds the district round!
To spend those long cold wintry nights
Oft teachers went on queer 'invites.'
At close of school one winter's day
A bonny lass was heard to say:
'We've butchered pigs and killed the fatted cow,
We're ready for the teacher now.'
This boarding round was not all vain,
The child's and parents' hearts they'd gain;
And were they what they ought to be,
The family life, in some degree,
Would rise, expand, and nobler be."

To return to realms of prose, Guilford in 1671 gave thirty acres of upland and twenty of marsh for the benefit of the school. This was only part of the school land. Mr. Matthew Bellamy, who came as school-

master in 1672 received a parcel of land; and Mr. John Eliot in 1694 was given four acres. Certain land in Waterbury was divided equally between the first schoolmaster and the school. Mr. Henry Bates agreed to be schoolmaster in Wallingford in 1711 in consideration of fifty acres of land and a sum of money. He was later given liberty to sit in the front gallery of the new meeting-house.

The school lands in Waterbury amounted in 1734 to nearly 1,000 acres, most of it unimproved land. This was rented to individuals at public meetings, the money to be used for the schools, and reported on at "our great Town Meeting." The renting, repair of fences, and general care of this land caused much trouble and some loss. Consequently it was sold at public auction and the money put into a school fund. As there were no banks, it was a question what to do with the money. In 1736 it was decided to "let out the money to such as want to hire and to take double security by mortgage for the principle * * * and to take their notes or bonds for the interest." The bonds were given to the charge of the town treasurer's office, but 1738 the town clerk, as the only permanent officer, was to act with the school committee in this matter. Receipts from the fund were to be divided among the different societies according to the lists of estates.

Milford had a town school fund raised by sale of pieces of sequestered land, the annual interest of which was spent for the schools.

The tuition paid by parents was reckoned by the poll, that is, by the number of children according to the number of days sent. As it was often hard for parents to pay, many children received very little education. The payments might be made in kind, according to fixed prices for the various commodities. Wood was included among the articles, just as it always figured in agreements made with ministers. A somewhat startling picture is presented by the wording of the vote in Wallingford in 1720. "Every scholar that enters the school between the 20th of September and the last of April, shall each bring half a load of wood, and if they fail, then they shall pay a fine of six pence, to be looked out for by the committee."

Besides local revenue, money was received on different occasions from the colony and later some from the Federal government, which formed funds for the use of education. That received from the colony came from the sale of public lands. In the first half of the 18th century the colony put up for sale the territory which later became Litchfield County. The money received from this was distributed to the ecclesiastical societies for the use of the schools, Guilford, for instance, receiving nearly £1,000 as its share. This money was sometimes a cause of trouble, as has been shown in the case of Waterbury, when the First Society tried to claim it all. In this case the fund disappeared because of quarrels and bad management.

In addition to the town and colony land, a third source of income from public land, was the School Fund, formed by the sale of Connecti-

cut's western reserve in 1795, to a company of Connecticut men. The first apportionment of this money was made in 1799, and was the interest for two years. For thirty years this fund was the main support of the schools. The disposition of this money was also a problem. In Cheshire much of it was in bonds of the Western Reserve Corporation, but some was placed in a bank, and this was usually loaned out to borrowers.

In this connection should be noticed the work of a New Haven County man, James Hillhouse, who was put in charge of the School Fund in 1810, as first commissioner. He found it in bad condition, and when he left at the end of fifteen years, the difficulties were straightened out, the capital increased, and the fund made productive. He accomplished this without any expense for law suits or lawyers. The Constitution of 1818 made this fund perpetual for the use of schools. Before this, action as to its use had been taken by vote of the General Assembly, and could be repealed at any time.

In 1820 it was voted that the school tax, at that time \$2 on the \$1,000, should cease when the School Fund brought in \$62,000. The result was that from 1821 until 1854 there was no school tax in Connecticut. At first the income from the school fund was distributed among the school societies of the state according to lists of polls and taxable property which gave the wealthier societies an advantage, but 1820 this was changed to a system of distribution based on the number of children between four and sixteen years of age. In 1820 the first census of school children was taken. In that year the amount for each child from the school fund was about \$.70, in 1840 it was \$1.40. Those schools which did not get enough from the fund assessed the parents for the rest.

Another source of income from outside the towns is from the Town Deposit Fund. In 1837 the United States divided the surplus in the treasury among the states. Connecticut distributed its share among the towns, as a deposit held in trust, one half the income to be used for education and one half for current expenses, and by a law passed in 1859, all to be used for educational purposes. Only three payments were made on this fund, the panic of 1837 preventing the fourth and final payment. The income from this fund in New Haven in 1929 was \$1,672.86. The fund might be loaned out in sums of not more than \$1,000 nor less than \$50.

Gifts have occasionally been made the public schools by individuals and by the colony. New Haven, Naugatuck, East Haven, Seymour and Wolcott have received gifts of money from individuals for equipment, or buildings, usually for some particular kind of school, as the Boardman School in New Haven.

CHAPTER III

SCHOOL SOCIETIES AND DISTRICTS

The school societies created by the acts of 1795 and 1798 took the place of the parishes or ecclesiastical societies, in managing school affairs just as these previously had succeeded the town meetings. "All inhabitants who have a right to vote in town meetings, are to meet in October annually, organize themselves into societies and transact any other business on the subject of schools in general, and touching the monies hereby appropriated to their use," that is, from the sale of the western lands. The act of 1798 completed the organization as to details. The school society was the town in special organization for that purpose, and its annual meeting followed the town meeting, usually in the same place. Thus Milford in 1797 formed itself into a school society and appointed the necessary officers; and when North Haven was incorporated it formed a school society. These societies were not co-extensive with the town, but like ecclesiastical parishes, might include a whole town, or part of a town, for in larger places they could be divided into district committees, the school societies keeping general oversight and control. Waterbury in 1833 had fourteen such districts. In 1839 these districts were legally made corporate bodies and could lay taxes within their own borders, but the tendency to separate into districts was checked by the law requiring school visitors.

The school societies appointed the visitors (not over nine in number), and they transacted all the business concerning schools,—care of funds, formation of districts, examining, appointing and dismissing teachers, and visiting all the schools twice a year. This system was peculiar to Connecticut and lasted until 1856.

Decline of Public Schools and Attempts at Reform

It was a period of decline in the schools. "It was my misfortune," said Henry Ward Beecher, "in boyhood, to go to a district school." Dr. Bacon gave a description of conditions in New Haven in 1825, when, he said, there was really no system of public schools, the Lancasterian school for boys being the only common school worth mentioning. "In all the city there was no such edifice as a schoolhouse for the common school. A few district schools, taught by women, in hired apartments, were sustained partly by dividends from the school fund, and partly by petty charge for tuition." Governor Wolcott in this same year, at the

May session of the legislature said the schools were insufficient and recommended the Lancasterian system as used in New Haven. It is interesting that the one school which stood out as the best in the state at this time was kept by Bronson Alcott in Cheshire. In general they were described as "an inefficient form."

Even earlier President Dwight in explaining the school system said it needed some additions, one of which was "the institution of a Board of Commissioners; one in each County * * * to examine into the actual state of the schools in their respective circuits." A man who later also became president of Yale, Noah Porter, won a prize of \$100 for an essay on the "Necessity and Means of Improving the Common Schools of Connecticut." Among other things he recommended the examination of teachers by one or more county officers.

By about 1840 the bad conditions of the schools,—poor teachers, poor books, poor schoolhouses,—often poor school visitors, many children out of school, and as many children as could afford it in private schools, made it necessary to do something. In 1839 a Board of Commissioners of Public Schools was created, made up of the Governor, the Commissioner of the School Fund, and one man from each county to be annually appointed by the Governor and confirmed by the Senate. This board had no authority to do anything. Its object was to collect and spread information, and discover, devise and recommend plans of improvement. School visitors were to report to it annually on penalty of not having their schools certified as kept according to law, and of losing their share of the school fund. Although schools were receiving state money there had been no supervision before this and little interest in the schools.

Perhaps this is a good place to consider that institution, the school visitor, in the words of the same local poet,—

"But 'twas the school committee man
Who terrified the little clan.
Just twice he came in every term
To tell them what and how to learn,
And show the school and teacher, too,
How very, very much he knew."

The recollections of Mr. Baldwin of Naugatuck describe the official visits of the Congregational and Episcopalian clergymen to the school. "An awful stillness pervaded the room when they came in. Mr. Sherman had some of the classes read and spell. * * * Mr. Scott called up the first class to read, the piece elected was 'The Mummy', in the 'National Preceptor'. I have always felt an interest in Egypt and the mummies since. Mr. Sherman gave the school quite a talk and his illustrations I remember well—as well as though it were yesterday." The pupils were then given a talk about wrong-doing and the visit ended with a prayer.

In 1842 the Board of Education was abolished, partly through motives of economy, and partly because it was said to interfere with the local management of schools. In 1844 a school superintendent was appointed for the state, at first the office held *ex officio* by the commissioner of the school fund, and later, when the state Normal School was established in 1849, by its principal, Henry Barnard. At the same time each local board was to appoint an Acting School Visitor. In 1865 a State Board of Education was formed, consisting of the Governor, Lieutenant Governor, and four members, one from each Congressional district. A change was made in 1919, substituting for the four members, nine, one from each county and one at large, all appointed by the Governor, to serve six years.

Changes in the School System

It may be well at this point to summarize the measures by which the State has brought about the present school system, establishing minimum conditions and standards for the whole state, and leaving local freedom and initiative. Three lines of legislation, carried on more or less simultaneously, brought about changes in school finances, school management, and in requirements for length of school year and attendance of children for at least a certain period.

In 1854 the period of no taxation for schools was ended by the requirement that each town must raise a tax of one cent on each dollar of the grand list for the support of schools. Two years later the town tax must be increased enough to make schools free, that is free in the present sense, as requiring no tuition charge. This law met with much opposition. In 1871 the State appropriated a certain sum for each pupil. The only tuition fees asked after these changes were from pupils attending schools outside their own districts.

At the same time changes were being made in the management of schools. In 1856 school societies were abolished and town management restored. In 1865 towns were empowered to consolidate districts by district vote, and 1866 by town vote. In 1909 the district system was abolished entirely, except in towns having cities or boroughs within their limits. By this time more than half the towns had already done away with the district system.

In the matter of attendance, in earliest days parents and masters were simply required to see that in some way children and apprentices were taught at least to read; in 1677 common schools were required for at least three months of the year; in 1700 towns of seventy families must have schools eleven months, and those of fewer than seventy for half the year. A tax of 40 shillings on the thousand pounds was laid for their support. The method of collecting this tax though somewhat aside from the subject under immediate consideration, may be given as it is of interest to the student of county history, for it was not collected by the towns, but by the State and given to the towns. The act provided that

"When and so often as the treasurer sends forth his warrants for levying the county rates, he shall also, together with the county rate, assess the inhabitants of the several towns in this colony, the said sum of forty shillings upon every thousand pounds, and proportionably for lesser sums in their county lists, adding the same to their respective proportions of the county rate, and requiring the constables to levy the said assessments upon the inhabitants of each town within their several precincts."

Returning to the subject of attendance, the act of 1799 which codified the recent school legislation specified no length of time for keeping schools open, so they were closed when the money gave out, and the school year differed widely in different towns. In 1869 the school year, which since 1855 had been six months, was made thirty weeks, and the next year this was modified according to the number of children. For twenty-four or more children the time was thirty weeks, for a smaller number at least twenty-four weeks. In 1872 was passed the first compulsory attendance law, that children from eight to fourteen years must attend school at least three months in the year. The law now is compulsory attendance of not less than 150 days between the ages of seven and sixteen, unless the child, after the age of fourteen and the completion of the sixth grade, is legally employed. These laws removed the reason for Dr. Bacon's criticism of the school system in New Haven as it was in 1865, that "there is danger of its leaving out of view the most important reason for its own existence, namely, the duty of the State to take care effectually that no portion of its population shall sink into barbarism, and, therefore, to take care that no child in the community shall be permitted to grow up without the rudiments, at least, of a civilizing education * * * Forty years ago, that stratum in society which now lies below the reach of our common schools, hardly existed here. At most it was too inconsiderable to be dangerous, But now, in the confluence of nations and religions which swells our population, the danger is too great to be neglected."

Conditions under the old system were thus described in Milford by Lambert. "The town is at present divided into ten school districts, and the public money received, by being expended in the most parsimonious manner, supports the several schools, about nine months in the year. * * * The schools are as good, perhaps, as can be expected, for the wages paid the teachers. But if the town would raise annually, by a tax, a sum half as much as is received from the school fund, and add to it, and pay such wages as would engage teachers of scientific acquirements, and make it an object for them to instruct *in reality*, instead of being an inefficient form, the community would be greatly benefitted." At this time an important requirement of the teacher in the winter lay in his hands, that he could set a legible copy, and if necessary come down with heavy hand on unruly boys who were often almost young men. "The best teacher was the one who could keep on the inside of the school-house, and the best pupil was the one who could put the teacher out."

It is not well to leave this period of the "multitude of schoolhouses, appearing everywhere at little distances," without realizing that, with all the defects of the system, every one received some training and intellectual improvement and equipment. . "It has not often happened to mankind that their children have in mass, been taught to read, and write," said President Dwight. "Nor is the number of persons small," he added, "who, availing themselves of this education in early life, have, without any other advantages than such as their own industry and habits of inquiry, furnished them, acquired a considerable share of information."

CHAPTER IV

TOWN MANAGEMENT RESTORED

A few figures will show the extent to which control of schools was subdivided under the disjointed district system. Derby at one time had nine districts, Cheshire fourteen, Madison thirteen, North Haven eight, Guilford eleven, Hamden nine, Milford eleven, and other towns numbers in varying proportions. Pease and Niles in 1819 reported thirty school societies in the county, divided into 193 school districts, or limits of a single school. Many towns were trying to consolidate the districts. Madison started agitation for this in 1854 and brought it about in 1892; Hamden made an unsuccessful effort in 1871. Some towns brought about consolidation of the central districts,—Guilford united five into one; Seymour, Milford and Wallingford also brought about some union. Naugatuck, which had been made a school district of Waterbury in 1730 as Judd's Meadow, in 1773 became an ecclesiastical society (Salem), with control of the schools. The next year it was divided into two districts and others were added later. In 1851 the reverse process was started by uniting five districts into the Union Center District.

Examples of the Process

In East Haven in 1728 there were four school districts, and the money was divided into four parts according to the number of children between the ages of five and fifteen. In 1882 part of East Haven was annexed to New Haven, which left three districts and remnants of a fourth. The process of consolidation was started when in 1894 the town received a gift of money from J. W. Thompson for schools, on condition that two of these districts be united. Accordingly in 1896 a Union school building was opened for the district formed by uniting the east and middle districts and the remnants of the South End district. In 1898 East Haven changed from the district to the town meeting plan of school management. The town meeting fixed the length of the school year, leaving details of the management in the hands of a committee of nine members, which in turn formed sub-committees of three members each. One of these had charge of teachers, course of study, attendance and discipline; another of buildings and matters connected with them; and the third of books and supplies.

The History of Meriden, compiled at the time of the 100th anniversary of its incorporation as a town, gives an account of the school system

and its development as it was being worked out of the low state reached under the district system. "The growth from isolated schools with short terms and untrained teachers to a system of schools unified in aim and effort, and crowned by a good High School was gradual, and was accomplished with much patient effort"

Meriden's "original seven" school districts were laid out in 1791, six designated by points of the compass, and the "remaining part of the Society to constitute the Center District." The number of the districts had been increased from time to time. "The voters of each district elected each year a committee of one or more men to hire the teacher and to attend to the business matters generally; but the voters of the town at large elected a board of school visitors who approved of the qualifications of teachers and of the character of the schoolhouses and text books.

"The board of school visitors through its acting school visitor performed the duties of a superintendent, visiting the schools, making recommendations to the district committees, and passing judgment on the work of the teachers.

"The recommendations of the acting school visitors often had great weight with the district committees, especially when accompanied by a threat to withhold public money. In several successive reports during the seventies they publicly rebuked the Farms district for the disreputable condition of its schoolhouse, which in the report of 1877 is characterized as 'the poorest school building in the town and enough, of itself, to demoralize a school.' Finally on May 24, 1879, they officially notified the district committee that 'no further appropriations of school money would be made until the accommodations were made satisfactory.' On September 15, 1879, that district had a new building ready for occupancy."

The working of the system in Meriden on the financial side is shown in the same account by the figures for a typical year, 1879-1880. "In that year the town distributed to the treasurers of the various districts \$29,647.23. In addition thereto the district raised by means of district taxes \$11,877.17, by loans \$2,053, and from other sources \$414.43, or about half as much as the town appropriated."

At the end of the period of district system of management sixty-six different men held office, and the number would have been larger if some men had not held more than one office.

In 1863 a special town meeting asked the board of school visitors to report a plan for the reorganization of the school system. Their recommendations were rejected, but six years later they reported that "the district system as it is applied in our town is a hindrance to the efficiency of our public schools. There is an annual suffering of educational interests because new and inexperienced district committees totally leave out of sight the policy of their experienced predecessors. There should be one system and harmony of school work throughout the town." In



(Courtesy of R. C. Chamberlain, New Haven)

THE OLD WEBSTER SCHOOL BUILDING

Built by Robert Treat Merwin. Enlarged in 1853 as a graded school,
designed to be a model for the entire city



(Courtesy of H. Wales Lines Co.)

HIGH SCHOOL, MERIDEN

1875 again they said that "the district system is prejudicial to the educational interests of our town, and that only habit retains the former arrangement." In 1896 consolidation was finally voted by a slender majority.

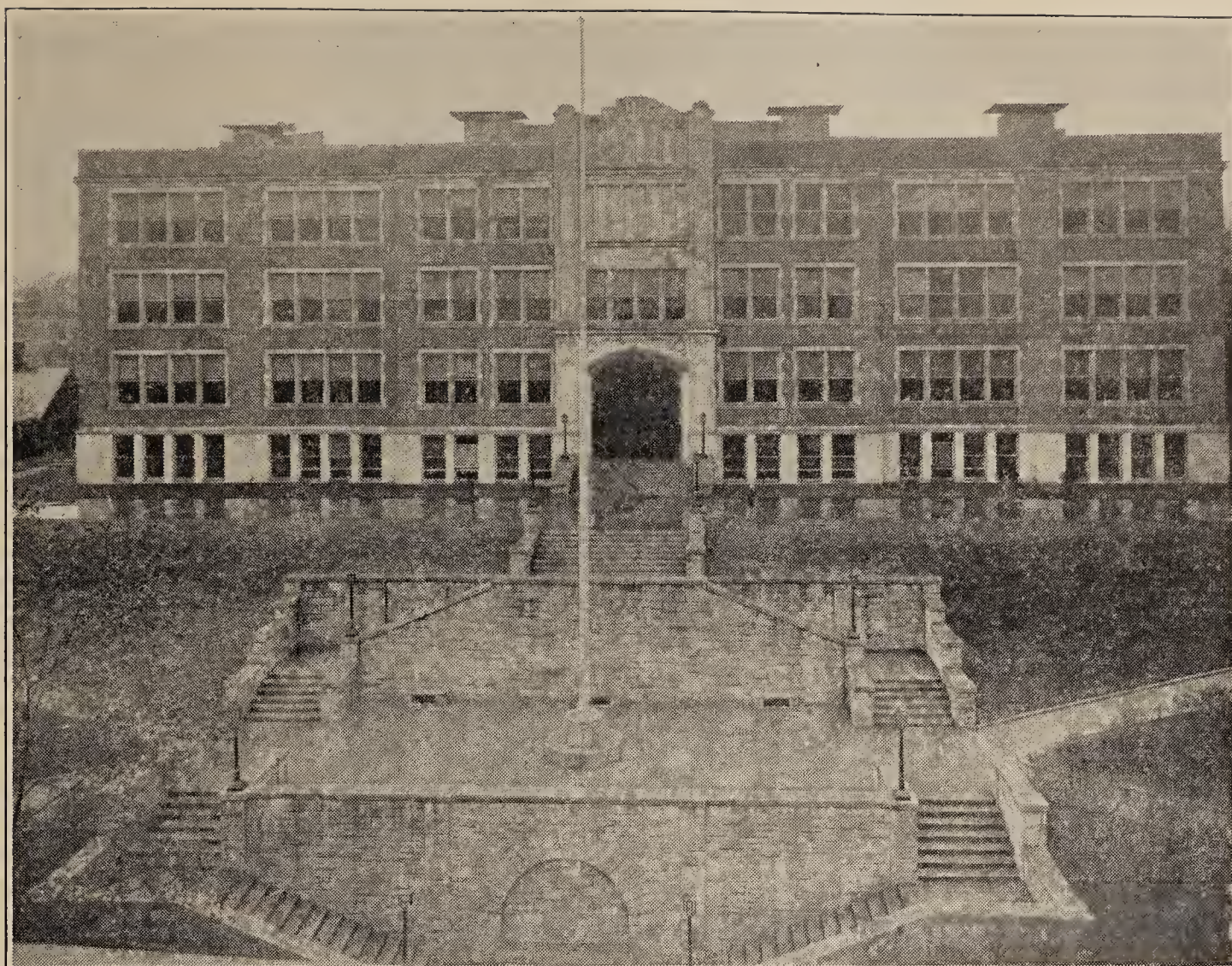
After the town assumed control of the schools the management was through a town committee of twelve men, who chose a superintendent of schools who was in a sense the successor of the old Acting School Visitor.

Meanwhile the town had put through some measures of improvement. In 1863 it voted to raise taxes to the point where all tuition charges might be removed. This had good results in increased attendance and better financial management. In 1863 only 57% of the children enumerated were registered, and of those only 66% attended school. In 1874 the percentage of attendance rose to 83½%. A beginning was made of grading the schools. In 1864 there was one "thoroughly graded" school, in the Corner district, which, it was reported, "receives children in the elements, and takes them through the successive stages of the common and higher English branches and also enables them to avail themselves of the facilities of a classical education."

In 1868 and 1869 a start was made towards a High School by opening an advanced department in some of the schools. In 1881 a New Central School was opened in rented rooms with fifty-one pupils. It was really a High School and the next year was given the name, and put under a separate committee of five members. In 1882 the higher studies were excluded from the other schools and 1885 a High School building was opened. Other departments of instruction were added to the school curriculum,—drawing in 1896, music in 1898, a kindergarten in 1903; and text books were made free in 1905. Twenty years before the State required that towns of over 10,000 should maintain evening schools, one was started in Meriden, though not kept up continuously.

At the time of its 100th birthday Meriden had eighteen school buildings, including the High School, and bonds issued for new buildings. It has one of the (State) Trade schools (Vocational), in which true to its history the trade of silversmith is taught.

Waterbury was advancing in the same direction. In the early 19th century there were fourteen school districts, managed by as many committees, under the administration of a school society, which was organized in committees, such as finance, visiting, examining etc., and later merged into a board of school visitors. In 1848, because of poor conditions, growth of population and desire for a High School, need for change was felt. On recommendation of a specially appointed committee, the town voted to ask the General Assembly to allow it to form a Union district or society of the five central districts. The districts involved in the plan agreed, and a charter was received in 1849 giving powers to establish and maintain a high school and primary schools. This made a complicated situation, as the other districts remained under the old



(Courtesy of Waterbury Chamber of Commerce)

WILBY HIGH SCHOOL, WATERBURY



HIGH SCHOOL, WALLINGFORD

plan of district committees. The new central district was independent both of the other districts and of the town.

By the charter, as amended in 1880, there was a board of education of seven members, a district committee of five, a treasurer, two auditors, and a clerk. At one time the two boards met as a joint body. In 1891 the offices of superintendent of schools and principal of the High School were separated, and Mr. S. C. Crosby became superintendent alone. In 1914 the superintendent was put in charge of buildings as well as of the purely educational work. In 1899 the Department of Education was created in the city government, taking over all the property and affairs of the Center school district, which was made the same as the city in area and the name was given up. Other districts in the old town limits could vote themselves into this department, the first one doing so in 1915, the Town Plot district. The Board of Education is composed of nine members, elected biennially for terms of six years.

Other steps have been similar to those in Meriden, the establishment of evening schools, kindergarten, manual training, music, physical training and a Commercial High school. High schools originally had been used chiefly to prepare students for college, but new ideas were developing to meet the needs of different classes. The statement for 1885, the year after the Commercial High School opened said, "The business course recognizes the fact that there is every where an increasing demand for a more liberal education in preparing for business life, and that the highest success in business cannot be attained without it." In 1912 two schools were added, a Continuation School for Apprentices, and an open air school conducted until 1915 at no expense to the Department of Education; in 1916 a State-aided Vocational School and part time extension trade classes. Waterbury now has three High schools,—Classical, Commercial, Vocational,—thirty-four grammar schools, nine parochial grammar schools and two parochial High schools, besides its private schools.

At the close of the 18th century in New Haven Abraham Bishop projected the Orleans Academy, to try to find a "general plan for the schooling of children" of the city, by an association of schools, including Hopkins Grammar School. This plan bore no fruit, and the low condition of schools in New Haven has already been indicated in the remarks of Dr. Bacon. This condition lasted until the middle of the century, when a system of grading the pupils was tried in one of the schools, Webster, as a model, followed soon in another, Eaton. Petitions for such schools and for higher instruction had been made ten years earlier. From these two the system was extended over the entire city, for since there were no district boundaries as at present, children flocked to these schools.

The other part of the petition was answered by the creation of the High school in 1859, named for James Hillhouse, Commissioner of the School Fund. During this period a board of education was formed for the city as a whole, as was done in Waterbury and Meriden, and the Acting School Visitor became the Superintendent of Schools, with responsi-



(Courtesy of the New Haven Colony Historical Society)

NOAH WEBSTER'S BOOKS AND
BOOKCASE, AND A CORNER OF
THE TABLE ON WHICH HE WROTE
THE DICTIONARY



(From a Silhouette in the collection of the
New Haven Colony Historical Society)

NOAH WEBSTER, 1758-1843



(From a Silhouette in the collection of the
New Haven Colony Historical Society)

MRS. NOAH WEBSTER

bilities continually enlarging. The New Haven school district included all the township except Westville, and a small district at South End, and was subdivided into grammar school districts.

The abolition of the tuition fee in New Haven was brought about in 1849 in a curious way. The State law provided that no child should be deprived of the privileges of attending school because of the inability of its parents to pay the school fee. Some refused at that time to pay the fee, and as it is difficult to draw the line between those who can and who cannot pay, the authorities ceased to ask for it after that year. At present non-resident pupils pay a small fee, slightly larger in the secondary than in the primary schools. Text books have also been made free. Neither this fee, nor transportation charges is paid by the parents of the pupil.

As in the other towns the curriculum and activities in the schools of New Haven have been continually broadening, with the need to introduce the elective system. In 1884 the study of music was introduced into the schools under Mr. Benjamin Jepson, in answer to a petition from many prominent citizens. In view of the past history and present conditions in New Haven, one of the reasons advanced is worth noting,—“Believing that in order to insure the successful introduction of congregational singing in our churches we must first instruct our children in the theory of music.” The classes of music in our public schools today may thus be considered in a sense as successors of the old time singing schools.

Perhaps the most useful way to fill in this outline of the development of the school system is to give its present status in New Haven, as furnished by the 1929 report of the Department of Education. Schools are managed by a Board of Education, composed of nine members, serving for six years, with powers in school matters somewhat like those of a board of selectmen in town government. Directly in charge of the schools is a Superintendent, with three assistants, a secretary, and an advisory secretary. There is an Inspector of buildings, and Supervisors of music, art, penmanship, physical education, and kindergartens. This group of officers indicates the extent to which the curriculum has expanded. The physical equipment consists of three High schools,—Commercial, Hillhouse and Boardman Manual Training School, the latter a gift, and receiving State aid; four intermediate or Junior High schools; fifty graded elementary schools, and some special schools; the schools are housed in more than sixty buildings, practically all owned by the city. There are nearly 1,200 teachers and supervisors. School property in books and buildings is valued at over \$8,000,000, and the annual expenditure is nearly \$2,800,000.

The report of the Board of Education shows some interesting facts concerning the movement of population. At the time New Haven was 250 years old, 1888, the increase in number of pupils every year was so great that a new school building was needed about every twelve months. At present some of the schools in the older part of the city,

formerly once crowded, show decreased enrollment, due to the expansion of business houses in that section of the city, with the result that people are moving out to West Haven, (which has a fine new High school building of its own), to Hamden, (which, with nearly 800 children attending the High schools in New Haven, is taking steps to have its own High school), and even farther to Woodbridge and Cheshire. The annual increase of pupils, which formerly was at the rate of 500 to 1,000 a year in the city, will probably never take place at such a rate again. The increase is constantly becoming smaller in the city and larger in the surrounding region.

Another series of figures in the same report illustrates changes in the character of the population. Fifty-seven nationalities were represented in the pupils, a greater variety in Hillhouse than in Boardman,—35 in the former and 29 in the latter. The three highest groups are shown in the following table:—33,358 children in school.

		in High School	in Boardman
Italians	12,065	15%	17 %
Americans	10,537	43%	34 %
Russians	3,863	17%	16.6%

Changes in Text Books

Reference only can be made to the revolution in the matter of text books that had taken place by the middle of the nineteenth century, and of the work in that field by an inhabitant of New Haven, Noah Webster, though part of his work had been done before he came here to live. This was a revolution in more than one sense. Not only must text books be supplied where there was dearth before, but the country must develop its own vocabulary and usages in matters such as that of the change of coinage from pounds and shillings to dollars and cents. After a time American text books came to be written for American schools, based on American manners and customs. "Our honor requires us to have a system of our own in language as well as in government." Noah Webster was led to take up this work because of his experiences elsewhere as a schoolmaster. Figures as to the sales of his American Spelling Books, Readers, and Grammars, which ran into the millions, and the numbers of editions rivalling those of an earlier book by a New Haven schoolmaster, Cheever, tell most eloquently how wide was the use of his books. This made for uniformity of speech and pronunciation, and he thus "standardized," to use a term at present in ill-repute, our speech as well as helped correct the "vicious pronunciation" of many words. His spelling books were the nearest thing many children had to reading and picture books, and the fables were chosen with a definite purpose, to teach morality, legality and patriotism.

The Dictionary, begun in New Haven, on which he was assisted by the poet Percival, followed the same idea of American usage, and was

2088, 2246, 2247.

trial of crime. we may not

2. To cast off or neglect. Ps. 22. 24. Amos. 6. 3.
3. To cast off or reject. Ps. 39. 38.

Abhorrence; { n. Extreme hatred, detestation, great aversion
Abhorreny; { n.
Abhorrent. a. Hatred; Detesting; Stomach with abhorrence

2. Contrary; odious, inson pectant with, expressive of extreme opposition as stander is abhorrent to all ideas of justice. In this sense, it should be followed by to -- a horrent form is not agreeable to the English D^r.
- More they are with abhorrence.

beten man man that "p" did not mean but taking the River Council
 1 To encourage by aid for conviction. But more used chiefly in
 2 a bad sense. To obtain opinion in the house of support used by those
 3 to obtain, but this use is hardly altogether correct. To
 4 encourage, counsel, move, or assist in a criminal act, or
 5 to obtain, or win, or procure, or induce, or prevail, or
 6 to obtain, or win, or procure, or induce, or prevail, or

A betment in the act of abetting.

Whether, abolition. g. One who rebels, or incites, aids or encourages another to commit a crime. g +

persons concerned being principals.

~~Hereafter~~ ~~some~~ consequently a bayonet ~~I~~ shall ~~be~~ given.
~~gone, to expect with great mortification, a day in which~~ The St. George's
~~think at bay - to keep in expectation of~~ hence to
relation of law. The fee simple or inheritance of lands & tenements is in
bayonet, when there is a person in being in whom it can vest,
so that it is in a state of expectancy or waiting, until a proper person shall appear.
Their expectation of a benefit if land is leased to a man for life, remainder
to another for years, the remainder for years is in bayonet till the
death of the life tenant.

Alber! et T. Pakhanev 1880 to
Blackstone.

to look in trouble. Let you to make me in the mind of heart.
I So hate extremely, to be the, detest or abominate Shake.

2. To suppress or neglect. Ps. 22. 24. Amos. 6. 8.
3. To cast off or reject. Ps. 28. 38.

Ab. horned, ant. 100. ~~S. horned~~, Head extremely, Deteriorated

Abhorrence. {Ex. Extreme hatred, detestation, great aversion
 Abhorment. a hating; detesting; stomach with abhorrence

2. Contrary; odious, in consistent with, expressive of extreme opposition—
as 'Slavery is abhorrent to all ideas of justice.' In this sense, I should
be followed by to — a horrent form is not agreeable to the English Diction.
— 'I honestly avow with abhorrence.'

called the "American Dictionary of the English Language." He said certain words, Congress, Senate etc. among others, had a different meaning in America. Many of these definitions were changed in later editions, to the dissatisfaction of some persons, who said it had been done in a politically partisan fashion.

Other schoolmasters in the county had already felt the need for books. Samuel Johnson, Jr., whose "ruling passion was to be serviceable to youth," had been moved in the same direction and brought out a School Dictionary. This contained only about 4,300 words, and was "not intended to afford either entertainment or instruction to persons of education." It was printed and sold by Edward O'Brien of New Haven. No date is on the book, but it was advertised in the *Connecticut Journal*, November 1798. The Dictionary sold quickly, and Johnson and Rev. John Elliot, grandson of the famous Jared, got out another in 1800.

Schoolmaster Johnson was an interesting person, as described by Mr. H. P. Robinson in the *Connecticut Magazine*. He, and his father before him, taught in the Guilford Academy. He also wrote a little Hebrew Grammar. He cultivated not only the apple of wisdom, but a more earthly kind, and was one of the first to graft apple and pear trees. He was interested in genealogy. Perhaps the popularity of spelling matches was due to the efforts of Mr. Webster and Mr. Johnson.

A New Haven County schoolmaster was also working in the field of geography, Jedediah Morse, Yale 1783, who taught in a school for young ladies in New Haven, and at the end of the year 1784 published a geography. It was a little book, but the first one in America, and went through many editions. He soon became Tutor in Yale College, and President Stiles wrote in his diary, "1786. October 25. Mr. Tutor Morse, desiring to be absent until spring in order to make the tour of the states to Georgia, for perfecting a new edition of his Geography—we elected the Rev. Abiel Holmes Tutor." Amos Doolittle did some map engraving for this geography.

Many text books have been written by members of the Yale faculty, but they belong more particularly to the history of the college. A change in regard to text books in the public schools should be mentioned, the introduction of the custom of providing the students with free books.



(From the collection of the New Haven Colony Historical Society)

SKETCH OF THE UNION SCHOOLHOUSE, NEW HAVEN

Erected on Little Orange Street in 1802. The second story was occupied by Hiram Lodge, No. 1, F. & A. M. from 1813 to 1843. Drawn from memory by a member of said lodge and authenticated by witnesses who attended school here.



THE OLD ACADEMY, BRANFORD

CHAPTER V

ACADEMIES AND PRIVATE SCHOOLS

During the period of the decline of the public schools, a great number of private schools and academies came into existence. To these were sent in large numbers all children whose parents could afford to do so, or who wished for them a higher education than the common schools afforded, for by the law of 1798 county towns were no longer required to have a Latin school, and the day of the free public high school was in the future. In 1837 it was reported that 10,000 were studying in private schools, and 6,000 were not attending school. This might be called the Academy Era, from the enormous number of private schools, which lasted for shorter or longer periods. Many were opened by ministers, who were glad to add to the income they received from their parish work. It is suggested that the wide-spread use of the term Academy was a revolt after the Revolution against the use of the English term Grammar school, substituting the word used there also it is true, but for Non-Conformist schools in distinction to those of the Church of England. The Academy Era lasted from about the close of the Revolution to the middle of the 19th century, when High schools began to be formed. "The spirit of Academy making is vigorous," wrote President Stiles, or "Ezra the scribe" as some one called him, in his diary.

There were certain points of similarity between Academies and their predecessors the Grammar Schools. Both required tuition fees and prepared students for college. Some academies had college aspirations of their own, and had a broader curriculum than the Grammar Schools. Like Hopkins Grammar School, academies were endowed. Noah Webster wrote in 1806, "many academies are maintained by private funds. In these are taught not only the primary branches of learning, but geography, grammar, the languages, and higher branches of mathematics. There are also academies for young ladies, in which are taught the additional branches of needle work, drawing and embroidery." The Grammar Schools, in their origin at least, were attached to some dominant religious organization, and had the exclusive aim to prepare students for universities. The academy might itself give instruction in college subjects. Unlike the later High schools the academies were open to students from other places than the town in which they were located. President Dwight, having remarked that the knowledge taught in these schools "is undefined by any general sys-

tem," said, "A considerable amusement is also furnished in many places by the examination, and exhibitions, of the superior schools."

It is impossible to consider all the academies in the county even by a brief notice, but the mere enumeration of the most important will show the extent of the movement. Anderson's "History of Waterbury" gives a "partial list" of over thirty smaller private schools in that city alone, in the years 1803 to 1893. Similar lists might be made for other towns. The Connecticut Board of Education reported forty-five in the county in 1902, besides church schools. A significant fact to be noticed in their history is that many were obliged to close their doors because of the establishment of High schools. A few have continued as college preparatory schools. It will be noticed also, that many academies led to the formation of High schools, or were merged in them. In an occasional instance, a "Select School" became a district school.

One of the earliest was *Badger Academy*, opened in Waterbury in 1784, and at the time the only institution higher than the common or district school. It was started by subscription, first as a school for girls, then one for boys was added. One of the masters for the boys was Nathan Hale's brother. The first winter 150 students were in attendance, and the school prospered while the first teachers remained. By 1790 clocks were being made in part of the building, and 1798 President Dwight, himself at one time the successful head of an academy, wrote, "A few years since an academy was erected there; but it is now visibly decaying."

Derby Academy, 1786, was put up by private enterprise, by a sort of joint stock corporation. It provided instruction in Greek and Latin and prepared boys for college, but was finally merged in the district school. In 1811 the same indefatigable observer, President Dwight, reported, "for several years it has, I believe, been little more than a parochial school."

A famous school was opened in New Haven in 1799, the *Union school*. A joint stock company, which was chartered, bought a lot on Little Orange Street and built a schoolhouse. The pupils were divided into four classes, and the school had a high rank. It probably did not teach Latin and Greek because of the presence of Hopkins Grammar School. Boys and girls were probably in different rooms. A little later the *New Township Academy* was opened at the corner of Chapel and Academy streets, to provide a school for that part of town. This was kept, with interruptions, until 1831.

Milford Academy was opened in 1810, and was at first successful, but with the improvement of the public schools, its usefulness ended. The minister, Rev. Bezaleel Pinneo, had private students, preparing about thirty boys for college in the first half of the 19th century.

The *Union Academy* of Wallingford, 1812, also gave instruction in the classics and prepared boys for college. In 1818 it had forty-five pupils, but support failed. The last surviving pupil was Joseph R. Hawley.

Branford Academy was started about 1820. The minister, Rev. T. P. Gillette, had a select school here, which led to the desire for an academy. A group of stockholders put up a building, which is still standing on the

Green. The consolidation and improvement of the town schools ended its usefulness after several years.

Lee's Academy, East Guilford, 1821, was put up by a group of men, Capt. Fred Lee furnishing about half the cost of the building, and the rest owned in eight or ten shares. After a time part of the building was used by the public school, and the school district gradually got the shares, the academy becoming town property in 1892. Its usefulness ended with the erection of *Hand Academy* in 1884, a gift to the town. A primary school was kept in part of the old academy building.

Waterbury Academy, 1825-1849. The building was put up by an association, ninety-three subscribers taking shares at \$5.00. The school was kept until the High school was started.

Meriden Institute, 1847-1869, was also held in a building paid for by an organization of over fifty subscribers to shares at \$25.00 each. The building was rented to a teacher who was paid by the tuition of the students. This school gave way to the new Center public school, and the building was sold.

Humphreysville Academy, 1849, with forty-seven scholars the first year, succeeded so well that it led to the organization of a High school association (shares \$25.00 each) in 1851. The first principal of the Academy, George B. Glendenning, left in 1853, and a short-lived *Gay's Academy* was opened in the same building. The studies pursued were Greek, Latin, French and music.

Parker Academy in Woodbury, 1851, was also merged into a High school.

The *Guilford Institute* was founded in 1854 by a bequest from Mrs. Nathaniel Griffing, for a school higher than the district school. The terms of the bequest are interesting. The school was to be open to all, not a sectarian institution, but "as more harmony will be likely to prevail, if all the directors or trustees are of the same religious views, my wish is that they should be of the denomination to which I belong, to wit, of the Congregational order, and of that class designated and known at the present day as Orthodox or Trinitarian." This school received another gift of \$10,000 from S. B. Chittenden. In 1872 pupils of the Union district were received free of charge, and 1875 when the trustees received no interest on certain investments, they allowed the building to be used for a High school.

A very interesting school was the *Derby Agricultural Seminary* opened by Josiah Holbrook and Rev. Truman Coe in 1824 for a short existence. It had a comprehensive curriculum, including Latin and Greek, and was one of the first schools in America which taught natural science and combined practical agriculture and manual labor with education. The boys were allowed to pay part of their expenses by working on the farm. Josiah Holbrook later became a lecturer and organizer of lyceums, and devoted himself to science and education.

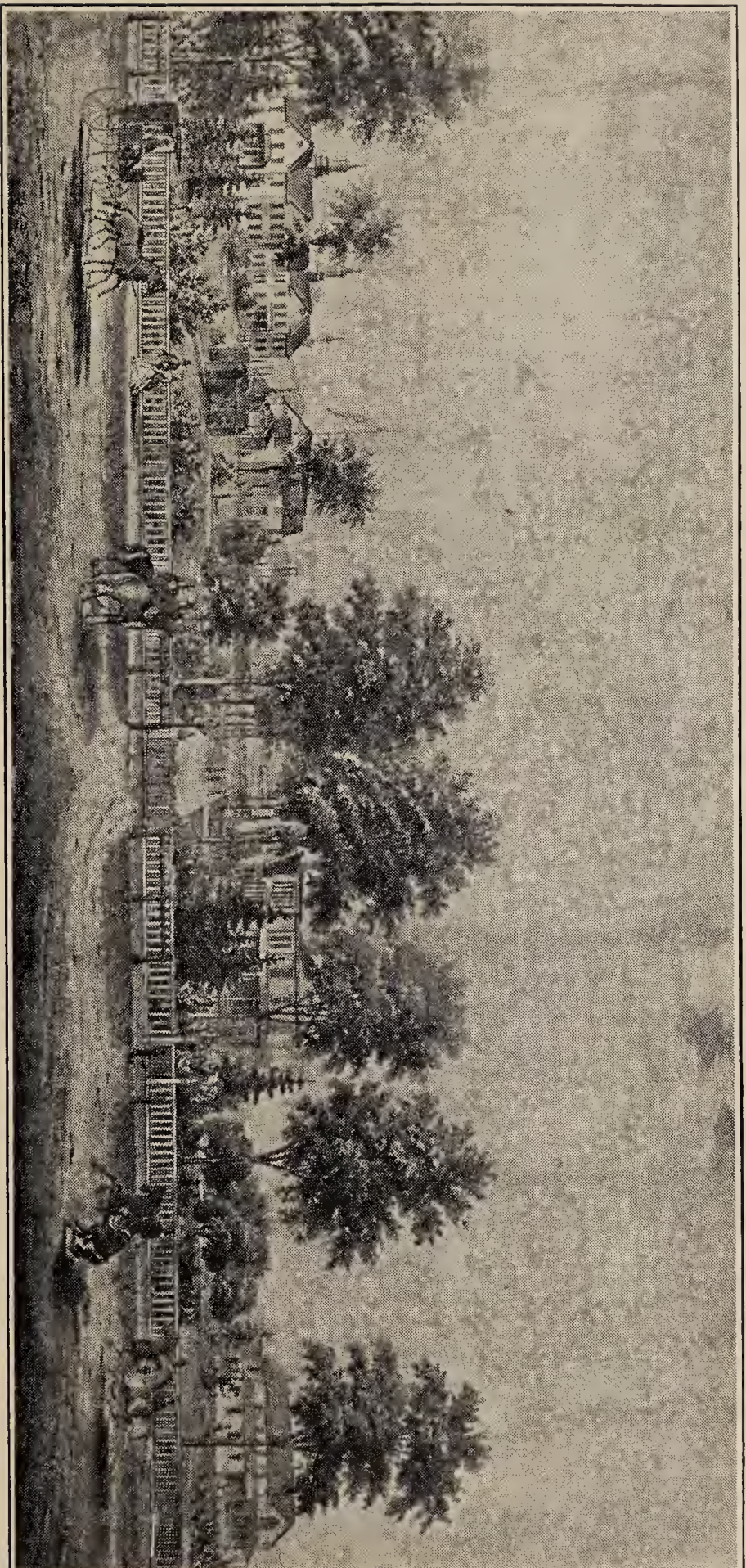
The *Episcopal Academy of Cheshire*, 1796, the oldest institution of the sort in America, has already been considered in another connection.

It was intended primarily as a training school for ministers, and by 1819 twenty-eight had taken orders, and about ninety were prepared to enter college. It was theoretically open to young ladies. The curriculum included "the English language, Mathematics, History, and every other science usually taught at Colleges, likewise the dead languages, such as Greek and Latin. * * * And whenever the finances of the Academy will admit, the trustees shall procure an instructor in the French language, purchase a library and philosophical apparatus at their own discretion." The school has had a checkered career, trying at various times to become a college, losing money in the failure of the Eagle Bank, closing for a time, and experimenting with the plan of having some of the work done by the students. Later, military drill was introduced and it was known as the *Cheshire Military Academy*, and later still became the *Roxbury School*. The original academy building is used as a gymnasium.

Besides the Academies there were separate schools for girls and boys. One of the most famous of these was the *Lancasterian School* opened in New Haven in 1822 by an Englishman, John E. Lovell, in the basement of the Methodist Church on the Green. This was so much better than any of the schools in town that all parents who were able to do so sent their sons to it, and the list of pupils contains almost all the prominent men of a generation. When a new building was put up for the school in 1827, where one of the public schools is now on Orange Street, it contained a department for girls as well as boys. This school flourished for thirty years, until, like the academies, it met the competition of graded public schools. Before that time the State recommended the use of the system in other places, and it was adopted in Guilford in 1824 for a time, when all the children going to public school were put into one central school.

Flourishing a little later, and lasting a little longer was another school for boys on Wooster Place in New Haven, a military school, under William H. Russell, the *Commercial and Collegiate Institute*. General Russell was descended from Noadiah Russell; one of the founders of Yale, attended a military school in Middletown, was valedictorian of the class of 1833 of Yale and received the degree of M. D. in 1838. He was a strong Abolitionist and took an important part in state military affairs. Over 4,000 boys attended this school.

During most of the same period, 1843-1873, another school for boys was being held in Hamden, the *Rectory School*, under the Rev. C. W. Everest, rector of Grace Church, Hamden, "clergyman, teacher, scholar, poet, editor and compiler of the *Poets of Connecticut*." He began with four boys in his family, to eke out his income. At one time this school needed several masters, with sixty or seventy pupils in attendance, the number fixed at sixty-five. Military drill was established and the boys were dressed in uniforms of West Point gray. Nearly six hundred boys attended this school. It was reopened in 1885 by one of the sons of Mr. Everest, but on different principles.



(From the collection of the New Haven Colony Historical Society)

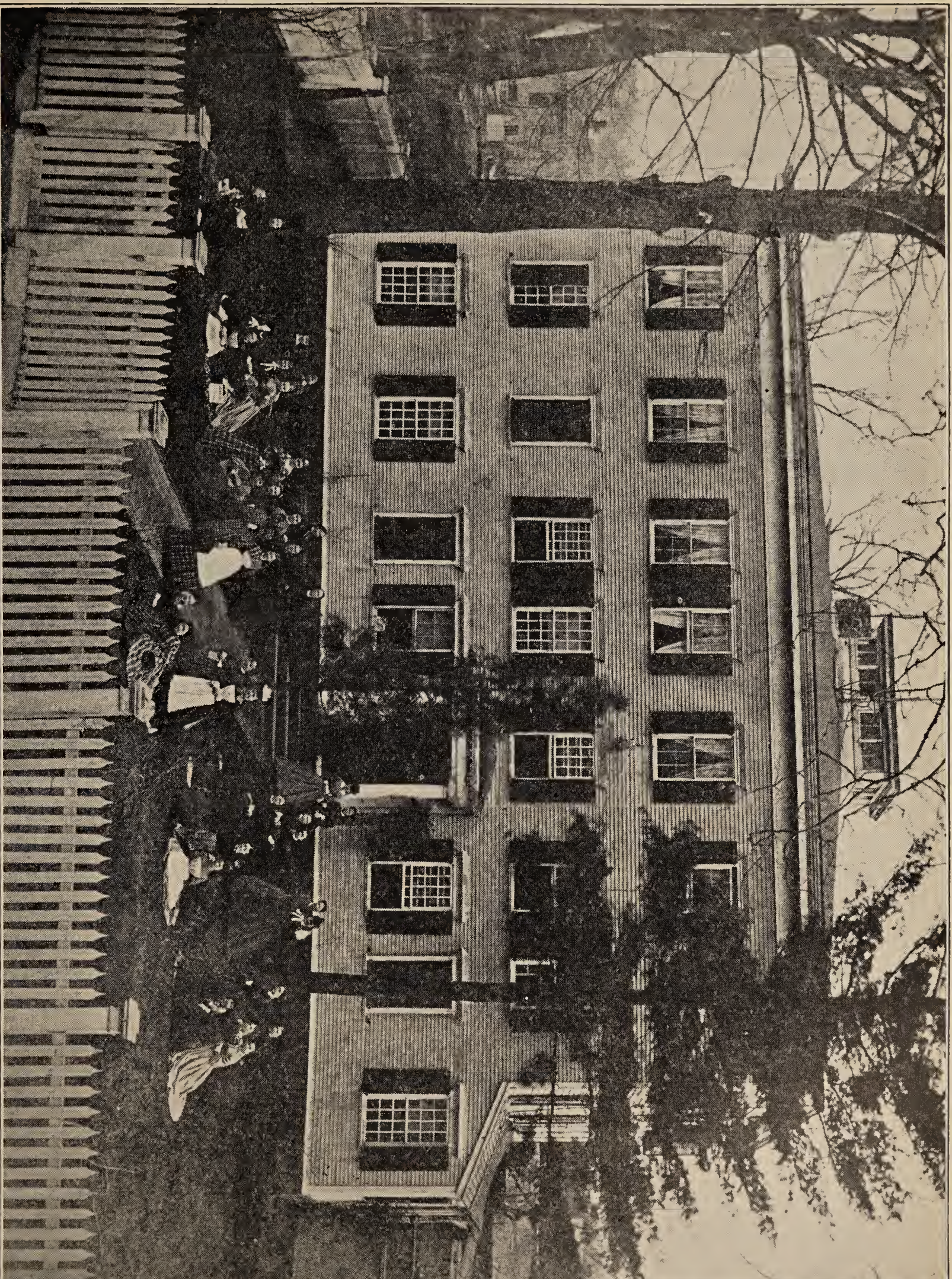
THE RECTORY SCHOOL, HAMDEN

Schools for girls were also opened, one by Abel Morse in New Haven in 1783, for girls only, or "young misses" as the prospectus put it. A little later was the *Herrick School* on College Street, which during its existence from 1806 until 1831 was attended by sixteen or eighteen hundred young ladies. It was continued for a time by Miss Hotchkiss and the Rev. John Garfield had a school for girls in 1821.

In 1829 the *Young Ladies Institute* was started by Ethan Allen Andrews who carried on the "Cheeverian" tradition, since he was author with Solomon Stoddard of a Latin grammar. He had taught in the University of North Carolina and came to New Haven in connection with the the New Haven Gymnasium, a boarding school for boys, established by two sons of President Dwight. Mr. Stoddard was a colleague here. His attention was turned to the education of girls because of his own daughter. With the approbation of leading men of New Haven, he started the institution which was the first attempt in the United States to give young women equal facilities with men, aiming really at college education, "a desideratum in Female Education," but "strictly adapted to their sex." The students of the school were mature, those more advanced attending lectures at Yale by Professor Silliman and Professor Olmstead. Among the students was Miss Sarah Porter of the famous Farmington school. In all about two hundred girls attended, coming from a wide area, geographically, from eighteen states and Washington, D. C. A "new and elegant" brick building was put up in Wooster Square on land belonging to Abraham Bishop, the place described in the Prospectus as "an open and healthy situation, commanding a fine view of the town and harbor, and the beautiful hills which surround them." For personal reasons the school was not continued long, (1834), and the buildings were used first by a school for boys kept by Stiles French, and later by Russell's military school.

New Haven County felt the influence of schools in other places. In 1839 two pupils of Miss Emma Willard, who had also been teachers in her school, opened a boarding school for young ladies, "in the village of Naugatuck, in the town of Waterbury." The prospectus, given by Anderson, is interesting as showing the course of study and expenses of one of these schools. It offered "the common English branches, per quarter, \$4; for the higher branches, including ancient and modern geography and history, astronomy, logic, rhetoric, botany, natural philosophy, chemistry, algebra, geometry, Kame's 'Elements of Criticism,' Paley's 'Moral Philosophy,' per quarter, \$6; for music on the piano, \$8; French, \$6; Latin, \$4; drawing and painting, \$5; use of patterns, \$1; board, including bedding, fuel and lights, \$2.25 per week; washing, 50 cents per dozen." The school was carried on successfully five or six years, the only boarding school of high grade between New Haven and Litchfield.

Oak Hill Seminary in the "beautiful and retired village of West Haven" was described as "in full sympathy with the *Ladies' Seminary* at Mount Holyoke." Its advertisement says, "The full course of study,



(Courtesy of the New Haven Colony Historical Society)

GROVE HALL

Originally the Hillhouse family mansion, built in 1767, two stories high, with dormer windows. Here Madam Hillhouse entertained British officers, while her nephew James, Captain of the Foot Guards, helped defend New Haven against the British invaders. Sold in 1825 for a school kept by Miss Peters, and named Grove Hall by one of her teachers; sold in 1847 to Miss Dutton, who enlarged it and kept a famous school. Later it was used as a boarding house

embracing both the Primary and Higher Branches occupies four years. To those who honorably complete it, Diplomas are awarded." This school evidently meant to keep up with the times, for "A Dress suitable for Gymnastic practice is Required." This was started in the old parsonage as a select school.

Mount Carmel had its *Female Seminary*, started about 1850, kept by two young ladies who had been away at school. This seminary had its own building, which was later used as a public school. A very successful school was kept in Wallingford for several years by Miss Carrington, daughter of one of the physicians of the town. Mention should be made of such schools for girls as *Grove Hall* in New Haven; and Mrs. Cady's West End Institute, started in New Haven at a little later period.

St. Margaret's School in Waterbury was opened in 1865 by the Waterbury School Association, and presented ten years later to the Episcopal Diocese of Connecticut. It is chartered, and has at times received money and bequests. It was first called the "Collegiate Institute for Young Ladies" and proposed three departments, elementary, academic, and collegiate. For a long time Rev. Francis Russell was principal, and the "House Mother," his wife, was the daughter of Lydia Huntley Sigourney.

Another important school opened in Waterbury in 1869 is the *Academy of the Convent of Notre Dame*. The list of schools, each contributing its part to the improvement of educational conditions, might be prolonged almost indefinitely.

CHAPTER VI

YALE UNIVERSITY

The Founding of Yale

Such an enterprise as a college had been in the air in New Haven almost from its first settlement. It has been shown how John Davenport tried to start a "small college, such as the day of small things will permit." When such an institution was started in Connecticut many years later, the choice of New Haven as its home was the result of another struggle with Hartford, with a happier outcome than the contest over the charter of 1662. The Collegiate School as it was called at first, was in many ways a child of the county, as the institution of today is not, for the latter is a University not only in organization, but in the cosmopolitan character of its student body and Faculty. In the early days many lines tied it close to the old Colony of New Haven, and the aims, beliefs and efforts of John Davenport are continually brought to mind. The name of Davenport, instead of that of Elihu Yale, a somewhat casual benefactor, might have appropriately been given to the university which finally came to the colony he founded, for his was the first vision, and in a very real sense Yale is the descendant of his plans.

The first acts in the founding of Yale are surrounded with some uncertainty. Many years after the event, President Clap gave two different accounts, one in 1747 and the other about twenty years later. The second account was prepared in connection with his defense of the independence of the college against the claims of the Colony Legislature. President Clap maintained its independent origin in order to vindicate its right to manage its own affairs, without oversight of the colony authorities. A pretty historical problem was thereby presented, as to which of several acts and meetings of the "Reverend Elders deliberating of a college" should be taken as the official act of founding. Happily, too, there are the episodes of the books to lend a touch of the legendary and picturesque to these discussions.

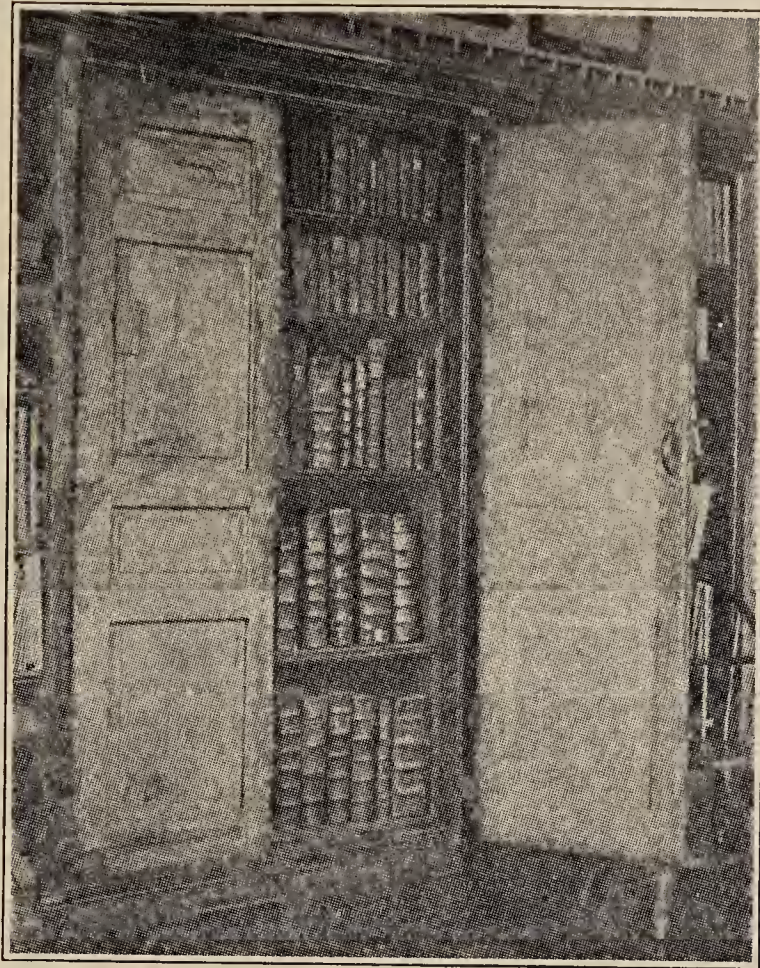
In 1684 the mantle of Davenport as minister of the church in New Haven fell upon the shoulders of James Pierpont, who moreover chose for his first wife Davenport's granddaughter, Abigail, child of his only son. Pierpont, "a godly man, and a good scholar," seemed to be the logical person to make the second attempt in New Haven to found a college, and apparently realized that he was carrying out the Davenport

tradition in so doing, for he made the fitting suggestion that Davenport's own words should be used almost exactly in the charter of the college, "wherein youth may be instructed in the arts and sciences, who through the blessing of almighty God may be fitted for Publick Employment both in church and civil state." It has also been suggested as a possibility that among the books Pierpont gave to the library of the small college were some of those brought over by Samuel Eaton and given for a college by his brother Theophilus Eaton, (left in the care of John Davenport), as well as some belonging to Davenport himself. At any rate it is a pleasant suggestion to entertain. Further, the decisive factor in the final settlement of the Collegiate School in New Haven was the arrival as minister in Davenport's church of Joseph Noyes. This brought over the votes of two of the most influential trustees, his father and uncle.

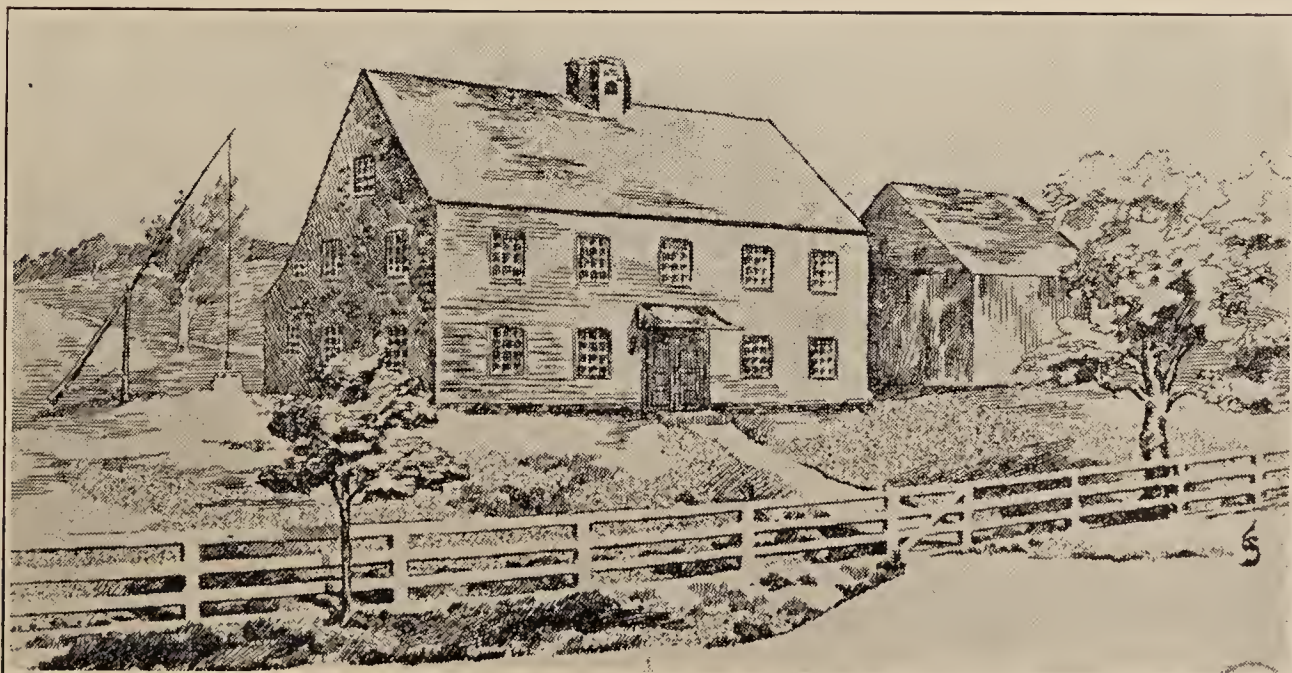
Various circumstances made the last years of the seventeenth century an opportune time to press again the idea of a college in New Haven. The war of William and Mary had been brought to end in 1697; the General Assembly of the colony was about to meet in New Haven for the first time, and many of the men who would gather on that occasion were relatives of the ministers interested in the project. Five of the ten Assistants were parishioners of the ministers whose names appear in the movement. That this was an advantage may be gathered from the report made by Caleb Heathcote, an ardent Episcopalian, to the Venerable S. P. G. in 1705 concerning the founding of the college. "And the ministers, who are as absolute in their respective parishes as the Pope of Rome, argued, prayed and preached up the necessity of it, and the passive-obedience people, who dare not do otherwise than obey, gave even beyond their ability. *A Thing Which They Call a College* was prepared accordingly."

The Congregational "Popes," to borrow Heathcote's word, were connected by family and college ties as well as by their profession. This may be illustrated from the group of founders. Mather and Andrew, classmates at Harvard (1675), had married sisters, daughters of Robert Treat of Milford. Two of the other ministers were similarly connected. The children of Pierson (Harvard 1668) and Woodbridge (Harvard 1675) had inter-married; Woodbridge and Noyes (Harvard 1659) were cousins; Pierpont (Harvard 1681) was the nephew of Pierson and step-son of Buckingham. Pierson's wife, by the way was one of the spinning girls who sang the topical song that amused the hidden Regicides.

It will be remembered that according to the recommendation of the General Assembly quarterly meetings of ministers were now being held in the counties. The tradition is that the college project was first laid before a New Haven County meeting, and then before those men in the whole colony most likely to be interested in such an enterprise, "several well disposed and Publick spirited Persons." Another circumstance that favored taking up the matter at this time was the course affairs were taking at Harvard. Moses Noyes wrote, "The first movers for a college



THE BOOKS IN THE PICTURE ARE
THOSE GIVEN BY THE MINISTERS
TO FOUND A COLLEGE. THE
DOORS ARE THOSE OF THE
HOUSE OF THE REV. SAMUEL
RUSSELL IN BRANFORD WHERE
THE MINISTERS MET



HOUSE OF REV. SAMUEL RUSSELL, BRANFORD

in Connecticut alleged this as a reason, because the college at Cambridge was under the tutorage of latitudinarians."

Many conferences of course were necessary, especially as there were legal and religious pitfalls to avoid. There was, above all, the necessity of not doing anything which England might consider illegal; and on the other hand there was an equally strong desire to avoid any possibility of the management of the college coming under her direction. Not many years had passed since the attempt of Andros to take away the colony charter, and rumors were abroad that it was in danger again. Apart from that, was the question whether the colony, itself a chartered body, could legally create a college. The crown officers, who held that granting a charter belonged to royal prerogative alone had objected to the one granted by Massachusetts to Harvard in 1650, and the College of William and Mary (1693) was incorporated in England. Religious difficulty was caused by the fact that churches were divided on the question of church government, and ecclesiastical control of the college might be insisted on by some and an obligation to inculcate a particular form of belief.

In view of all these questions, the ministers, in the summer of 1701, sent out letters, a sort of questionnaire, to various prominent and learned men, asking for opinions and advice. It was to be expected that they would turn to their Alma Mater, and two Harvard men were consulted, besides two men who represented the royal government in Massachusetts, and three men from Connecticut. From the Harvard men came "A Scheme for a College," which proposed a university "that shall be a school of the churches," with a confession of faith, and the aim of perpetuating a particular religious belief. Such an institution, based on control by a church synod and under governmental visitation, was not at all the idea of the more active group of founders led by James Pierpont. Their object was more general.

As to the legal question, Cotton Mather, one of the men consulted, said, "If the Connecticut government before their charter is taken from them, shall settle a revenue for the maintenance of such a school, 'tis probable that property will not be taken from you, though government should." Of the Connecticut men, prejudice and age in the person of Gershom Bulkeley, advised as the safest way, asking the king for a charter, to be ratified by Parliament; but youth, through John Eliot, a lawyer, expressed the opinion that the colony had the right to erect a collegiate school "which cannot be overthrown by Law *Regularly Executed*." Such action, he said, would not be "repugnant to the laws of England nor an encroachment on the King's prerogative. * * * and I know of no act of Parliament which says such a school may not be erected in the Plantations."

All recommended caution in other ways, mainly negative,—keeping the revenues in the hands of a third party, in not settling them by law, in not granting degrees, and in not calling attention to themselves by putting up a college building. "As to the title of the Master of the

School," said Eliot of one of these matters, "it seems to me to be of no greater consequence than this, that which shows least grandeur will be least obnoxious."

While awaiting replies to some of their letters, and also to take some formal action such as a grant, in order to avoid trouble if the Assembly would not grant a charter, and possibly also, to prevent any claim of dependence on the Legislature as its creature, the ministers held the oft-described and picturesque meeting at the home of Mr. Russel in Branford in October, 1701. Each one promised some books, and made the definite statement that he gave them for the founding of a college. It is questionable however whether each minister came bearing an armful of books, perhaps none at all were actually brought at this time.

This action was meant, in the words of the Yale catalogue, "to give the school tangible form," to establish a kind of organization, with property, which the Assembly could confirm, instead of itself running the risk of establishing a new corporation. Thus the act which was presented to the Assembly and passed by it, was called, not "An Act to Found a College," but "An Act for Liberty to erect a Collegiate School." The episode of the books, which President Clap later used to prove that the college was independent of the General Assembly, was designed partly through fear that the Assembly would refuse to incorporate it. As to the title, Collegiate School, one of the advisers wrote, "on purpose (we) gave your academy as low a name as we could, that it might better stand in wind and weather, not daring to incorporate it, lest it should be liable to be served with a writ of quo warranto." In pursuance of the same policy of self-denying modesty, the college had no seal, at that time regarded with great respect as one of Blackstone's five essentials of a corporation. Thus by stooping the ministers proposed to conquer the difficulties of the situation.

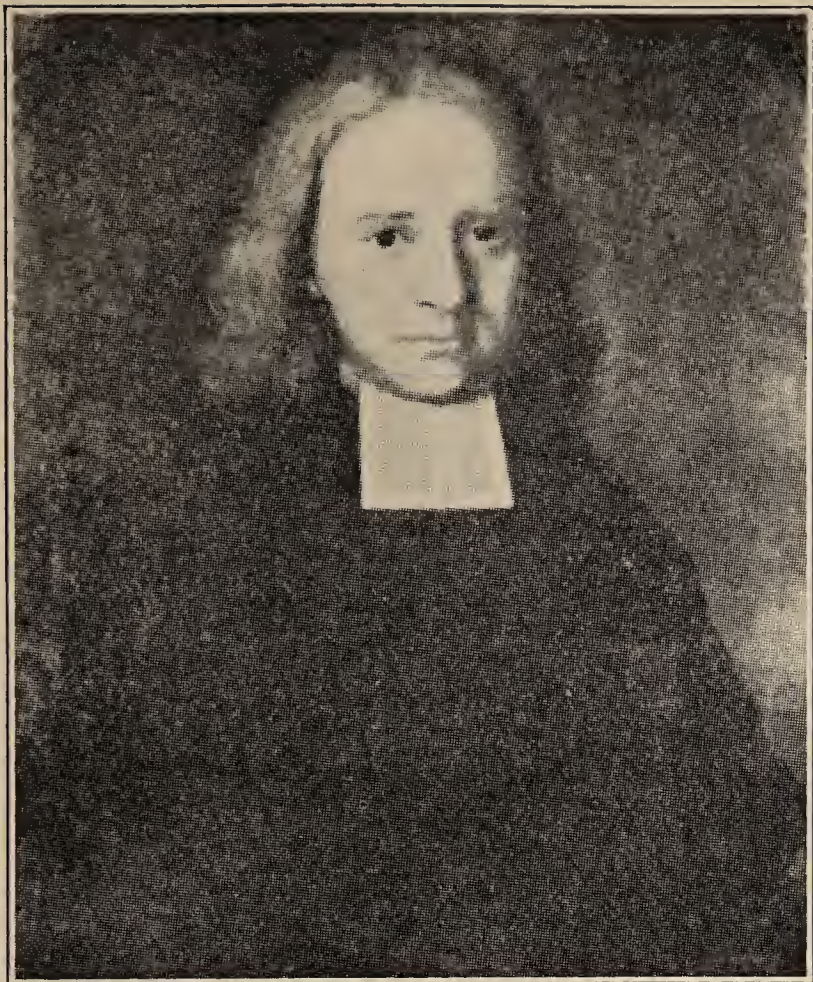
In regard to the religious question, theology would necessarily be a prominent study, and as a matter of fact, a large proportion of early graduates entered the ministry, then the only learned profession. But no definite creed was to be taught, and the collegiate school was designed also to be a place where everyone might receive higher training. It is true that in his arguments President Clap emphasized the religious side of "public employment in both church and state" and said that the "great design of founding this school was to educate ministers in our own way," but this was said when he wished to set up a college church. The act was passed by the Assembly not in the ordinary form of a charter of incorporation. The colony also made an annual grant of £120 in country pay. At the same time the newly created collegiate school received from one of the members of the Upper House, Major Fitch of Plainfield, a first gift on its very birthday, a happy omen since fulfilled a thousand fold, of 637 acres of wild land in Killingly and the promise of glass and nails to build the college house. Major Fitch was son of the first minister of Saybrook, and made the gifts in expectation that the school would be located in that town.

Within a few weeks the "Trustees, Partners and Undertakers" held their first meeting for three days at Saybrook, curiously enough with the minimum number of trustees allowed by the charter, seven—pillars again—present. The original plan of electing two trustees from each of the four counties of Connecticut was modified for reasons of policy. An extra trustee was chosen from Hartford County, apparently because of objection there to the way things were going; and an extra one in New London County to take the place of the one who was expected to be the first rector. It may be mentioned by the way, that the idea of county representation on the corporation of the college lasted for some time. When Samuel Rogers Andrews moved from Litchfield to New Haven in 1846, he resigned from the corporation, since it was considered then that county representation was desirable.

Probably it was to this first meeting that they actually brought some of the promised books from their scanty libraries. They formally resolved that they "do order and appoint that there shall (be) and hereby is erected a Collegiate School," laid down rules for its conduct, quite naturally "according to the laudable Order and Usage of Harvard College," and decided on a curriculum. One of the rules was that the rector and tutors should remain in office only during good behavior, a rule which was unexpectedly useful in a little more than twenty years. Abraham Pierson, "a wise, steady and judicious gentleman," one of the trustees, was invited to become rector, but he did not yet promise that he could leave his people and undertake the office. In the hope that he would accept the position, the site of the college was fixed temporarily at Saybrook. This first meeting, unlike some that were soon to come, was described by one of the trustees as "a very comfortable, unanimous meeting."

Saybrook was chosen for various reasons. It was in neither Hartford nor New Haven County, and was convenient for the river and sea-coast towns, then most of the colony. It was a post town on all three routes from Boston to New York, and was protected by a fort, no mean consideration in those days of French and Indian wars. In every way it seemed to have the most favorable situation "that so all parts of Connecticut colony, with the neighboring colony, may be best accomodated." The final decision as to the location however was left "in an hovering posture," not farther east than Saybrook, nor farther west than New Haven. Tuition was settled at thirty shillings annually for undergraduates and ten for graduates.

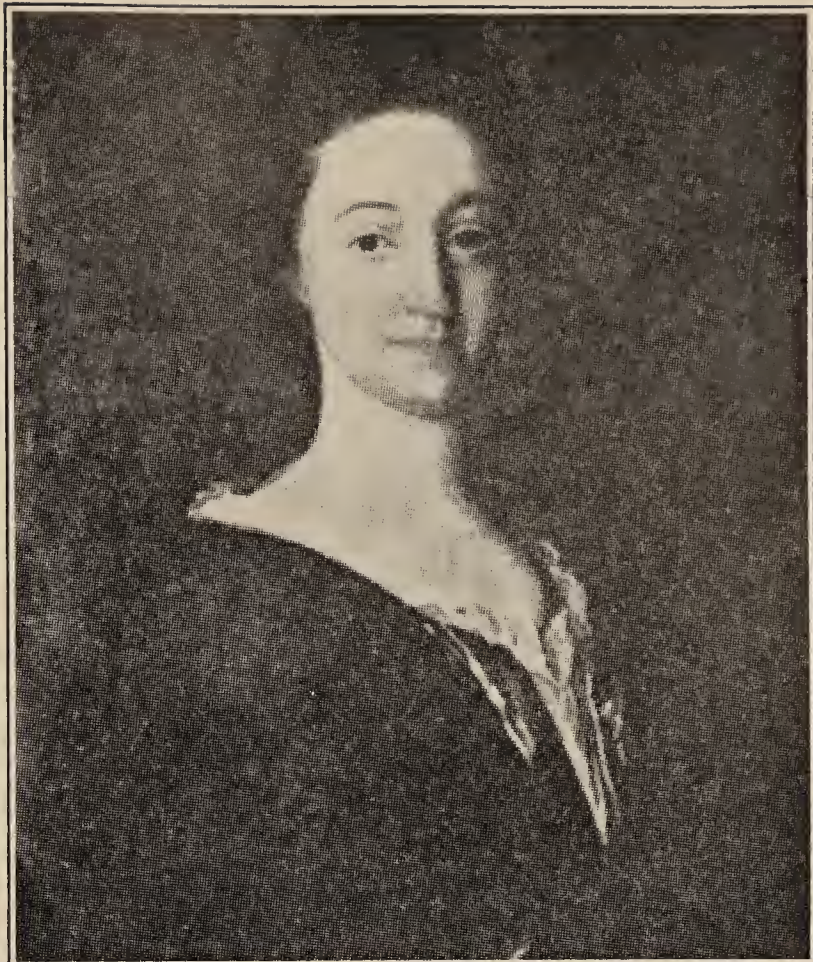
Abraham Pierson, who finally became the first rector, also linked up the school with the early days of New Haven Colony. His father, Abraham Pierson, the founder of Branford, like Davenport, left New Haven because of the question of the Half Way Covenant. Before his departure the son is said to have come under John Davenport's educational influence in New Haven. Abraham Pierson the younger, or Junior, as he would be called today, became an assistant to his father in the church at Newark, where the ideas of the Davenport theocracy were transplanted. He



(Courtesy of the Yale Alumni Weekly)

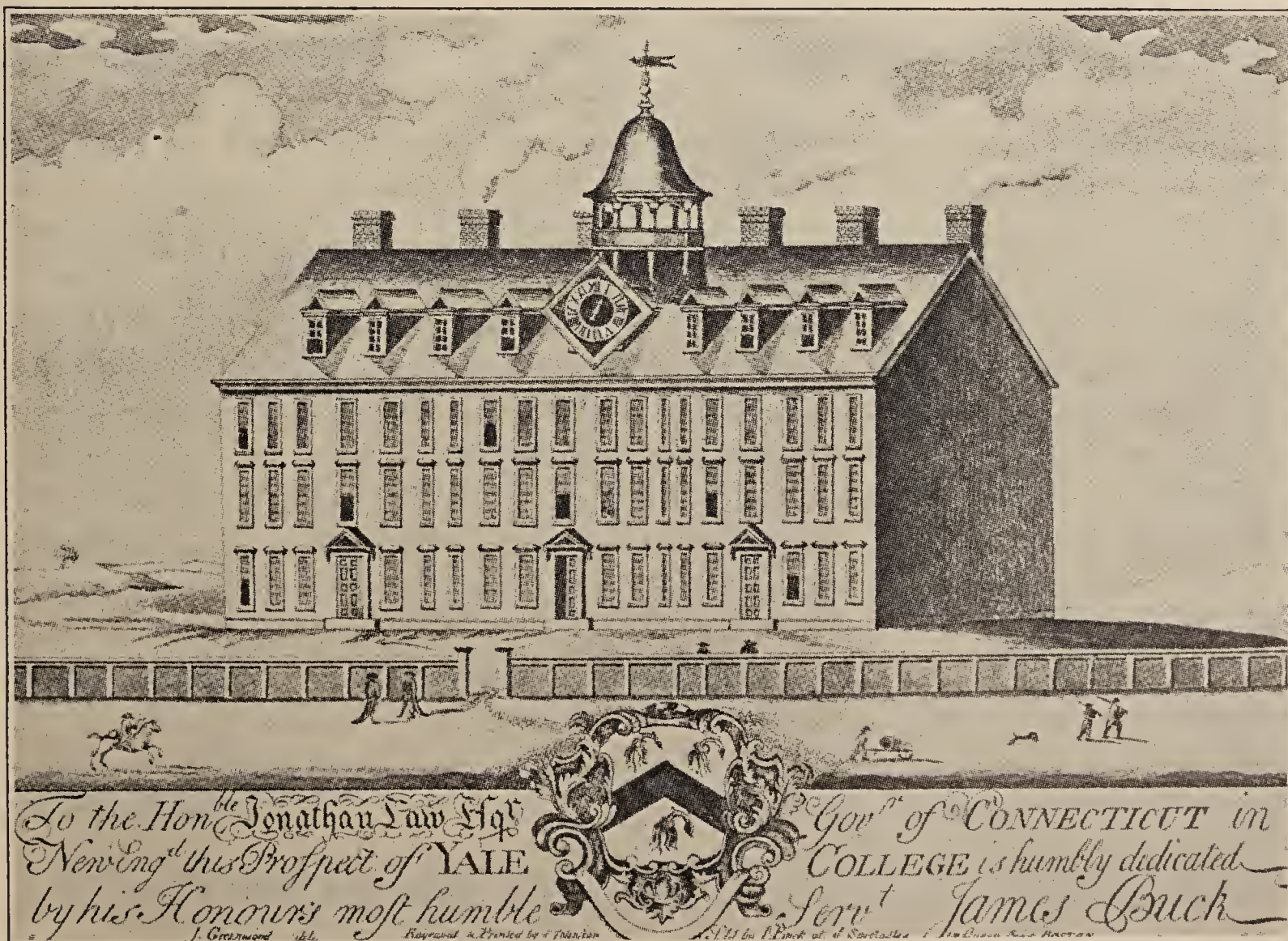
REV. JAMES PIERPONT

His portrait is the only one preserved of any Connecticut minister of that date



(Courtesy of the Yale Alumni Weekly)

MRS. MARY HOOKER PIERPONT



YALE COLLEGE

(From an engraving prior to 1750)

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succeeded his father as minister, but in 1694 had come to Killingworth. Here in March, 1702, in his parsonage the Collegiate School was temporarily opened, instead of at Saybrook, its nominal home, for the people of his church did "not see it their duty to consent unto parting with Mr. Pierson," and would not dismiss him. Neither would they join in his idea that the house they had given him for a "settlement" should belong to him as his private property if he left.

It may be mentioned that arrangements with their parishes had to be made when Elisha Williams and Rector Clap came to the collegiate school. In the first case the trustees of the college asked the General Assembly to free the parish from the country tax for four years, that they might have the money to settle another minister. In the case of Mr. Clap when the church asked a recompense for losing their pastor the General Assembly did a little arithmetic, and reached a decision worthy of Solomon. After reflecting that he had been there fourteen years or half a minister's usual service in a pastorate, the General Assembly gave them half his settlement, which in this case amounted to £53.

The town of Killingworth would not allow the matter to be settled by having the school there, though it had instructed a committee to present "sum terms or proposalls for the town to consider of with Respect to the allowance of the Collegiate School Being hear under the care and conduct of Mr. Pierson."

Commencements were held in the official home of the college, the first one in September, 1702, when five young men were given the degree of M. A., among them Joseph Moss, who had been for three years Rector of Hopkins Grammar School. The general public was not invited, only the select few, and this Commencement, and several subsequent ones were kept thus quiet in order not to attract attention in London. Immediately after Commencement the school began another session with five students. During the first years, while the school continued at Killingworth, eighteen young men were graduated, among them Jonathan Dickinson in 1706, the first president of the College of New Jersey, and the first of a long line of college presidents who were graduates of Yale.

In March, 1707, just five years after he had begun his labors for the School, Rector Pierson died very suddenly. Mr. Andrew of Milford, another trustee was made Rector pro tem., and the Senior Class moved the forty miles to Milford. Others, with Tutor Sir Fiske, went to Saybrook where Trustee Buckingham lived and kept some oversight of the school until his death in 1709. Ultimately the students lived in the building which had been promised the school by the first treasurer, Nathaniel Lynde. The library also was moved to Saybrook, and Rector Andrew came over to hold Commencement there.

Meanwhile the school had an energetic friend in London, collecting books for the library, in the person of Jeremiah Dummer, colonial agent for Massachusetts, and later for Connecticut also, perhaps as a reward for his activity in behalf of the school. Dummer appealed to every pos-

sible "prospect" for contributions. "I have as many Benefactors as Books," he wrote, "which makes the collection troublesome as well as expensive." Sir Richard Steele presented "All the Tatlers and Spectators, being eleven volumes, in Royal paper neatly bound and gilt;" copies of works by Sir Isaac Newton were handed Dummer by the author himself from his own shelves; and various other authors contributed of their works. Even Sir Edmund Andros, ancient enemy of the colony, presented some books, among them a translation of Josephus, and one volume which has the suggestion of being a white elephant on his shelves, an Armenian dictionary. Isaac Watts sent some of his own books and was instrumental in getting a gift of globes for the college. Governor Yale sent some and Dummer himself gave a number of books. In all there were 700 volumes.

Removal to New Haven

The school in its divided state had few students, and got in a bad way financially. The colony was at war, and it was hard to get money. In 1714 James Pierpont died, "an eloquent man and mighty in the Scriptures," and interesting, besides his work for Yale, as the first New Haven minister who had been born and educated in this country. His death was a great blow to the young institution, which fell upon hard days, with Trustees divided into factions over the location of the school, and students in two places.

It is not necessary to go into all the details of the troubles, but one or two things should be noticed. The General Assembly was asked for financial help, and in 1713 gave £500, when it came about that it could be done from the sale of land received from Massachusetts in settlement of a boundary dispute. It was thereupon decided to build a "college" and a house for the Rector and this necessitated deciding the question of the final location. Saybrook was inconvenient, as the students had to live a mile from the college. By this time some of the Seniors who had become dissatisfied with the efforts of Tutor Noyes were allowed, as they interpreted it, to study where they wished. Some had gone home, and others had gathered in Wethersfield, under the instruction of a young Harvard graduate, Elisha Williams, "a man of splendor." Ten of the Freshmen were there also. Under the circumstances some of the Trustees thought the institution might as well be in Hartford "more in the center of the colony," and presented a petition to that effect, signed by a number of prominent persons.

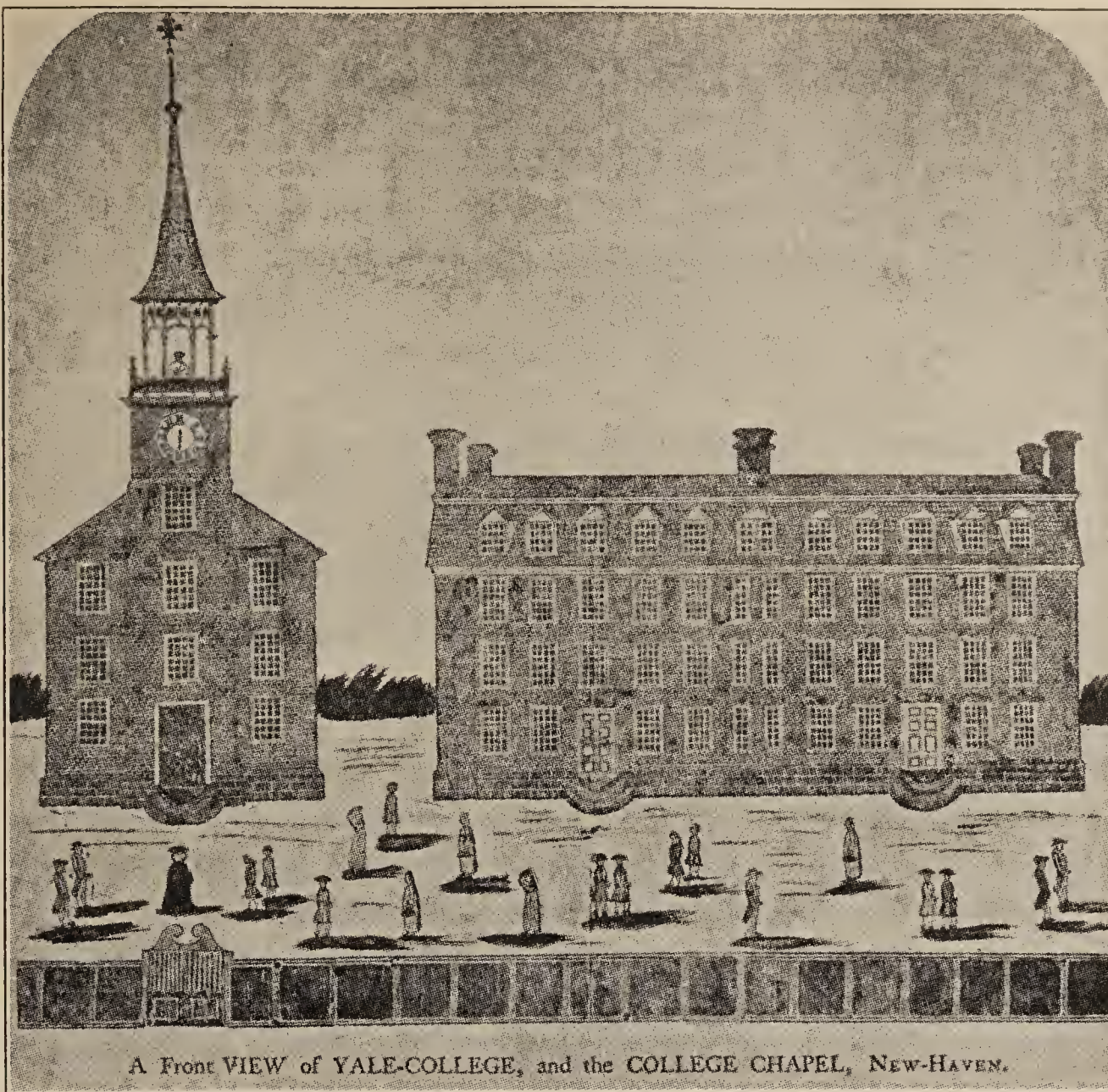
The General Assembly appointed a day for the Trustees to appear before a special committee, but three of them, carrying out the idea that that the school was an independent institution, refused to come, on the ground that the Assembly had no right to summon a meeting of the Trustees. The committee was induced by the six Trustees who answered the summons to allow them until the next meeting to come to an agreement as to a site. If not done then, the Assembly should fix one. All this

procedure sounds remarkably like that of locating meeting-houses.

The objections of the Hartford trustees to the Saybrook location enabled New Haven to be put forward as a site, and the various factions began to try to get contributions as inducements for the school to come to their locality. The Hartford faction had raised several hundred pounds, before presenting the petition, and those in favor of Saybrook and New Haven now made very successful "drives", especially in New Haven. Sixty-three individuals subscribed nearly £2,000; the proprietors voted in July to give eight acres of land, and in December eight more, and individual proprietors offered forty more. The memorial of the Trustees to the Assembly in 1717 set forth the advantages of the city:—"The conveniency of its situation, agreeableness of air and soil, and the cheapness of commodities; whereunto may be added the largest sums of money by far subscribed by particular gentlemen for building an house for the school in said town."

After several lively meetings, the Trustees voted five to two—seven pillars divided—to move the institution to New Haven. Again a connection with Davenport is seen, for the deciding factor was that Tutor Noyes was now pastor of Davenport's Church, which won the votes for New Haven of his father and uncle. "Rev. Mr. Noyes of Lyme was silent after his nephew was settled in New Haven," as one account says. Young Mr. Noyes, it may be added, was engaged to Pierpont's daughter Abigail, named presumably for her father's first wife, Abigail Davenport. The Trustees bought from the church at a nominal price, and probably according to a previous understanding, two lots in New Haven, one for the college building and one for the Rector's house. The former was Mrs. Coster's lot on the southwest corner of Chapel and College streets, for which £26 "current money" was paid, about one fourth of the price she paid for it in 1686; and a lot across the street which had originally belonged to William Hooke of Regicide memory.

In order to make sure that the school would come to New Haven, and in spite of the absence and continued opposition of the Hartford trustees, building operations were begun, and have never ceased in that vicinity, the latest building, Bingham Hall having been put up in 1927. The collegiate house was started under the supervision of Henry Caner of Boston. It was to be "in length ten rods, in breadth twenty-one feet, and near thirty feet upright, a spacious hall, and an equally spacious library." According to a fashion of the time, it was painted blue and until 1739 was lighted with diamond panes of glass. It was much admired, and was, said the first President Dwight, "for that period a handsome building." It was called by graduates "Mother Yale, by far the most sightly building of any that belonged to the university and the most advantageously situated." By 1776 it was much out of repair and partly torn down. A Yale man published an Almanac in 1775 in Hartford in which the weather prophecy for March was "Winds blow very hard; stand it old College,



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and other old buildings." The hall and kitchen were left until 1782. "The stairs in the main building were worn nearly through," as Lyman Beecher remembered it, "the rooms defaced and dirty."

Beginning building operations in this fashion recalls the methods used by Hartford in bringing New Haven under the charter of 1662. When the Assembly met, the minority Trustees, who had held their own Commencement at Wethersfield demanded an explanation before it of these unexpected proceedings, started as they claimed by an illegal vote. Involved in this was the question of the independence of the college, and under the influence of Governor Saltonstall, always friendly to the college, and perhaps of Lieut.-Gov. Robert Treat of Milford, the Upper House sided with the majority of the Trustees that they had the right to decide on the site. This vote was sent to the Lower House "where was great throes and pangs and controversies and mighty strugglings; at length they put it to a vote and there were six more (36 to 30) for the side of New Haven than the contrary * * * And thus at length" continued Tutor Johnson who reported the affair, "the up-river party had their will, in having the School settled by the General Court, though sorely against their will, at New Haven, but many owned themselves beat." Not all, however, for another Commencement was held in Wethersfield in September, 1718.

More money was needed to finish the building in New Haven, and without it the college might yet go elsewhere. Just as Davenport had written in early days to Edward Hopkins, so now the authorities turned to his nephew, Elihu Yale, for the Hopkins money, designed partly for a college, was now divided among the schools. Anne Yale, Elihu Yale's grandmother, whose second husband had been Governor Eaton, was a member of Davenport's party at the first settlement of New Haven. Elihu Yale was born in Boston, but had been taken to England at an early age, and sent to school in Coleman Street, near the parish church where John Davenport had preached, a place familiar to some of the first settlers of New Haven. The good offices of the energetic Dummer were called upon, and help came from a source where it would not be expected. Cotton Mather, dissatisfied with the way things were going at Harvard ecclesiastically, took it upon himself to write to Governor Yale asking him to help the collegiate school in New Haven "attain a collegious way of living," that is, get a college (i.e. a building). He made the first of a long train of such suggestions to wealthy patrons, who have seldom been afflicted with deaf ears, that "if what is forming at New Haven might wear the name of Yale College, it would be better than a name of sons and daughters. And your munificence might easily obtain for you a commemoration and perpetuation of your valuable name, which would indeed be better than an Egyptian pyramid." In making this comparison, Cotton Mather clearly could not foresee the frequency with which Yale buildings are torn down as the university's growth in numbers necessitates shedding its outgrown skin of buildings. Yale was also reminded that it would be no "disadvantage

upon your person or family, for a good people to make mention of you in their prayers." The suggestion was more tactful at this time than it would have been in Governor Yale's uproarious early career, for he was now a respectable citizen and a pew holder in a London church.

As a result of these various efforts goods were sent through Dummer which sold in Boston for over £550. This box, which met so important a crisis in the history of Yale, a man's college, contained the following somewhat feminine and very un-scholastic collection,—“25 pieces of galix, 18 pieces of calico, 17 pieces of stuff, 12 pieces of Spanish poplin, 5 pieces of plain muslin, 3 pieces of camlet, and 2 of black and white silk crape,” on which a pretty profit was made in Boston. This was the largest gift to the college from an individual for 120 years.

The dedication of the building as “Yale College” and the second Commencement in New Haven were held in grand style in 1718, the occasion “favored and honored” with the presence of the Lieutenant-Governor of Massachusetts to represent Governor Yale, and from Connecticut, Governor Saltonstall and other dignitaries. At the public exercises a son of James Pierpont's, from the graduating class as Salutatorian, and a grandson of Davenport's, from the Trustees, delivered orations in Latin. A profuse letter of thanks to Elihu Yale was sent and everything, it was said, “was managed with so much order and splendor that the fame of it extremely disheartened the opposers and made opposition fall before it.”

In spite of this feeling of satisfaction and the strength added to the New Haven position, there was still opposition in Hartford and Saybrook. The Assembly tried to patch things up, and bring together at New Haven the various elements of the college,—those students still in Wethersfield, the solitary scholar holding the fort at Saybrook, and the books in the latter place. To ease the situation and oil the wheels, Hartford was given £500 for a new State House, and Saybrook £50 for the town school. More than a thousand college books were still at Saybrook in care of Lieut. David Buckingham, son of the late trustee. He refused to give them up, even on the order of Governor Saltonstall, saying that he had no books belonging to “Yale College,” an insistence on exact terms worthy of the best legal talent. The county sheriff from Hartford was thereupon ordered down to Saybrook with his constables, and by force took the books from Buckingham's house, impressed men and oxen, loaded the books into ox carts, but was obliged to leave them over night under guard. Saybrook people were not satisfied with the £50, and expressed their displeasure by driving away the guards, taking some of the books, removing the wheels from the carts and breaking down some of the bridges on the way to New Haven. The sheriff was able to get away with most of the books, but about 260 volumes and some valuable papers were, said President Clap, “conveyed away by unknown hands, and never could be found again.” About a thousand books were brought to New Haven.

Governor Saltonstall also ordered the students at Wethersfield to go to New Haven, where they were to be admitted to the same standing. They

were a "very vicious and turbulent set of fellows," making much trouble and finally going back, complaining of the instruction given in New Haven. In truth, Tutor Johnson was finding extra study necessary in some subjects. The Governor had to enter the situation again, and practically told the college to get some one in place of the acting Rector, Mr. Andrew, who seldom left his study, a method of life which might make an excellent scholar, but not an efficient Rector. Rev. Timothy Cutler, his son-in-law, was tactfully chosen to take his place, and besides being a "great Hebrician, and noble Latin orator," was "of a lofty and despotic mien, and made a grand figure at the head of a college."

The opposition of Trustee Woodbridge, one of the leaders of the "up-river party," ended soon, because of a quarrel with the Governor, and Elisha Williams after a severe illness gave up teaching the Wethersfield group and entered the ministry. By June, 1719 the new Rector, the students and the books were all assembled in New Haven, ready to enjoy the new building,—Yale College was past the stage of beginnings, and now "the course of education was pursued with spirit." On the financial side Elihu Yale gave a little more assistance, with promise of greater things to come, and all seemed well.

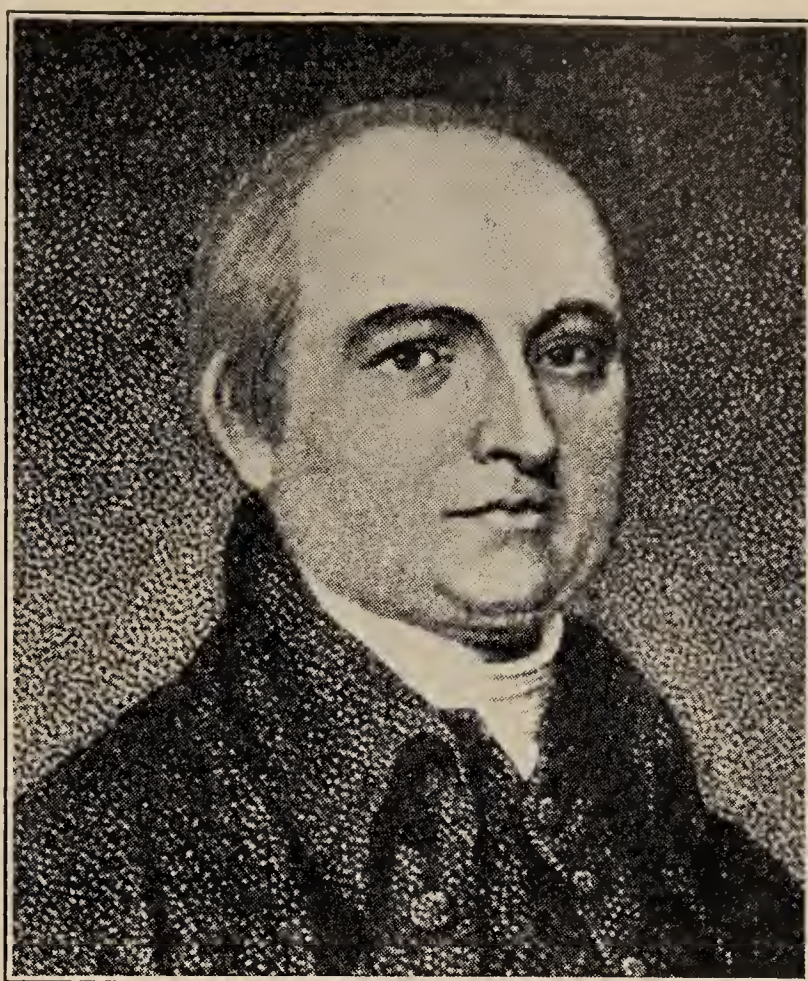
Governor Yale, had first been obliged to satisfy himself, with the assistance of Dummer, that it was proper for a Churchman to help a school belonging to Dissenters. He finally took the reasonable ground that "if the discipline of the Church of England be most agreeable to Scripture and primitive practice there's no better way to make men sensible of it than by giving them good learning," little thinking probably, how soon this would be proved at the very school he was helping. Governor Yale, it might be mentioned, offered £100 in 1718 to the Venerable S. P. G. for buying or building suitable quarters.

It is strange that the next noteworthy addition to the long list of "favourable Benefactions of many Liberal and Piously Disposed Persons" (to use the words of the charter of 1745), came from another and greater Churchman, Bishop George Berkeley. His gift of books, (1733), 900 in number with its momentous consequences has already been described. At first the Trustees were a little doubtful of the gift, until it was found that no conditions were attached. Some verses of the time performed "the vow of gratitude the Muse astonished made" at the generous gift.

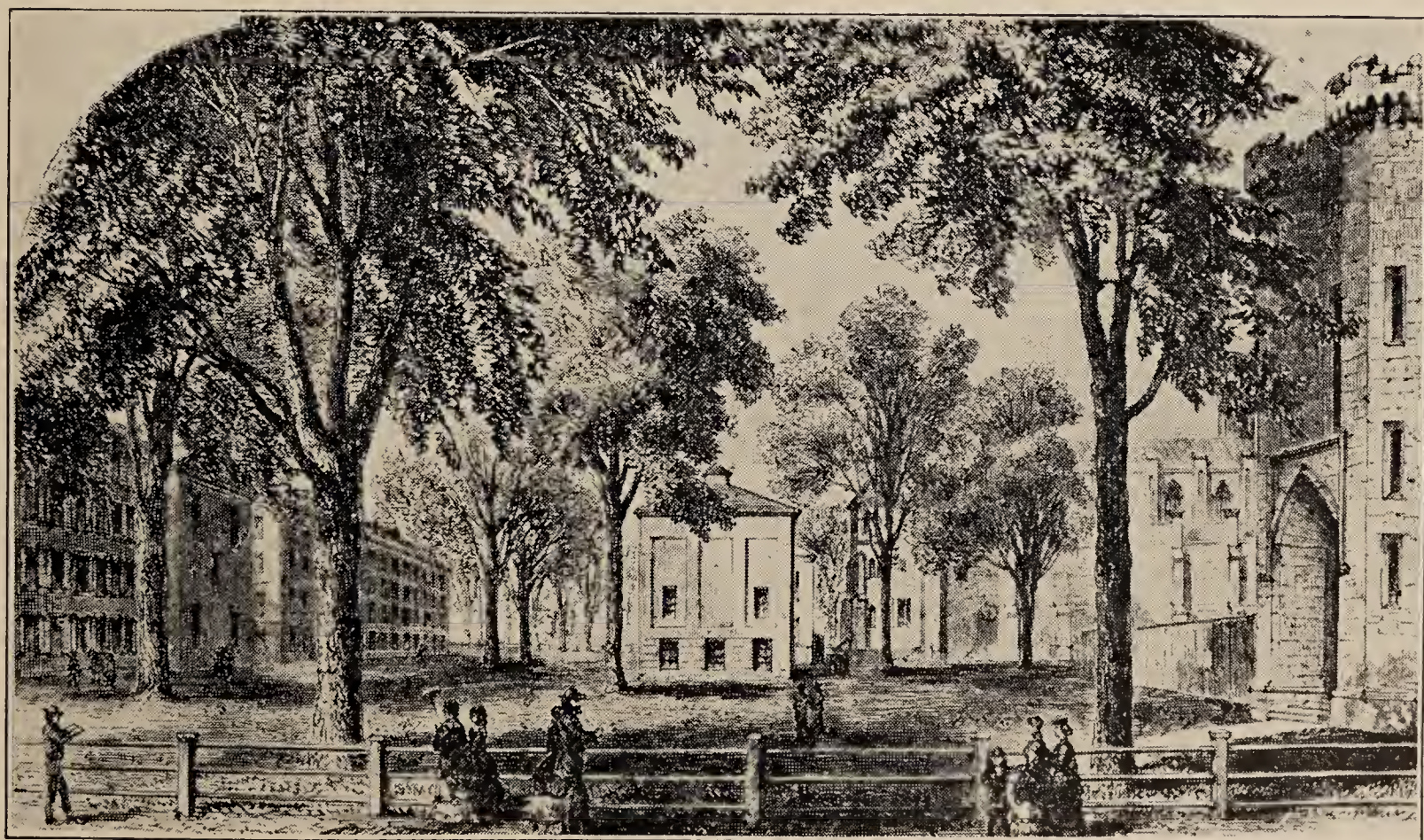
"Yalensia owes the power of knowing more
Than all her Sisters on the western shore,
To Berkeley's liberal hand that gave a Prize
(To animate her sons to glorious fame)."

The same poem contains the following lines, giving New Haven a name in the official language of the college, which the author said "sounds better even to an English ear than New Haven."

"In thy Neolimen, till now unknown
In verse, the Muses humble seat is shown."



TIMOTHY DWIGHT
(1752-1817)
President of Yale College, 1795-1817



(Courtesy of R. C. Chamberlain, New Haven)

THE OLD CAMPUS

Showing Alumni Hall and old Library at the right, the Trumbull gallery in the center
and the old brick row on the left

At the same time Bishop Berkeley gave his Rhode Island farm to the college which in 1763 leased it for 999 years.

Governor Yale, who was reported as being "more than a little pleased with his being the Patron of such a seat of the Muses," would have had still greater satisfaction had he known the number of Yale graduates who became Churchmen, besides those who were given honorary degrees. The list began with Rector Cutler himself, and three companions, one of them also a Tutor in the college and two of them Congregational, or as he would call them dissenting clergymen. The following missionaries were also Yale graduates,—Jonathan Arnold, Ebenezer Punderson, Solomon Palmer, Samuel Seabury, Richard Mansfield, Samuel Andrews, Bela Hubbard, James Nichols (the last one who went from Connecticut to England for ordination). The layman Enos Alling was so zealous a member and benefactor of Trinity Church that he was given membership in the S. P. G. and was called "Bishop Alling." The list might be increased.

Students converted while at Yale furnished candidates for the Episcopal clergy, such as the son of Dr. Johnson who like Tutor Brown died of small-pox while in England for ordination. Yale Commencements were used by the Episcopal clergy, as well as by Congregational, for their meetings. In 1748 when Samuel Seabury was graduated there were five candidates for higher degrees, and nine clergymen present, who consulted together on affairs of the church. At the Commencement of 1767 a Convention of the Episcopal clergy was held in New Haven.

Sources of Income

It is of course impossible in a short account to give even a list of the help and gifts Yale has received from the Colony and State and from individuals. Many of them have given their names to buildings, professorships, scholarships and prizes. An interesting study might be made of the various sources from which at different times Yale has received financial help, for they show changing fashions in morality as well as in raising money. An example is the use of lotteries, by institutions of the highest character, such as churches and the Episcopal Academy at Cheshire, though to be sure the results were often so disappointing that doubts might have been suggested as to the morality as well as expediency of that method of raising money.

In 1747 the General Assembly granted the college a lottery, part of the proceeds to be used for a new building; in 1749, the lottery not having yielded enough to finish the new college hall, the college was given the proceeds of a French prize taken by a Connecticut frigate and four years later the money from the sale of the frigate itself. In 1772 it was given the wharfage from an extension of Long Wharf in New Haven, which was to be built by the proceeds of a lottery. It is not surprising that lotteries became the rage among the students at one time. In 1763 one was held at which the prizes were Pope's "Homer's Iliad" and other works of literature. At another, the prizes were a Trigonometry, "Cicero's Ora-



INTERIOR OF STUDENT'S ROOM
From Scribner's Magazine, 1876



ANNUAL EXAMINATION IN ALUMNI HALL
From Scribner's Magazine, 1876

tions" and "The Complete Letter Writer." "One cannot avoid the suspicion" said Professor Dexter, "that the game was utilized as a convenient means for disposing of somebody's old text books, while it also gratified the passion for gambling."

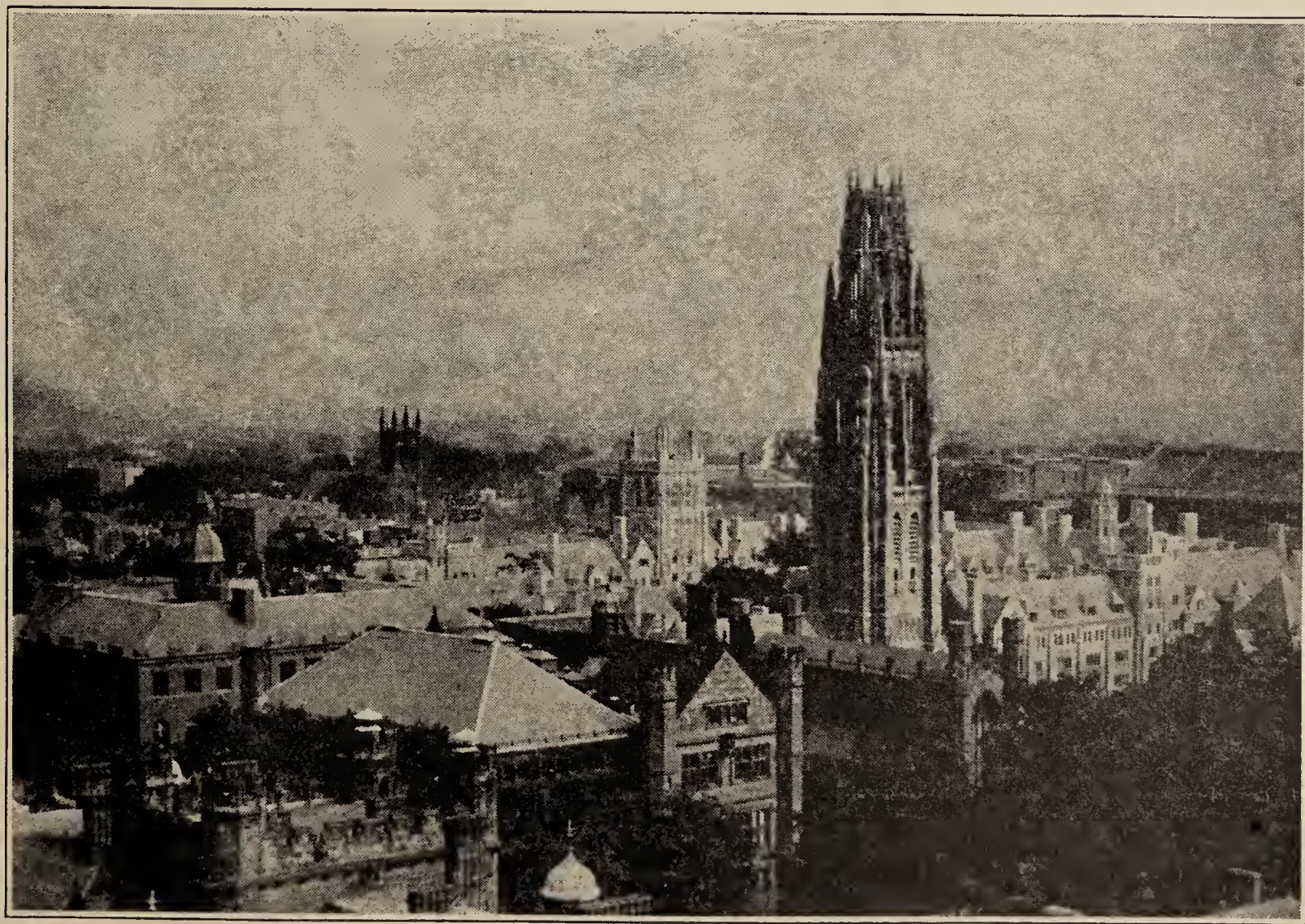
The consumption of rum brought money into the empty coffers of the college at different times. It was not considered tainted money, for it was used to help build the house of the Rector, the Professor of Divinity and the college chapel. Another source of money given by the Assembly seems a little less certain of rich rewards,—in 1721 "two articles of debt to the colony;" in 1754 money due on old accounts; and in 1792 the arrearages of certain state taxes. At various times the students were freed from military service and occasionally from taxes.

The college was also allowed to ask for charitable contributions by the grant of a "brief" or authorized appeal for money. President Clap raised a tidy little sum of money from fines laid on the students for misdemeanors, a system started in 1704. A case interesting for its signs of the times occurred in 1751. "Whereas Holmes on the 10th of November last, being the Sabbath or Lord's day traveled unnecessarily, and that with a burden or pack behind him, from beyond Wallingford to this place: which is contrary to the divine and civil law, as well as to the laws of the College. It is therefore considered by the president, with the advice of the tutors, that the said Holmes shall be fined 20 pence sterling." This custom of laying fines was given up by the first President Dwight. A recommendation of the General Assembly in 1766 touched this matter. After having granted the college certain duties, the Assembly recommended that the college revise its laws and print them in English as well as Latin, and give one copy to the Secretary of the Colony; "and that the government of the said college be as near like parental and as few pecuniary mulcts as the circumstances thereof will admit." One discerns traces of worried parental pleas in the request that punishments and offences be put in the bills for the parents' information. For good measure the Assembly added the request that accounts of the College be shown annually.

In 1814 the Medical School was given part of the bonus of the Phoenix Bank of Hartford, and 1831 money from the bonus of a Bridgeport Bank. At about this time was raised the first fund from the alumni of the institution. An Alumni Society, incorporated in 1827, soon died, but was reorganized in 1842. These gifts no doubt were free from recommendations as to exhibition of accounts and suggestions as to matters of discipline. In 1832 the "Centum Millia Fund" was raised, part of it given by non-graduates of Yale. In 1872 the Alumni started the "Woolsey Memorial Fund" the first one from general alumni subscription. It was to be placed "at the disposal of the Corporation of Yale College for any purpose connected with the university." In 1890 the Yale Alumni University Fund was started, managed by the Alumni Fund Association. At present there is an Alumni Board, made up of representatives of alumni associations having one hundred or more members, which "serves as a medium



BRANFORD COURT AND WREXHAM TOWER
HARKNESS MEMORIAL QUADRANGLE



(Courtesy of the Yale Alumni Weekly)

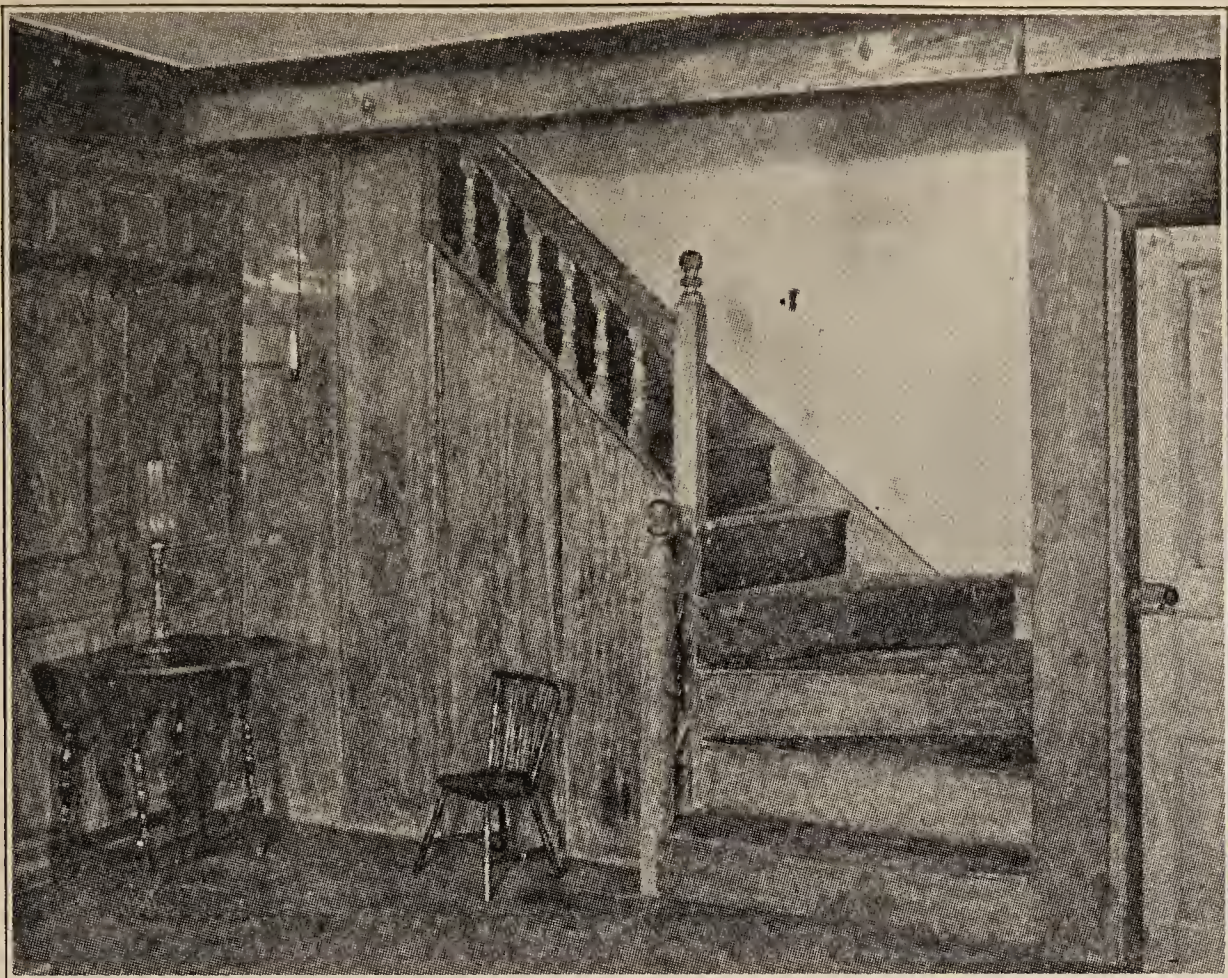
HARKNESS AND WREXHAM TOWERS
Christ Church tower in background

for testing the opinion of the graduate body on any given measure and for enabling the graduates to present their views to the Corporation." The Yale Alumni Weekly mentions the following accomplishments, among others, of the Alumni Board. "The Yale Bowl Plan and the assistance given the University in working out the Reorganization of 1919-20, the War Memorial, the situation at the Dining Hall, Graduate Placement work, and many betterments regarding Class Reunions developed through the Alumni Board."

A New Charter

The act creating a new institution, drawn up under the circumstances of 1701, naturally left some points vague, whether intentionally or not. For instance, with the trustees "partners, not a body politick," how many trustees made a quorum? Could a trustee who through age or disability became unfit to act be removed? These questions made trouble, as has been seen in connection with the decision of the final location of the college. An additional act had been passed in 1723 clearing up some points. In 1745 a definite charter of incorporation was drawn up by President Clap, who was "considerably read in the law, both English and colonial," assisted by "the best thoughts" of Governor Fitch, a skilled lawyer, and was passed by the General Assembly. This was a propitious time to re-construct the legal edifice of the college, for President Clap was in high favor, appearing at the General Assembly, it was said, as often as the members themselves. He was considered one of the pillars of the ruling Old Light party, because he had expelled students from the college for attending New Light or Separate worship. Earlier doubts and fears as to the power of the Assembly to grant a charter had disappeared, and this was a definite act of incorporation, giving the college ample powers, and making some important changes in organization. The charter was ratified and confirmed in the State Constitution of 1818.

The Rector was made a president, with greater powers than the trustees, who were now to be called Fellows. The latter could be removed, and a majority could make a decision. Together they were made "an incorporate society or body incorporate and politic." Beyond general remarks in the preamble about religion, and the usual English oaths for officeholders, there were no religious restrictions. Probably no such measures could have been put through at this time, for the Assembly contained New Lights as well as Old. The institution was now officially and legally named Yale College, and given a seal. While President Clap was still in favor with the colony authorities, he induced the Assembly to give the college a new hall. Built in 1752, the first brick building, it was called Connecticut Hall because the money was principally furnished by the colony legislature. The college had another ceremony when the building was finished. The president and Fellows "walked, in Procession, into it, and the Beadle, By Order, made the following Declaration, viz," stating in Latin that the building was given that name since it was built "per Coloniae Connecti-



(Courtesy of the Yale Alumni Weekly)

STAIRCASE FROM ONE OF THE TWO BRANFORD
ROOMS IN THE YALE ART GALLERY, FROM THE CURTIS-
ROSE HOUSE IN NORTH BRANFORD, BUILT ABOUT 1710



SHEFFIELD HALL

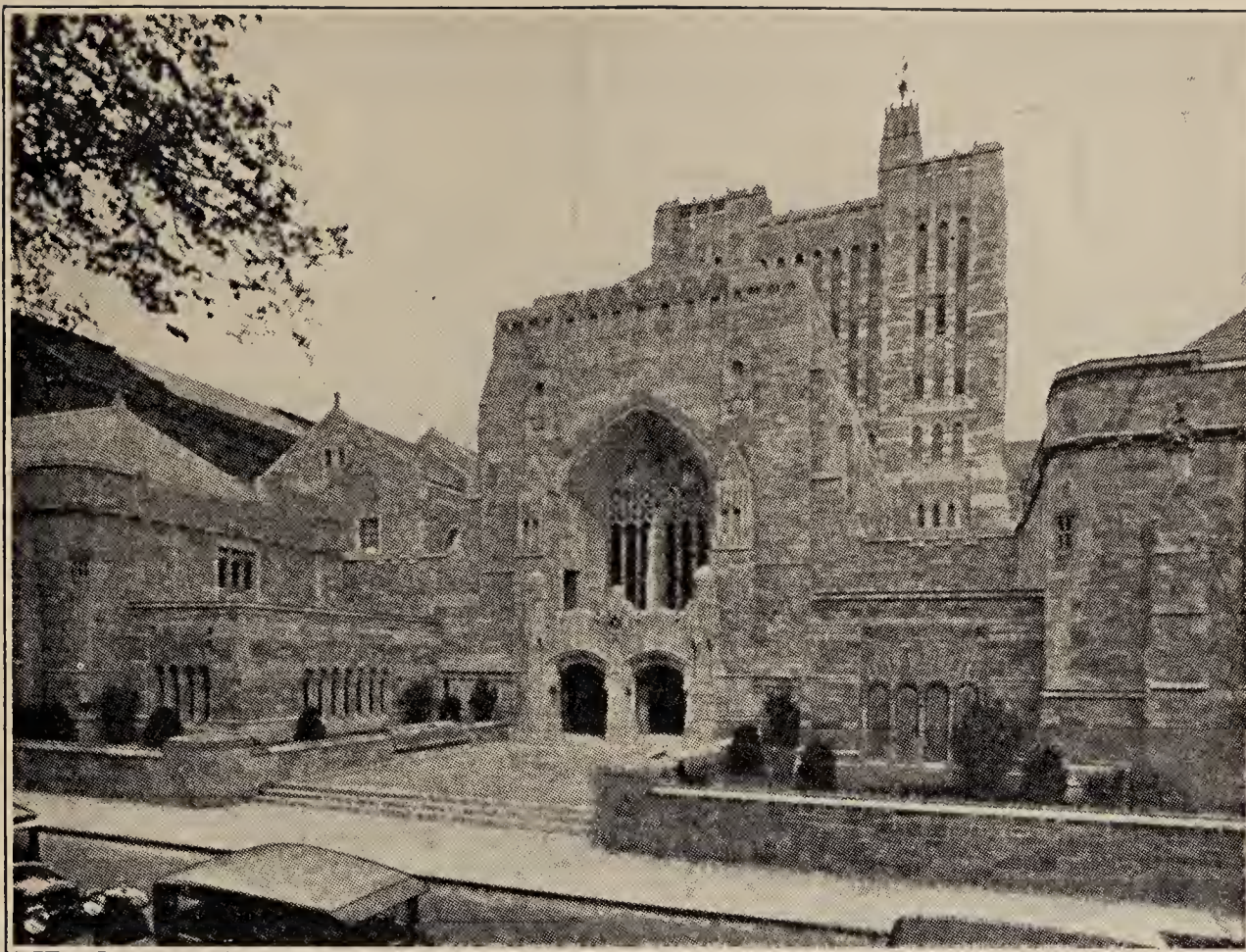
cutensis Munificentiam gratissimam." The following Commencement too was honored with a Latin oration, commemorative of the fact that it was fifty years since the first granting of degrees.

Relations between the colony and the college did not remain friendly after President Clap's claims of its independence of the Legislature and the annual grant of money by the Assembly was withdrawn in 1755. Various attempts were made to restore the era of good feeling, for the college missed the money from this source. President Clap retired because of the difficulties of his situation, and Ezra Stiles was chosen as his successor as one who would be able to restore harmony. In 1781 in an Election sermon he expressed the hope that the college might be "recommended to the smiles of the government," with the definite request "that they would be pleased to build us another house or necessary edifice for the reception and accomodation of the youth," and a long list of further needs. It was, however, the treasurer of the college, James Hillhouse, who brought about the reconciliation in 1792, by adding laymen to the Corporation, the Governor, the Lieutenant Governor, and the six oldest members of the Upper House. When President Stiles, who had become much discouraged, heard that the plan had been accepted he said, "A noble Condescension beyond all Expectation! Especially that the Civilians acquiesce in being a Minority in the Corporation."

In consequence of the subsequent legislative benefactions the trustees in 1799 and 1800 were able to buy the whole front of the square on the northwest side of the Green, including the "county lots," where were some county buildings. President Dwight described the additions to the equipment of the institution:—"three new academical buildings and a house for the president; a handsome addition to the library; a complete philosophical and chemical apparatus and three new professorships." One of the buildings put up was called Union College (later changed to South), "in commemoration of the union of civilians with the old board of officers."

In 1872 the six senators on the Corporation were changed to six alumni elected by the alumni themselves. This was due partly to the fact that the State Senators had little interest in the meetings and attended very irregularly, and also to the desire of the alumni to have some share in the management of the institution, and of the corporation to have "a medium through which to test general alumni opinion." Another change should be noticed. In 1823 all religious tests for college officers were done away with, almost exactly one hundred years after the "apostacy" of Rector Cutler led to their adoption.

In returning to consideration of the relations of the college and the town, it is necessary to go back to the time of President Clap. He brought about the entire breaking away from the Davenport connection. The students had always attended public worship in the meeting-house on the Green, where seats were assigned them in the gallery, for which they paid one shilling a year. After the Great Awakening President Clap became dissatisfied with the way things were going in the church, and came to disapprove of the theology of Mr. Noyes.



(Courtesy of the Yale Alumni Weekly)

STERLING MEMORIAL LIBRARY



(Courtesy of the Yale Alumni Weekly)

YALE UNIVERSITY THEATRE

Whitefield, on his visit to New Haven in 1740 had spoken to the students and dined with Rector Clap, but his animadversions on unconverted ministers, and the extravagance of his followers made trouble in the college, just as it had for Mr. Noyes in the church. Jared Eliot wrote in 1760-1 of the disorders in the college,—“It seems to be still times with our New Lights, but not at College, where there has been a tumult, the Desk pulled down, the Bell-case broken, and the bell ringing in the night, Mr. Boardman the tutor beaten with clubbs,—not good fruits of Reformation.” The President and Tutors said a few years before, after Whitefield’s second visit, “And we have been informed, that the students were told that there was no danger in disobeying their present governors, because there would in a short time be a great change in the civil government, and so in the governors of the College. All which rendered the government and instruction of the College, for a while, far more difficult than it was before.”

The trustees felt obliged to vote that “If any students of this college shall either directly or indirectly say that the Rector, either of the Trustees, or Tutors are hypocrites, carnal or unconverted men, he shall for the first offence, make a public confession in the Hall, and for the second offence, be expelled.” In 1753 President Clap drew up a new confession of faith stricter than the one of 1722 (done away with when President Stiles came into office), and made the students sign this and the catechism. This put him out of favor with the Old Lights who were against creeds. They were further displeased because he got Naphthali Daggett as Professor of Divinity and college preacher, and in 1761-3 built a college chapel, Mr. Noyes as “scribe” of the corporation having to record the vote of separation. Students and parents were also dissatisfied with the preaching of Mr. Noyes, but this action caused great controversy, in which legal measures were threatened by the Old Lights, on the ground that the separate college services were schismatical Sabbath day assemblings. The grant of money made annually by the Assembly was withdrawn, as has been said, for President Clap, called a “political New Light,” was now out of favor with both Old and New Lights. The pretext given by the Assembly was the heavy expenses occasioned by the French War.

The college and President Clap had become such objects of hostility and suspicion that in 1763 a petition was presented to the General Assembly, asking the appointment of a committee of visitation, on the ground that the Assembly had founded the college, and therefore had the right of investigating the conduct of its affairs. President Clap made so vigorous and masterly a defence of the independence of the college “in the true style of a well read lawyer” that the matter was dropped. But the hostility roused by his acts was so great that he resigned after having been “for near twenty-seven years the laborious president of the college.” Professor Daggett became president pro tem, the first Yale alumnus to become head of the institution. President Clap was described as “not boisterous, or noisy, but still, quiet, contemplative, determined, resolute, firm,



GATEWAY
HARKNESS MEMORIAL QUADRANGLE



BRANFORD COURT AND HARKNESS TOWER
HARKNESS MEMORIAL QUADRANGLE

immovable even to absolute despotism." One can readily picture this determined and fearless gentleman punishing a student by boxing his ears in chapel, and see also that he might be the subject of attentions such as the following, "it appears that in the evening of the Sabbath of the 15th instant (January, 1764) White Tertius stood up and profanely mimicked the president at prayers."

The new spirit of democracy was beginning to show itself in the college even at this time. A social custom of the time had been used as a form of punishment. Students at Yale, as well as at Harvard, were given rooms, places in recitations, at Commons where they would help themselves first, in chapel and elsewhere, according to the fortunes and social position of their families. This was called "placing" and corresponds to dignifying the meeting-house. A student might be punished by being placed in a lower rank. This custom of placing was ended in 1767, about two and one half years earlier than at Harvard. A student wrote at the time of the change, "It is not he that has got the finest coat or largest ruffles that is esteemed here at present. And as the class are henceforward to be placed alphabetically the students may expect marks of distinction to be put upon the best scholars and speakers."

An example of this spirit among the students is interesting, both for itself and for the person who brought it about. In 1768 a new society was formed, based on the admission of Freshmen to membership, and containing members of all classes. The leader of the movement for securing their rights was David Humphreys, a Freshman, "who stood up for the dignity of his class * * * and with thirteen of his classmates fought for and established their own respectability." The Society was appropriately called "Brothers in Unity." Lyman Beecher as a student was another rebel against some college customs. He said that President Stiles "liked the old college laws derived from the English universities; and when the Freshmen complained of the oppression of the Sophomores, he sent them back. Those laws were intensely aristocratic, and it was in my day that the reaction came, and the modern democratic customs were introduced. I had some hand in that myself. The first part of the year I lived in George Street, and escaped the tyranny of the Sophomores; but, on taking a room in college * * * I soon experienced its effects. * * * Forbes, a big fellow, took me as his fag, and sent me on errands. Every day he contrived to send me on some business or other, worrying me down to indignation." The story is too long to quote, but one moonlight evening a few Freshmen, armed like Suffragettes, each with a couple of bricks, threw them one after another and broke the windows of the offending Forbes, hitting the wall just above his head. "The windows were mended; and the thing passed over; but," said Lyman Beecher, "they never sent me errands any more after that. The old system was abolished soon after."

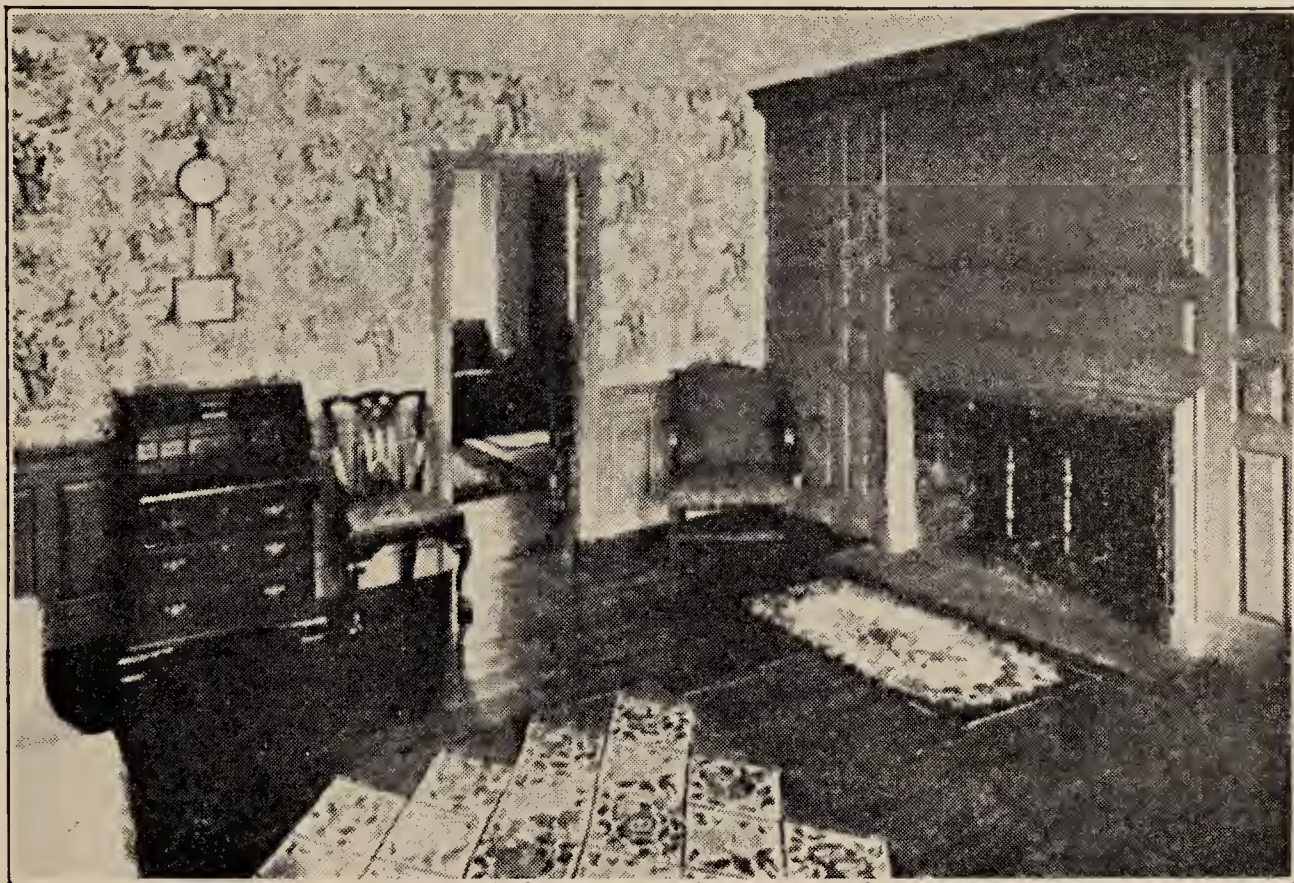
The next crisis in the history of Yale was the Revolution. The part taken by Yale, so far as it relates to local history, has been given. The story of Nathan Hale, and the services of many sons of Yale belong to the



(Courtesy of the Yale Alumni Weekly)

THE FACULTY CLUB

Built in 1767, on land given the Pierpont family by special grant from the King. It was owned by descendants of the family until a few years ago. At the time of the Revolution it was used as a British hospital



(Courtesy of the Yale Alumni Weekly)

PARLOR OF THE FACULTY CLUB



(Courtesy of the Yale Alumni Weekly)

INTERIOR OF THE FACULTY CLUB

history of the college rather than to that of the county. A second scattering of the students took place, for it was found necessary to send them away from New Haven for a time, the Freshmen going to Farmington, Sophomores and Juniors to Glastonbury with Professor Strong, and the Seniors to Wethersfield with Tutor Dwight. President Daggett visited the classes as often as he could. They reassembled in New Haven when President Stiles was inaugurated.

During the Revolution the greater part of the books in the library were removed to different towns,—Northford, Durham, Watertown,—and many were lost in this second removal. At the present moment a third removal of books is going on, from the old buildings to the new, a tremendous undertaking because of the size to which the library has grown. The total number of volumes in the several libraries of the University is about two million, some of them in specialized collections, but the greater number in the main buildings. While the distance of this removal is only about two blocks, and the occasion is a happy one, marked by no conflict of war or faction, it is a greater undertaking than the earlier ones, and is being done without closing the library.

The College Becomes a University

With successive presidents under the new charter, and the re-establishment of friendly relations with the state, came the expansion of the "small college" into a great university, at present proceeding at a miraculous rate. The physical expansion began under President Dwight (1795-1817), as has been described. That he was a man of marked personality, strong intellect and executive ability is indicated by the title by which he was often called, "Pope" Dwight. At this time, too, Yale began to be a national, rather than a purely New England institution, with students coming from the South and the Southwest. President Dwight had great influence with the students, and rescued the college from infidelity and an "ungodly state."

He also had the idea of expanding the college into a University, with separate departments, and in 1810 the charter for the Medical School was obtained, the first professional school connected with the college. The formation of this school is connected with a bit of county history. In 1784 a New Haven County Medical Association had been formed. It petitioned the Legislature for a charter which should give it the right to license young men to practice as physicians, a matter which before this time had been in the hands of the older practitioners. This association and this service are like that performed by the county Associations of Ministers in licensing young candidates for the ministry. The Medical Association was a purely voluntary and provisional organization, and ended when a State Society, the Connecticut Medical Association, was incorporated in 1792. The college and the Connecticut Association united in training and examining physicians. Degrees in medicine were first given by Yale in 1814, and the college assumed complete control in 1884.



BRANFORD COURT
HARKNESS MEMORIAL QUADRANGLE



THE WALTER CAMP MEMORIAL, YALE FIELD

An earlier grant of a degree may be mentioned. "Dr. Daniel Turner, of London, sent over twenty-eight volumes, [some written by himself] and asked for and received an honorary M. D. therefor, which, the wits of the period said, meant 'Multum Donavit'." Medical men in New Haven were at first opposed to the idea of a school, fearing that worthy young men might be excluded through inability to pay the fees. For a time the custom was followed of free admission of one student from each county, on recommendation of the Medical Society. The school was held in a large, unfinished building which James Hillhouse had started for a hotel and sold to the college, although it had near by, quite suggestively the new Grove Street cemetery. In view of the new Law School buildings being put up today, it is interesting to learn that this first Medical School building (the present Sheffield Hall) was used, not only for lectures, but as a living place for the students. They roomed and boarded there, not to mention attending prayers. The charge for room rent was five dollars a year. According to the catalogue the students in this school were "subject to the same moral and religious restraints as those of the Academical College." This use of the building was given up after a few years, and only lectures were held there.

President Dwight had the policy of making successful tutors professors, instead of men already celebrated. He chose three young men under thirty years of age, the oldest, Jeremiah Day, twenty-eight, and the youngest, Benjamin Silliman, twenty-three.

The next administration, that of Jeremiah Day, was a long one, (1817-1846), and saw the continuation of the development of the college into a university, through the organization of the Divinity School and the Law School. One of the objects for which the college had been started was the training of young men for the ministry, and since 1755 there had been a separate Chair of Divinity in the college. The study was now put in a separate department, (1822), though degrees were not given until 1867. This was called the Theological Seminary, and the men in charge were Professors Fitch, Taylor, Gibbs and Goodrich. A New Haven School of Theology, "Taylorism," characterized by some as "a development of the independent but reverent spirit of theological reasoning," and by others as "undermining fundamental Christianity," was formed. Another important activity growing out of the school was the evangelistic work of the "Illinois band," a group of men from the Theological School who agreed to devote themselves to Christian work in the new West. This region was then attracting adventurers of every kind and the Illinois band was the first organized association from an Eastern institution to found churches and schools to counteract the forces of illiteracy and irreligion. The fact that the Divinity School was formed under President Day is interesting for another reason. He himself was not ordained as minister until the day he took office, though he had studied theology.

The Law School, which had been a private school with a somewhat vague connection with the college was formally taken over in 1843, and



ENTRANCE TO OSBORN MEMORIAL
LABORATORIES



CONNECTICUT HALL AND STATUE OF NATHAN HALE

degrees given. It might be worthy of note in the county history that when the David Torrance Scholarship was established in the Law School much later in 1926, it was to be "awarded to a resident of Connecticut from New Haven County, the Fifth Congressional District, or the Town of Norwich."

This administration also saw the humble beginnings of another great department, that of athletics. In 1826 \$300 was appropriated by the Corporation for the "cleaning and preparing the grounds for a gymnasium and the erection of apparatus for gymnastic exercise, with a view to the promotion of the health of the students." This was an open air gymnasium. About sixteen years later the students began to buy boats and start the interest in rowing.

During this period also the old plan of giving the entire care of a division of students to a single tutor was abandoned, and tutors were assigned to teach the same subject to successive divisions. Systematic graduate study was also begun about this time, and the *Yale Literary Magazine*, founded in 1836, was the first college paper in the country. In 1843 the Library was made a separate department, and in order to relieve President Day of some of the burdens of his office, and at his own insistence, government by the Faculty arose, and the discussions of questions in meetings of the Faculty.

In the administration of President Woolsey (1846-1871), further advance in university development was made in the directions of graduate study, art and scientific instruction, in all of which Yale did pioneering work. Starting in somewhat the same way the Law School had, in an unofficial way through private instruction, scientific education was taken over by the Corporation, who conferred the degree of Bachelor of Philosophy in 1852, and started a school of engineering. The two schools of Chemistry and Civil Engineering were united in 1854 as the Yale Sheffield Scientific School, the name being given in 1861 for Joseph E. Sheffield, donor of the first building, (the old Medical School building). This was the first school in America for special scientific study, and gave technical instruction which could not be obtained in the classical colleges. Chemistry, steam navigation, the telegraph, agricultural chemistry,—all parts of the new learning, were taught in the new school.

In a similar way the Graduate School was evolved from the presence of resident graduates pursuing non-professional studies, whose names were included in the college catalogue. This began in 1826, courses were added and in 1861 the degree of Doctor of Philosophy was given to three persons. About ten years later the Graduate School was definitely organized (1872), and twenty years later still (1892), a Dean was appointed, and the very radical step taken of admitting women. At present the school is looking forward to the erection of the Sterling Graduate School building, which will have living quarters, including lounges and refectory for over 200 students, with rooms for lectures and seminars.



© 1925
YALE CO-OP

YALE FROM THE SKY
The Bowl and Lapham Clubhouse

Yale was the first and for a long time the only institution of learning to establish an art collection. The foundation was the acquisition in 1831 of the Trumbull paintings, about fifty historical works. A building was put up for them. In 1852 a course of art lectures was given and in 1864 Augustus R. Street, influenced by the New Haven artist, Nathaniel Jocelyn, offered to give a building which might be used not only for the exhibition of pictures, but for giving instruction in art. The Yale School of the Fine Arts has been described as "the first art school connected with a university in America, and we might say, technically speaking, in the world."

During all this time, of course, Yale was advancing in material equipment. The first stone building, the Old Library, was put up in this administration, and the re-arrangement of buildings on the campus into a hollow quadrangle was planned. In the administration of President Porter (1871-1886) buildings were erected for special purposes, Peabody Museum, the Observatory, the College Chapel and Laboratories. The elective system of instruction was partially introduced, and the degree of Master of Arts was first given. The number of volumes in the library was greatly increased. The institution changed its name for the second time under President Dwight (1886-1899), when the title Yale University instead of Yale College, was authorized by the Legislature. During his term of office the University more than doubled in resources, students and faculty. The Graduate School took definite form, and a separate School of Music was started, in 1894. This study at Yale had received many gifts from the descendants of Rev. Philemon Robbins of Branford, the minister who achieved prominence and trouble because he preached to Baptists. In the first ten years of the administration fifteen new buildings were erected, besides enlargements and additions.

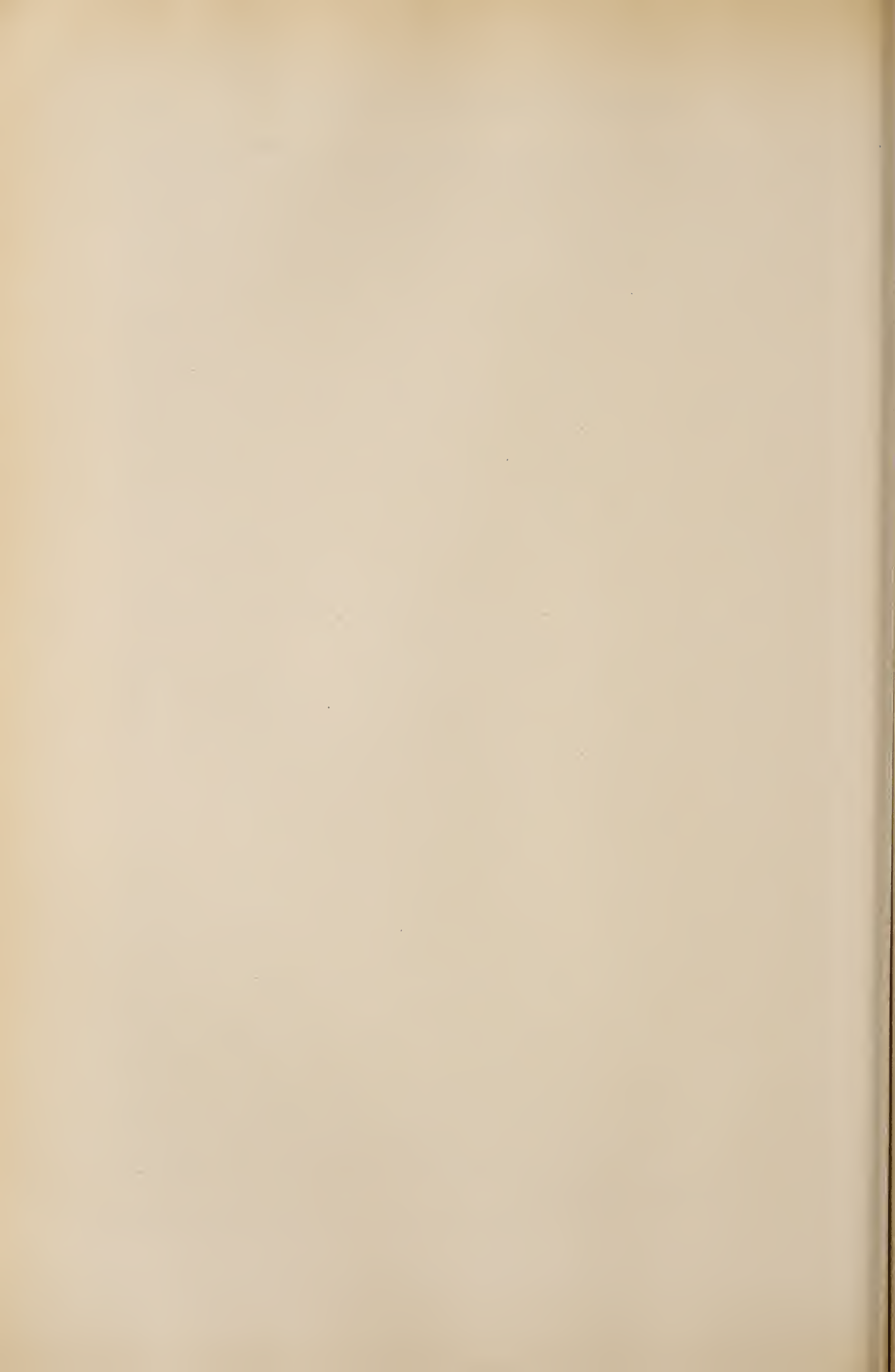
Another pioneer school, that of Forestry, was established in the next administration, that of President Hadley (1899-1921), the first layman to become president. In 1905 the first layman was chosen a member of the Corporation. Hitherto only Connecticut Congregational clergymen had been selected. The Yale Press was started in 1908, and at the end of President Hadley's term of office a great plan of reorganization was put through, which brought about the Common Freshman Year, division into Departments of Study, and creation of the new office of Provost. This administration also saw the celebration of the two hundredth anniversary of the founding of the college. Just as the Collegiate School in 1701 received modest birthday gifts of land and money, so at this time the University was given a fund of \$2,000,000, which provided for a special group of Bi-Centennial buildings,—an administrative building, a dining hall and an auditorium. The funds were increased during these years from \$4,500,000 to \$25,600,000, and the salary budget from \$421,000 to \$1,750,000. A new department, that of Architecture, was added.

In the present administration, that of President Angell (1921-) a School of Nursing has been added, a Department of the Drama, with a Uni-

versity Theatre and a Department of Education. The Institute of Human Relations, "in part a reaction against specialization," and an "assembling plant" to which are to be brought the results of the work of different groups of study; and a new plan of dormitories, the Quadrangle system, for eleven units of residential groups of about two hundred men, are planned and under construction. A new group of buildings for the Law School, based on the same principles, is being rapidly finished.

During the existence of the college there have of course been many town and gown riots, one of the most famous the Dissection Riot of 1823, when a mob threatened to tear down the Medical School on account of the disinterring of a woman's body. The Foot Guards were called out, and the students were led by the "Major Bully," the strongest man in the class, who acted as sort of class president. This official was abolished by order of the Faculty, which in 1840 prohibited all class organization, after a fight between the followers of the Bully and those of a new student officer called the Marshal. There were rebellions of students within their own domains, such as the Bread and Butter Rebellion of 1828, the Conic Sections Rebellion of 1830, when forty-four students were expelled for refusing to recite according to the methods of the Faculty rather than according to their own ideas. A minor rebellion occurred in earlier days when the authorities tried to get the students to shell beans, in addition to the traditional duty of shelling peas for the cook.

The owl, appropriately perched on the weather vane of one of Yale's newest buildings, the Library, as he turns with the changing breezes, views a veritable city of University buildings around him in every direction, in an ever-widening circle, with Bowl and athletic fields in the distance towards West Rock, Laboratories, Museum and Observatory towards East Rock, and in another direction the vast construction going on near the Hospital for the Medical School and the new Institute of Human Relations. Beyond the range of his vision are large tracts for the Schools of Engineering and Forestry. The Collegiate School has now become indeed a great institution, made up of ten schools each with its own Dean; the Rector and one Tutor have become a Faculty of more than six hundred members; the one student who "solus was all the college the first half year" has multiplied to nearly six thousand. The five degrees given the first Commencement have increased to eight hundred. The first "property" of books given by ten ministers, a tiny mustard seed, has grown through periods of almost bankruptcy, when the college had "nothing on its back and little in its pocket," so that today besides funds of various kinds, the tax exemptions alone of the University in the City of New Haven in 1929 were almost \$35,000,000. The report of a recent Commission (New Haven Harbor Development, 1922) estimated that Yale probably accounts for 15,000 of the population of New Haven. Besides these things, Yale has "far-flung enterprises" in all parts of the world, in the way of scientific expeditions.



CHAPTER VII

PUBLIC LIBRARIES IN NEW HAVEN COUNTY

The Earliest Library in New Haven

The earliest library in New Haven County, other than those owned privately, was in New Haven. The first reference to such an institution in this region was in 1652, when two men were commissioned to make a chest to put the books in. It will be remembered that Governor Eaton left by his will some books in the care of John Davenport which had belonged to his brother Samuel. They were intended for the use of the college the leaders were trying to start in the colony, but as that plan was temporarily set aside, the books became the "Townes Bookes." This early municipal library consisted of about one hundred volumes, mainly theological, of course, but containing also More's "Utopia," the "Proverbs of Erasmus," Sir Walter "Raleigh's History," "Foxe's Book of Martyrs," "Heylyn's Cosmography," a book on Mathematics and two medical treatises. A catalogue of these books was made in 1670 for the records of the meetings of the "Townes men" or selectmen.

In 1658 the town received a gift from England of "a parcel of books * * * most of them Latin school books." In 1659 the General Court of the Colony of New Haven appropriated £8 for books, and 1661 the schoolhouse was given "shelves to lay the books on," and Mr. Davenport referred to "the many books belonging to the town." In 1670, the year the catalogue was ordered, the townsmen also directed "a convenient place maid in the scoolhouse to keep the town books in." In 1689 those in hand were sold to Mr. James Pierpont, and their later fate is a matter of conjecture. Before he left Mr. Davenport suggested that "there being many books belonging to the town, they might consider about building a library," and named for its location the Eldred lot, the one upon which singularly enough the New Haven Public Library was built nearly two hundred and fifty years later.

New Haven was not peculiar in the possession of other than private collections such as the library of 200 books owned by the wealthy minister of Milford, Mr. Andrew. From a very early time in the history of most of the towns of the county there has been some kind of a semi-public library, though the idea of a free public library as part of the normal and necessary equipment of a community is a growth of the latter half of the nineteenth century.

The earliest libraries seem to have followed the lines of the parish or ecclesiastical society. In 1737 a library society was formed in the towns of Guilford, Saybrook, Killingworth and Lyme. Their collection of books contained about four hundred volumes, mostly on Divinity. The number of volumes, and their value fifty years later are given by Steiner in his History of Guilford, and are interesting as showing what one of these libraries was like. There were still, though many had probably been lost or worn out, 60 folios, 24 quartos, 307 of other sizes, and the whole was valued at £167,7.0. This company was dissolved in 1797, and a new one was formed in the First Society of Guilford, to which many of the original company belonged. They took some of the books with them.

Milford had a library formed in 1745. Lambert described it as "principally made up of books of sermons, with superabundant copies of the Saybrook Platform, a few books of travels and voyages, fewer of history, and still fewer of philosophy." This was a "splendid library," considered so valuable that every member was obliged to give a bond of £10 for security against loss or damage of the books. Perhaps the numerous copies of the Saybrook Platform account for some of Milford's ecclesiastical troubles. These books, once considered so valuable, are now "scattered to the four winds," though the society was never formally dissolved.

Another library was formed in 1761, the "Associate," by members of the Second Society. It was, says Lambert, "altogether a party concern, and such was the spirit of contention between the two societies, that they could not agree to read the same books." This was as bad as the feeling between the sects in Waterbury which at one time could not send their children to the same school. This second library was dissolved about 1820. Its books, though containing many theological works, were, said Lambert, more judiciously selected than those of the other Milford library.

Meriden had a small library in existence in 1796, a copy of whose catalogue is still preserved. The list is made up of 153 volumes, mostly of theology and divinity. It is thought that the books were kept in the basement of the church. This was a subscription library, with shares costing about \$1.65 each, according to some inventories given in Curtis. Books kept in the care of the town clerk were loaned for four weeks, with a fine for keeping them longer, quite in accordance with modern library methods and needs. Like the Milford society, this was discontinued and the books scattered at an unknown date.

In Wolcott a library was said to have been formed by the efforts of the minister. It was founded in 1779, and lasted about fifty years, meeting the same fate as the others.

By the time of President Dwight and Noah Webster the social and parish libraries were numerous, "the expense," said the latter, "not being considerable, and the desire of reading universal." Practically every town in the county had one by 1820. Pease and Niles gives the possession of social libraries for about that time, as follows,—New Haven, two; Bran-

ford, two small ones; Cheshire, one; Derby, two; East Haven, one small library; Guilford, four; Hamden, one; Meriden, one; Middlebury, two small ones; Milford, three; North Haven, two; Oxford, one; Southbury, one; Wallingford, one; Waterbury, no library reported, but mention made that Dr. Lemuel Hopkins, a poet, was a native of the town; Woodridge, two; Wolcott, one; twenty-seven in all, certainly a good showing. It should be said that Anderson tells of libraries in Waterbury and Naugatuck formed at the end of the eighteenth century.

The libraries must have been, as Dwight said, "of material use to the little circles, in which they exist." He pointed out the service they performed. "The information which they spread is of importance. They also excite a disposition to read: and this employment naturally becomes a substitute for trifling, vicious, and gross amusements. It also contributes to render society, and its intercourse, in a good degree, intelligent and refined; while thought takes place of sense and passion: civility, of coarseness; and information, of scandal. It so enables parents to give their children better instructions, and to govern them more rationally: and at the same time it renders the children more dutiful, and more amiable." Webster said, "I am acquainted with parishes where almost every householder has read the works of Addison, Sherlock, Atterbury, Watts, Young and other similar writings."

The Waterbury Union Library bought the following books in 1799, according to an old bill which is one of the few sources of information about the library. There was one copy each of the following books,—Trumbull's Connecticut, Zimmerman on Pride, Cecilia (3 vols.), Volney's Ruins, Anecdotes of Founders of French Republic (2 vols.), Embassy to China, Radcliffe's Journey. A copy of Ramsey's Life of Washington was presented to it the year the book was published.

Other towns had libraries,—North Guilford opened one about 1760, and when most of the books were destroyed by fire in 1794, bought new books. When this society dissolved, the people formed another. Madison had a library started in 1793, and North Haven had one some time during the period. Meriden made several attempts to form another, after the early library had disappeared.

New Haven had two libraries, the Mechanics' Library and the Social Library. The former was started in 1793, with an entrance fee of \$1.50, raised to \$5 in 1812. There was also an annual tax for five years, fifty cents at first, later reduced to twenty-five. By 1801 the library consisted of 700 books and had a book plate made by Amos Doolittle. The other library, organized later, about 1808, in three or four years had five hundred books. The collection contained some fiction, and was not so theological in cast as the first libraries had been. It restricted, but did not prohibit novels, romances, tales or plays, allowing them if two-thirds of the members present at a legal meeting voted favorably. It is said that their taste was so conservative that of dramatists Shakespeare alone was admitted. This may be the library where the editors of *The Micro-*

scope, one of whom was James Gates Percival, were disappointed at hearing no mention of their paper, for "Ivanhoe engrossed the conversation of the morning."

These two libraries united in 1815, having then a very respectable library of 1,700 volumes, and a membership of 166 persons. By 1833 it had 2,000 books, but stopped growing and ended in 1840. Its books had been kept in rooms of its own, and it too had a book plate made by Amos Doolittle.

About the middle of the century Lyceums and Young Men's Institutes became popular and undertook as part of their work the same task of getting libraries. The one in New Haven, formed as the Young Mechanics' Institute in 1828, as the outgrowth of an earlier Young Apprentices Association (1826), had as its object "mutual assistance in the attainment of useful knowledge," rather than the collection of a library. It bought the books of the Social Library in 1840 and was incorporated on a broader basis as the Young Men's Institute. It received some books from a discontinued New Haven Atheneum. The great Lecture Era was beginning here as elsewhere, and annual courses were conducted and evening schools. Friends subscribed money for a building and sold the society a lot on Orange Street (below market price). In 1856 the Institute was in its own building, though to be sure it was burdened with a large debt. No more subscriptions came in, and this, with the financial depression of 1857 and decrease in membership caused them to sell the building in 1864. The Institute had various abiding places until 1878 when it once more had a building of its own. It is no longer a Lyceum, but is a subscription library, with its own place in the life of the city.

Meriden too had a Young Men's Institute, formed about 1850, with a library of several hundred books, but it did not last long and the books were scattered.

Waterbury also had a Young Men's Institute, organized about the same time for lectures, reading room with newspapers, periodicals and some foreign reviews, classes and a library. The Institute had a few hundred books when it started, "a generous donation," but when it turned over its books to the new public library there were 3,000, for it had carried out its announcement of procuring "additions of valuable and entertaining books." It had received those belonging to the "Waterbury Library," organized apparently about 1820, which had several hundred books, one still in existence, Scott's "Heart of Midlothian," calling to mind the craze for Scott that swept over the country. An interesting connection with the industrial history of Waterbury is through the interest Israel Holmes had in this library. On his visits to England, he saw circulating libraries in the English manufacturing towns, which impressed him so much that he worked for the library on his return home.

Milford had a Lyceum, started in 1858, since "the moral and general welfare of a community may be promoted by a good public library, popular and scientific lectures and other appropriate means." This had a

charter from the state allowing it to hold property up to \$15,000, and started a library, reading room, evening school, and courses of lectures. The latter were soon abandoned, except an occasional one for some benefit. In 1860 the Lyceum reported that it had 1,331 books, but "two wants, Patrons, and the popular works of the day, one will procure the other." This was a far cry from the numerous copies of the Saybrook Platform of earlier days. Support and patronage were not forthcoming, and the books were in storage for six years. The library was re-opened in rented rooms, with a grant of \$75 a year from the town, but in 1900 a fire destroyed most of the books, and the Lyceum had died in 1894.

Other groups of various kinds formed occasional libraries,—some young people in Guilford early in the century; a Catholic Institute in Waterbury in 1856, lasting about ten years; and a Young Men's Catholic Literary Society organized in the same town, 1869, especially for elocution, history and debate, but with a library; the Y. M. C. A. in Meriden; and a Farmer's Library Association in Madison in 1831, which usually kept its books in the schoolhouse. Groups of women also formed library associations, one in Guilford in 1872, in Wallingford in 1881, and in 1888 the Young Women's Christian Temperance Union opened a free library and reading room in Guilford. A society started by boys in Wolcott should not be forgotten. William Alcott, brother of Amos, tried to form a juvenile library when he was a boy. He drew up a constitution, by-laws, etc., and induced three boys to pay dues. One book was bought for fifty cents, but after it was thoroughly read, the other boys withdrew from the society and young Alcott bought the book, at reduced price, it is to be hoped. Neither should church and Sunday School libraries be omitted.

Two facts appear in the brief history of these early attempts at libraries,—that people wanted some kind of community library, and that no one had the idea of a free public library, a situation somewhat like that in regard to schools in the first years of the colony.

The initiative in New Haven came from a private source, and that too from some one who was not a native of New Haven, Philip Marett, a retired East India merchant. He came to New Haven to live in 1852, marveling that a town like this had no public library. In 1867 he made his will, leaving one tenth of his fortune of \$650,000 to the City of New Haven, the income to be used "for the purchase of books for the Young Men's Institute, or any public library which may from time to time exist in said city." The money was to be available after the death of his wife and daughter. He himself had a well chosen library of about 2,000 books, the leading English and American poets, novelists and historians, and a number of the best biographies. Other benefactions were also made.

For several years nothing was done in the matter, but in 1880 Mayor Lewis started the movement to get a library for the city, by calling a public meeting. A sum of money (\$1,600) was pledged, three hundred books were given and an offer was made to the city to maintain a library for a year if the city would furnish a place. The city authorities gave

the use of rooms in the State House, and though the building was old and the rooms not suited to the purpose, at least it was a place in which to begin. At the same time a committee was appointed to carry on a "drive" to raise money for a library building, with the aim of getting \$100,000. The city was divided into districts and a large number of canvassers appointed, but this was before the days of "going over the top," and only \$5,535 in pledges was gathered. The effort at a library was abandoned, and the books were turned over to the Historical Society for safe keeping.

In 1885 another start was made. Committees were appointed to make suggestions and present a contract for union of the two library organizations, but the terms proposed by the committee of the Institute could not be accepted by the city, and the two went their ways. When Mr. Marett died the Institute tried to get the money from the bequest, and started a law suit against the city, but both parties agreed that the matter should be settled in a dignified way by the Supreme Court of Connecticut. The court decided that the city had the right to determine whether it should give the Institute any of the money or not. The library was established in 1886 and money voted for its maintenance. It was opened in rooms on Chapel Street which were leased for ten years. These were soon outgrown, and 1889 the old Third Church building was bought for \$71,000, a good bargain, and the library moved there in 1891.

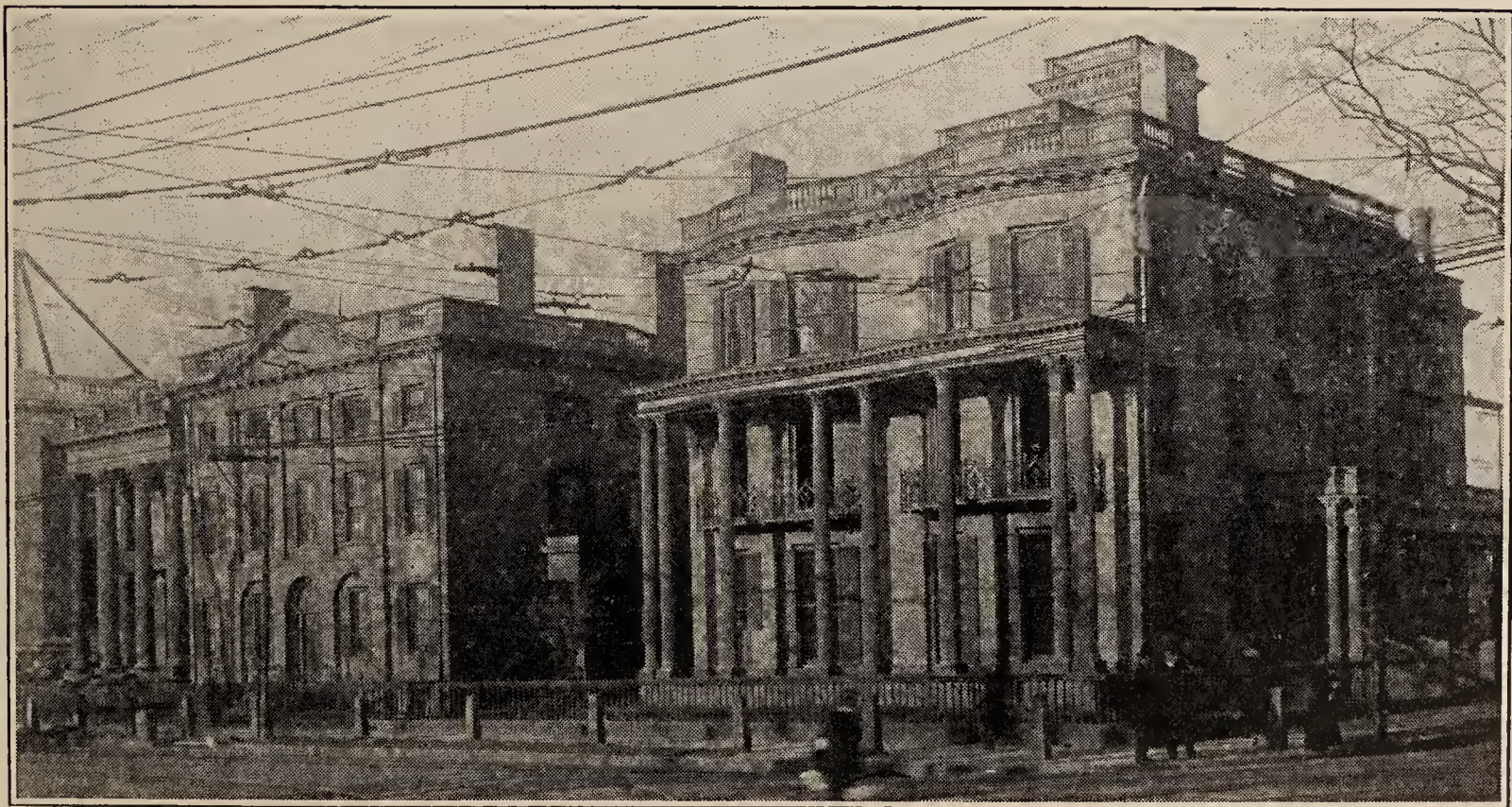
The Marett money was now available for books, acknowledgment made on the plate put in every book bought with the fund. Even in the years spent in this building a children's room and library were opened, one of the first in the country, and the public was given access to the shelves, another innovation.

The library filled such a need in the life of the city that soon more room was needed. The librarian said, "The need of a new building is very pressing. But how it will come no one knows. Until it does come the library will be increasingly crippled in its work." The unexpected happened in October, 1906, when Mrs. Mary Ellen Ives offered the city a building if a site were provided, suggesting the Bristol lot, (where the library is now located). The city also bought the next house, in order to have all the property on the block. The only drawback was the destruction of the beautiful Bristol house, and the disappearance of "Quality Row," to make way for the two new buildings, the library and the courthouse. Cass Gilbert was employed as the architect for the library, as he was already at work on plans for the improvement of the appearance of the city. The building must harmonize with both the United Church and the courthouse, its nearest neighbors. It was built of North Haven brick, finished in 1911 and cost about \$350,000.

Two other funds have been added to the resources of the library, besides the appropriation made annually by the city for expenses. In buying books the library has a special problem because of the presence of the Yale library in New Haven. As Mr. Stetson, the librarian for many



NEW HAVEN PUBLIC LIBRARY



(Courtesy of the Yale Alumni Weekly)

PART OF "QUALITY ROW," ON ELM STREET, FACING THE
NEW HAVEN GREEN

These two houses were built by David Hoadley

years, said, "The first purchase of books were made with the intention of meeting the actual demands of the reading public of a city of 85,000 inhabitants so far as 3,500 volumes could do it. About 2,500 were fiction and 1,000 non-fiction. Furthermore, the non-fiction comprised not those books 'which no gentleman's library should be without,' but those which the Bridgeport people actually called for at their public library, whose accomplished librarian kindly drew up the list. Of course this was a departure from practice which is possible when a good supply of books can be installed at the beginning, and future purchases reduce the proportion of fiction. But by thus proportioning fiction and non-fiction was it possible to meet actual demands."

Branches have been opened at various times in different parts of town, six at present carrying the service of the library to different groups of the city's population.

Other libraries in the city are that of the New Haven Colony Historical Society, kept at first in the City Hall, then in its own building on Grove Street and now about to move to a larger building on Whitney Avenue; the New Haven Medical Association Library; and the library of the New Haven County Bar Association, kept in the County Court House. The character of these libraries is obviously different.

About the time that Mr. Marett was drawing up his will in New Haven (1867), Waterbury received from a similar source an unexpected gift of money (\$200,000) for a public library. The donor, Silas Bronson, had a closer connection with Waterbury than Mr. Marett did with New Haven, for he was born in the West Farms district, (present Middlebury), but he had seldom been in Waterbury since he was a boy and had no close ties there. The city charter was amended to create a new department, and Library Agents were appointed to manage the affair. A building was bought, an old store near the City Hall and facing the Green, and here the library was located from 1868 until 1894. There was much discussion and feeling over the choice of a permanent site, including, as in New Haven, resort to the resources of the law. Twice the Agents voted on a site, only to change, on the expression of strong popular disapproval. The present location was frequently mentioned and finally chosen, although it meant the extinction of the old burying ground, which again as it had earlier in New Haven, met some opposition. By a series of transactions the city acquired about four acres and formed Library Park where the building is placed. It was finished in 1894, in Italian Renaissance style of architecture.

This is a general library, but it has emphasized the purchase of works on the mechanical arts, though it has some rare and beautiful books. In 1902 the public was admitted to the shelves, as had been done in the New Haven library in 1895, and rules were relaxed. The New Haven library had opened a children's room in 1893, and this was done in Waterbury in 1898. Since 1903 books have been sent to the schools, and, beginning in 1907, branches have been opened.



THE JAMES H. BLACKSTONE MEMORIAL LIBRARY, BRANFORD
Erected by Timothy B. Blackstone, of Chicago, Illinois, as a memorial to his father.



HOWARD WHITTEMORE MEMORIAL LIBRARY, NAUGATUCK

The public library in Meriden was started in a different way after several unsuccessful attempts to raise money enough for one. In the winter of 1897-8 the ladies of a club, (The Thursday Morning Club), gave a series of lectures which proved so popular that they had a large sum of money in their treasury at the end of the course. Someone suggested using it towards a public library. The suggestion was followed up, the town appropriating a small sum, \$1,000, for running expenses, and a still smaller one, \$500, for the purchase of books. In January, 1899, the library was opened in two rented rooms with about 1,000 books. Another club of ladies took up the idea, the Library Whist Club, and raised money. Books and money were given the library from time to time, until it became cramped in its quarters.

In December, 1900, Mrs. George R. Curtis offered to give money for a library building, site and equipment if the town would appropriate \$3,000 a year for running expenses. The offer was accepted and the work started. Appeals were made for gifts, individuals often contributing \$1,000 for an alcove. One alcove was named for Dorence Atwater who worked with Miss Clara Barton in identifying the graves of Union soldiers at Andersonville. The building, of classical design, was opened in 1903, Richard Williams of New Haven architect.

The county has other Memorial Libraries. The Taylor Library in Milford was built in 1894, on a site furnished by the town, and the town appropriating a certain amount for running expenses. It is a Gothic building, of native stone. It also has memorial alcoves, one of them colonial. The donor of the library also gave a collection of Bibles in every dialect in which it had been published. The Branford Blackstone Memorial Library, like that of Waterbury was given by one who had gone away and made a fortune. This is a building of classical design, and contains a series of paintings depicting the development of book printing. The library is endowed. Madison has the E. C. Scranton Memorial Library, (1895), Naugatuck the Howard Whittemore Memorial Library (1888), North Haven, the Bradley Memorial (1884), and Derby the Harcourt Wood Memorial Library (1901).

The county now has twenty-eight public libraries, the oldest that of Waterbury started in 1869, and the latest that of Woodbridge, 1925. This does not include libraries such as the Young Men's Institute of New Haven opened in 1826, the oldest library in the county, or attempts at forming public libraries. The second oldest public library is one in Madison started with a small fund, a gift,—the East River Library Company, organized 1874, incorporated 1876. The others have been started since 1880, the greatest number in the decade from 1890 to 1900. The list follows. Six libraries were opened between 1880 and 1890,—the Wallingford Library, 1881; the Bradley Memorial Library, North Haven, 1884; the Prospect Public Library, 1886; New Haven Free Public Library, 1886; Guilford Library, 1888; and the Howard Whittemore Memorial Library, Naugatuck, 1888. Nine were started in the next decade, 1890 to 1900,—

the Cheshire Public Library, 1892; the Seymour Public Library, 1893; Taylor Library, Milford, 1894; E. C. Scranton Memorial, Madison, 1895; Blackstone Memorial, Branford, 1896; Middlebury, 1896; Ansonia Public Library, 1896; Derby Neck Library, 1896; and the Curtis Memorial, Meriden, 1898. Five were started in the decade from 1900 to 1910,—Mount Carmel Free Public Library, 1900; Harcourt Wood Memorial, Derby, 1901; South Britain Public Library, 1904; West Haven Library, 1906; and the East Haven Public Library, 1909. Three libraries were started in the decade 1910 to 1920,—Wolcott Public Library, 1915; Hamden Free Public Library, and the Bradleyville Library Association, Middlebury, 1920. Three libraries have been started in the decade just closing,—the Beacon Falls Public Library in 1922, the Oxford Library in 1924, and the Woodbridge Library in 1925.

During these years the ideas concerning public libraries have undergone changes, and the public library is no longer regarded as a depository of books, to be let out under restrictions, but as something to be used as widely as possible. Fears were felt at first that it might become, as a New Haven report said, "the lounging place for literary loafers," and though sometimes it is necessary to have standing room only in the newspaper room, the general policy is not only "The best books for the largest number at the least cost," but also the freest access and widest use. In order to bring this about libraries have found many uses for their buildings and possessions. Those of the county have the following activities: issuing monthly bulletins, exhibitions, story telling, readers' advisers and information bureaus, lending collections for schools and hospitals. Coöperation with schools is brought about both through use of books by pupils at the library, and by sending books to the schools. To meet all this development city charters have added Library Boards as departments, which make ever-increasing appropriations.

Allied with the library movement, though entirely separate and independent, is the interest in local history. Several historical societies have been formed in the county, at New Haven, Wallingford, Waterbury, Hamden, Madison, Milford. Some have new buildings, others adopt the idea of restoring a house with historic associations. Some have libraries, and some have undertaken publications, as the series of papers in New Haven and the Proprietary Records published by the Mattatuck Historical Society of Waterbury. Their work in collecting, preserving and making available the materials of history is fundamental.

SECTION X—MEANS OF COMMUNICATION

CHAPTER I

TRAILS AND TURNPIKES

President Dwight said in his book of Travels that there were six turnpikes coming into New Haven. He would have been surprised to be told that somewhat more than one hundred years later a similar remark would be made in terms of a means of communication of which he had not even dreamed, that is, the railroad,—“Within the present yard limits of New Haven are included what were once six separate railroads.” It is due to the sea-board position of New Haven County that in neither case the number was the one that might have been expected, some multiple of eight, to box the compass. In the fourth direction transportation was cared for at the one time by sailing packets, and at the other by steamboats, with the added advantage of a path already prepared. Some communication with the interior was furnished by the rivers, and later a rival to the Connecticut River was attempted in the construction of the Farmington Canal. Today is being developed another means of communication, the airplane, which disregards all terrestrial limitations, but this is yet for the future. What the historian today must consider are stage coaches, sailing packets, railroads, steamboats, and street railways. To all of these, even the swiftest, the word “lumbering” will no doubt be applied by later chroniclers.

The places with which communication was desired outside the county were first of all Hartford, with Meriden a half-way stopping place, in days of slow travel. In another direction men went to Saybrook and to Massachusetts Bay, through the shore towns, Branford and Guilford, and in a third direction through Milford to New York. Within the county were roads to Derby, Waterbury and Naugatuck. Cheshire and Wallingford were on the way to Meriden and Hartford. Transportation maps of the county showing these various roads suggest in a general way the upper part of a wheel, with the hub at New Haven; or a fan, whose ribs are the roads; or a leaf, with veins starting from New Haven.

Naturally the earliest connection of a new settlement was with its parent town, and the first roads from Waterbury went to Farmington, and of Derby to Milford, to mill and to meeting, and to New Haven for the court. New Haven had no parent town, and its first road was to Hartford. Even before Governor Eaton died, the authorities were look-

ing about for a better route than "the old way to Connecticut," as early records called it. General communication with New York was later, for that settlement was in the hands of the none too friendly Dutch, with whom communication was by water.

In the beginning the settlers came and went over Indian trails, blazing the way by marks on the trees for later paths and cart roads. Thus the old Pequot trail became part of the Boston-New York post road. Though it was easy to lose one's way, the paths were not inadequate otherwise, for the settlers had no wheeled conveyance for many years. People went mostly on horseback. The first wagon brought into Meriden was in 1789. It was described as "of very rude construction, being simply a square framed box placed on four wheels, drawn by two horses, with ropes for traces, and cords for the guiding or driving lines. Yet it was then thought to be a very elegant establishment. Previous to that time, there had been owned in the town, but three two-wheel carriages, very rude, awkward chaise bodies or uncovered seats hung on two wheels, in the manner of our modern chaise." Thomas Robbins in 1800 mentioned particularly in his diary that he "Rode in a carriage to Northford." William Hillhouse, father of the "Sachem," used to despise "wheel carriages," and came to meetings of the Assembly in New Haven on his "Narragansett pacer." In 1798 there was but one public hack in New Haven, and but one coach, belonging to Pierpont Edwards, a four-wheeled vehicle for two persons, called a chariot.

The first highways were very broad, a great convenience, for when one portion became impassable with deep ruts, worn even to a ditch in the middle, as without care they were bound to do, travel moved to another part. The old highway to New Haven by the present Lake Whitney, or rather on part of the bed of the present lake, then a pond, was on swampy ground much of the way, and often dangerous because of the deep mud. Early roads wandered about in haphazard fashion between trees and around rocks. Highways which went from one plantation to another were called country, that is colony, roads or king's highways. Thus when Waterbury chose a committee in 1712 to lay out a "road towards Woodbury as far as our bounds go," it was called a country road.

One of these great roads ran east and west between the Connecticut and the Hudson rivers, through Waterbury. Mention has been made of the use of this road in the Revolution, which was too extensive for the comfort of the inhabitants.

Just before the Revolution a beginning was made of improving roads and general conditions of travel. The General Assembly in May 1760, for instance, heard the report of a committee which said that "upon viewing the road through Wallingford-Plain they found the same too narrow, and the passing of travellers greatly hindered and obstructed by gates, bars and fences being made and erected across said highways and they are of opinion that said gates, fences and obstructions should be removed and a highway of four rods wide at least be laid open."



BOSTON POST ROAD, LOOKING WEST, MADISON



BOSTON STREET, LOOKING EAST, MADISON

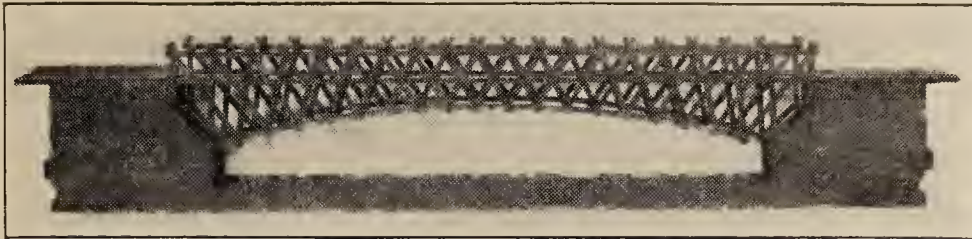
Another form of improvement was to change the lay-out of the roads. This too, may be illustrated by one case. In 1762 the General Assembly began considering a new highway from Woodbury to New Haven through Oxford, "which would be five miles nearer and much better than the country road now commonly used which passes through Derby." The committee reported on a way "by Derby upper bridge," from the courthouse in New Haven to the meeting-house in the society in Southbury. This was duly marked in 1766 by heaps of stones, white oak trees, etc., to the bridge, but the committee paused there in their labors as they heard there was the possibility of a better road from New Haven to that point.

In 1767 it was ordered by the General Assembly that mile stones at least two feet high must be set up "near the side of the common travelling road," by the selectmen of towns on the post roads, in every county, marking the distance to the county town. Three of these were still to be seen in Meriden within a few years.

At the time of the Revolution it was said by the authorities that as clouds of danger were threatening, it was necessary to prepare to meet the crisis, "particularly to be able to communicate with each other in the different parts of the colony, over a mountainous and rough country, and rougher roads." The particular measure taken at this time was to provide for men to act as news carriers and to arrange routes connecting New London, Hartford, New Haven and Fairfield.

A family migration which took place about this time over these roads is interesting. In 1778 the Rev. Ezra Stiles, recently elected President of Yale College brought his family from Portsmouth, N. H., to New Haven to live. He said "I settled all my affairs, and myself and seven children set out in two carriages for New Haven. [His wife had died not long before.] One was a covered waggon which carried four beds, three large boxes and four children; the other was a neat, genteel caravan which was suspended upon steel springs as a coach and carried myself and three children." One wonders if the children took turns riding in the "genteel caravan" with their learned father. The journey took from June eighth to twentieth, stopping on the way on Sundays, and cost about "230 Doll." besides the expenses of the carriages. Twenty years later, four young men, having just finished a year of studying Divinity after graduation from the college over which Mr. Stiles had come to preside, made a humbler but equally important journey. "I remember," wrote Lyman Beecher, one of the four, "the day when we all walked over together from New Haven to what is now Naugatuck, to an old parsonage up among the hills. There the West Haven Association held their meeting, and we were examined." Other stories are preserved, of students walking to college, and of women walking to church in New Haven from their homes in North Haven.

The great development of means of transportation began after the Revolution, the first period, which lasted in general about forty years



(Courtesy of the New Haven Colony Historical Society)

MODEL OF ITHIEL TOWNE'S TRUSS BRIDGE AT WHITNEYVILLE



(Courtesy of the Yale Alumni Weekly)

IN TURNPIKE DAYS
Showing covered truss bridge near East Rock. From an old painting

from 1795, known as the Turnpike Era. At about the middle of this period Pease and Niles reported nine principal roads coming into New Haven, eight of them turnpikes. These were the "Great Atlantic" road to New York; the one to Milford through Derby; to Woodbury through Humphreysville; to Litchfield; to Hartford through Cheshire; two other roads to Hartford; to Killingworth through Branford and Guilford; and the road to Saybrook. "Turnpike roads," said Thomas Robbins in 1801, "seem to be the great rage of the day. In the State of New York they are generally made by Connecticut people."

There was opposition to turnpikes in some places. The road to Bethany was for a time called the "shun-pike" because of the desire to avoid the toll gate at Sperry's farm. When such a road was first projected for Milford it was opposed by the town, which voted, Lambert says, "to oppose the New Haven and Milford turnpike company running the turnpike road through peoples' land;" "the same may be said," he added, "of all roads in Woodbridge and Orange, which were opened within a few years of the time when they were incorporated." The question was brought before the county court by individuals in Milford. People in Wallingford objected at first, but later considered the turnpike a wonder and flocked to see it. As one man in Mt. Carmel said later, "It marred the personal freedom of the use of the highway."

The right to establish a turnpike was granted by an act of the Legislature. It provided in general that the company should build and maintain the roads and bridges; and in return might set up gates and charge certain tolls fixed by the act. The state inspected the road at intervals and the company presented its accounts to the legislature annually. The company was to surrender the road after it had received tolls enough to cover the cost of the road with interest at twelve per cent, and it must deposit a bond with the state as a guarantee that it would maintain the road in good condition and pay for all damages. Certain exemptions from tolls should be noted to show how local necessities were safeguarded. "Provided also, that persons travelling to attend public worship, funerals, society, town or freemen's meetings, and persons obliged to do military duty and traveling to attend trainings; persons going to and from grist mills; and persons living within one mile of said gates and passing said gates not more than one mile to attend their ordinary farming business, shall not be liable to the payment of said toll."

The turnpikes usually followed preceding highways, and as modern road construction was unknown, the cost of making them was comparatively slight. The main work that was done by a company was to make the centre of the road higher than the sides, drain the roads and straighten them by cutting off corners, and remove rocks and obstructions. While the amount of work expended upon these roads could not have been very great nor very scientific, the improvement of the highways was marked. Travel became easier, more stage coaches were established, and the speed of the coaches is said to have increased.

RATES of TOLL.	
Every Travelling 4 Wheel ^{PLEASURE} ^{CARRIAGE}	25
do Mail Stage	25
" Other " "	25
" Carriage drawn by 1 Horse and the body hung on springs of Iron Steel or Leather	12.5
" 1 Horse Pleasure Wagon	.08
" Chaise, Chair or Sulkey	12.5
" Loaded Wagon or Cart	12.5
" Empty " " "	.06 2½
" Single Horse Cart or W. loaded	.06 2½
" " " " " empty	.06 2½
" Pleasure Sleigh	.06 2½
" Loaded " or Sled	.06 2½
" Empty " " "	.03
" Person and Horse	.04
" Horse Cattle or Mule	.01
" Sheep and Hogs	.00.5

(Courtesy of the New Haven Colony Historical Society)



(Courtesy of the New Haven Colony Historical Society)

DERBY TURNPIKE TOLL GATE AND TOLL HOUSE, NEAR MALTBY PARK

Chartered May, 1798, and abolished February, 1897

Other reasons than comfort in travelling caused the craze for turnpikes. Bidwell says, "The old roads needed repairing; new roads were needed in the newly settled communities in western Connecticut and Massachusetts. The older towns, with the antipathy to paying taxes which had become traditional, were unwilling to burden themselves with the expense of putting the roads into good condition; the new towns were unable. Hence they readily adopted the turnpike scheme as a means of getting better roads without resorting to taxation. In reality they were but reviving a medieval practice in public finance, substituting a fee for a tax. That is, they restored the principle of laying the burden of an expense which was or should have been incurred for the benefit of the whole community, upon those particular individuals who benefited most by it. * * * The charters did not specify with any great exactness what sort of a road should be constructed, but were very specific as to the number and location of the toll gates and the tolls that should be charged."

Here too was a field of investment open to all persons with capital, little or much. It was an age when people did not deposit money in banks to accumulate interest; they secreted it. Here was an opportunity for the small investor to set his money at work, and for the entrepreneur to assemble capital to make money for him as well as for the owner. People expected abundant profits. The Hartford and New Haven Turnpike Company sold all its stock within less than a month. Road after road was chartered for over a generation. By 1814 Dwight reported turnpikes in use from New Haven, through towns in the county, which gave connection by various routes to Boston, Middletown, New Milford, Stockbridge and Albany, New York and beyond. He was greatly interested in distant connections with New Haven in all directions, suggesting that his thought was that through these turnpikes trade and travel would come to New Haven. It is noticeable that he was not especially interested in good communication with New York—the prosperity of New Haven did not yet depend on intimate connection with that city.

Even earlier this point of view had been set forth in the advertisement of a proposed stage-coach line between Hartford and New Haven. In 1771 Nicholas Brown had bought an "elegant and convenient Stage Coach and four horses," and wished help and patronage for his undertaking, "as it may greatly tend to increase the intercourse between the two towns of Hartford and New Haven and (if another coach should proceed from Hartford to Boston, as is probable will be the case if that take place) encourage gentlemen from the Southern Provinces traveling to Boston to Pass through this colony who now generally go by water from New York to Providence."

The effect of the construction of turnpikes was to give great stimulus to business, and immediately to lead to the formation of stage coach companies. "Wagons and carriages began to replace saddle bags and pilions." Practically every town in New Haven County was served by at



(Photograph by E. G. Wooster, New Haven)



(Photograph by E. G. Wooster, New Haven)

VIEWS OF AN OLD ROAD, CLARK'S DAM, MT. CARMEL

least one turnpike road, and some had several. Woodbridge was crossed by two important turnpikes, the Straits road to Litchfield, and the Rimmon Falls road. So far as this county is concerned, the following were the main turnpikes.

The oldest in this section, and the second in the state, was the Oxford Turnpike road opened in 1794 and 1795. Large amounts of trade came over this road, and a tavern was opened in Seymour. Toll was regularly collected on this turnpike for nearly a century.

The Straits (or Streights) Turnpike, 1798, between the county court-houses of New Haven and Litchfield became part of the great route to Albany. There were three gates on this road, which was thirty-six miles long. Tolls were 6.2 cents for mail-stages, 25 cents for others. This road went through the western part of New Haven, and through Hotchkiss-Town (Westville).

The Rimmon Falls Company, covered about six miles from Fountain Street to Seymour. Up to that point in Hotchkiss-Town it used the same road as the Straits Company, from New Haven.

The Derby Turnpike (1798) was about eight miles long. Its capital stock was about \$7,520, and though not a great success in many ways, the road usually paid 6% interest after 1805, and lasted until about 1890. Its shares in 1862 were valued at \$50. This road was expected by its projectors to do great things for Derby, but instead of bringing trade from New Haven, it led the farmers to carry their produce to New Haven. Orcutt's "History of Derby" tells of the disappointment of the man who worked particularly hard to get the road and helped build it at great expense. He had had an extensive trade, which he expected would be increased, but instead after the road was made a turnpike, he was obliged to watch all the trade pass him by and go to New Haven. The trade of Derby was decreased also by the building of the Washington bridge over the Housatonic River, which impeded navigation and trade with New York, Boston and the West Indies. At the same time another turnpike, not in the county, drew the trade of Newtown and its neighborhood, and ultimately of New Milford by another route to Bridgeport.

In the same year (1798) was chartered the most important road, the Hartford and New Haven Turnpike. This was about $34\frac{3}{4}$ miles long with four toll gates. Old receipts show that the shares were sold on the installment plan. Familiar names occur in its organization,—James Hillhouse was president of the company, Simeon Baldwin treasurer, and among the incorporators were James Brewster and Joel Root. The latter was also interested later in the Steamship company and the Farmington Canal. There were great objections to this road in the town of Hamden. A town meeting of 1798 "Voted that all reasonable and probable means by way of remonstrance before the General Assembly, to be holden at Hartford, in October next, be made use of to prevent the road lately laid out from New Haven to Hartford, so far as the same respects this town." An agent was appointed to act for the town.

This turnpike did not follow the oldest highway to Hartford by Hamden Plains. It left New Haven by way of the present Whitney Avenue, which was for a time lined with Lombardy poplars but had no buildings north of what is now Trumbull Street. After the road crossed Lake Whitney by the bridge just above the dam, it went past the Country Club, and through the western part of Wallingford. The inhabitants of Wallingford like their neighbors objected to the turnpike, though after it was finished they regarded it with great approval, as has been said. It came into Meriden by way of the present Broad Street, and through the centre of the town. Here it was hailed with joy and excitement. The route here was different from that of the old road past the Belcher place, bringing about changes in the distribution of population. "The village where the half-way tavern now is," says Barber, "has all been built within the last fifty years, with the exception of two or three houses."

To build the road, eighty shares of stock and eight hundred bonds were issued and subscriptions were quickly filled, with applicants disappointed.

President Dwight commented on changes made in the road from New Haven to Hartford between the times of two of his trips, 1797 and 1803. He had heard in 1797 that a better road was projected. "By the direction of the Legislature a straight line was run between these two towns; and the following year, commissioners were appointed to lay out the road, with a continual reference to this line. The design was followed too scrupulously, perhaps, for the convenience of travellers. In one place, only, does it diverge to the distance of one hundred and nine rods. Had a less rigid attention been given to the scheme of making a straight road, several disagreeable hills might have been avoided, much of the expense prevented, and the distance very little increased. As it is, it is one of the best roads in the State. * * * It shortens the distance between New Haven and Hartford about five miles. The first fourteen miles it runs on the West side of the Wallingford River; thence through Meriden, and along the Western margin of the Middletown range," and so on to Hartford. "For this improvement the public are principally indebted to the Hon. James Hillhouse." Another traveler in 1808 said, "I don't know that I ever traveled a road preferable to the turnpike from Hartford to New Haven."

The Cheshire Turnpike Company was formed in 1800. This used the same road from New Haven out Whitney Avenue as far as the Gun Factory, and thence by the "Steps" in Mt. Carmel, the route destined to be taken here by the Farmington Canal and later by the railroad. A man had been granted mill rights and land at the Steps in 1733 if he would make a feasible highway at this difficult place. Hamden town meeting objected to this turnpike also and 1803 voted "That a petition be presented to the General Assembly, praying a removal of the Cheshire turnpike gate, established in this town so that the inhabitants can have the use of their old roads free of toll, or relief in some other manner, and the

selectmen are hereby directed to draw said petition, and to subscribe it in the name and behalf of the town." The same meeting had first voted to have the selectmen move the turnpike fence off the road, and then changed to a vote for removing all but the four rods in width to which the company was legally entitled, and the vote given above. There was one gate between Hamden and New Haven, another between Cheshire and Southington, and the first relay of horses went from New Haven to Cheshire. About 1850 a short road was built, ostensibly to shun the railroad trains which were then using the road at this point, but really to clear the toll gate. By a detour it avoided both the gate and the cars. This was built by private subscription.

Beach in his "History of Cheshire" says it was no unusual sight to see a string of carts half a mile long on this road, with great loads of kiln-dried grain for shipment abroad. During the latter part of the time of collecting toll a man in Hamden, Sterling Bradley, is said to have become the sole owner of this company. At one time his house was a tavern.

The Waterbury River Turnpike Company was formed in 1801, extending from the centre of Naugatuck to the north line of the State. This road had four toll gates, but the company had to build and maintain Reynolds' bridge.

The next year, 1802, the New Haven and Milford company was started, of particular interest in a county history, for it was to have one gate wherever three judges of the county court should direct. One hundred shares were issued. The town voted that it must follow the roadways, except to cut sharp corners.

In 1803 Guilford successfully opposed a petition for a turnpike before the General Assembly, and again in 1811 a petition for one from East Haddam to New Haven, passing through Guilford. In 1811 a turnpike was made from Durham to Madison Green, (capital stock \$10,000), and 1818 the Pantapaug and Guilford company was formed. This road extended from the present Essex through Killingworth and upper Madison to East River bridge, sixteen miles. In 1839 it surrendered its road to the towns through which it passed.

In 1809 the Middletown to Meriden turnpike was built, largely through the efforts of Dr. Isaac Hough and Hezekiah Rice, the latter from Middletown. Dr. Hough kept a tavern, later known as Central tavern, which was just half way between Hartford and New Haven on that turnpike, and the place where horses were changed and a stop made for meals.

Waterbury was served by various turnpikes,—the Southington and Waterbury (1812), which passed through Meriden by what was later Main Street, and the Waterbury and Woodbury (1823), besides the one already mentioned. The Fair Haven Turnpike (1824) covered the road from Killingworth through North Madison, North Guilford, and the northern part of East Haven to Dragon Bridge, 19½ miles, capital \$7,500. This was surrendered in 1843. There were other companies, the Middletown, Durham and New Haven (1817), the Naugatuck and New Haven,



(Courtesy of Whitlock's Book Store, New Haven)

the Humphreysville and Salem (1825-1856), Madison and North Killingworth (1835), Guilford and Durham, 13½ miles long. Capital stock of the latter company was \$5,100, divided into 51 shares of \$100 each.

Just after the middle of the century, in 1852, Plank Road companies were formed, the New Haven and Seymour, the Woodbury and Seymour, the Waterbury and Cheshire, the Wallingford, North Haven and New Haven, but they were not so popular as the turnpikes, only a few having been formed in the State.

President Dwight reported that the Rhode Island Legislature said that the people of Connecticut "were obliged by law to support ministers, and pay the fare of turnpikes, and were therefore slaves * * * but that free-born Rhode Islanders ought never to submit to be priest-ridden, nor pay for the privilege of travelling on the highway." In 1805 he remarked that they had "bowed their necks to the slavery of travelling on good roads."

With the improvement of roads and increase of travel began the business, on any appreciable scale, of transporting people for pay. The first public carriers were the men who kept ferries before bridges were built. Besides the monopoly of the ferry business, they were given other privileges, such perhaps as exemption from training and watching. Some of the early ferrymen in New Haven have been mentioned, and the grants of land for a little house or shade, a yard for strangers' horses, and shelter for people while waiting. Near the point of the first ferry, Tomlinson's bridge was built later. There was a ferry between Milford and Stratford by the end of the 17th century, with ferry-house and land furnished by the town. In 1712 the town appointed a committee to confer with a man from Stratford to carry the inhabitants of Milford over the river at half price, on condition that the town furnish a ferry-house on this side. Various arrangements were made by Milford about a ferry at this place, until a bridge was built in 1798, when it was voted to sell the ferry-house and land, if they would bring \$750.

In 1762 a man was given liberty to keep a ferry "at the narrows a little above Derby Neck." This was to be kept under the colony laws and regulations as to ferries. Fares for "ferridge" were regulated at prices ranging from one penny each for footmen to four pence for a two wheel carriage with one man and a draught horse and load, and higher prices in the winter.

The ferry keeper at New Haven was allowed in 1708 to add one penny to the charge in order to build and maintain a wharf on each side, its fitness to be decided by the selectmen; and in 1714 he was helped by the provision that people were forbidden to maintain a ferry at any other place.

Attention was paid by the authorities to transportation by land. In 1674 the General Court regulated prices charged by men "employed by order of authority for the conveyance of letters, post and other important occasions." In 1718 there is mention of this business. Capt. John Mun-



(Courtesy of R. C. Chamberlain, New Haven)

THE NEW HAVEN HOUSE

Famous hotel built by Henry Austin, on site of old taverns, not far from first landing place of the settlers



(Photograph by E. G. Wooster, New Haven)

WHEN THE HORSE WAS KING

Corner of New Haven Green, showing the Franklin Elm, Old Town Pump, sign post and clothes of the gay '90s

son was given the "sole and only privilege of transporting persons and goods between Hartford and New Haven." But he was required to go to Hartford and back in the same week, and on the first Monday of every month, except December, January, February and March, under penalty of fine of ten shillings. A century later was the war-time freight service kept up by an ox team by Elam Ives between Boston and New York. He had two wagons drawn by two yokes of oxen and a horse each, and other similar ones were maintained in the colony.

Carrying packages and freight has proved a profitable business, as is shown for instance by the experience of W. A. Peck of Waterbury (1805-1891). He began the business of a common carrier before the opening of the railroad, hauling freight by teams. He kept thirty horses, and carried loads to New Haven, Farmington, Tannersville, Meriden, Southington. It is said that "he was strict with his men, insisting that they must neither smoke nor drink, and, above all must be Whigs in political sentiment." The connection between manufacturing and transportation in the infancy of both is shown in the statement that "his teams brought the first organ and the first sticking machine (for putting pins on papers) ever brought to that part of the country. The latter machine had aroused considerable curiosity, and, to prevent its being injured or stolen, an armed man walked beside the wagon all the way from Meriden to Waterbury." The business of carrying freight was profitable until the opening of the railroad. Mr. Peck then went into the development of real estate, buying large tracts of land and opening up streets in Fair Haven and West Haven.

Edward C. Beecher in his *Reminiscences* in the *Connecticut Magazine* tells of the beginning in New Haven of a form of transportation using the railroad. "In 1841, Benjamin Beecher, Jr., the father of the gigantic Adams Express Corporation * * * started in with running an express to New York City and afterwards extended it to Boston via steamboats to New York and railroads to Boston. He had a few cubic feet of storeroom in one end of the baggage room for his packages on the steamboats, a valise for his Boston trip and packages by freight. In the year 1845 the United States government stopped him from carrying letters and threatened him with suits, at which he became scared and sold out the line and the good will to Mr. Adams of Boston (whose name is still retained by the company), for the sum of \$5,000. His New York wagon boys, * * * to whom he paid \$4.50 per week and board, remained with Mr. Adams: they afterwards obtained stock in the corporation so that at one time I suppose they had a controlling interest and are known as millionaires. Mr. Beecher moved his express office to State Street in 1843, and when Mr. Adams took the business he continued at the same stand until the company moved to the Boardman building."

By 1784, when New Haven was made a city, two stages a week went to Hartford, every Wednesday and Saturday, the latter connecting with one for Boston on Monday, which reached Boston on Thursday evening.

With the completion of the turnpike roads, a net-work of stages connected towns in New Haven County in every direction. By 1815 there were three routes from New Haven to Hartford, the trip taking usually twenty-three hours; lines daily to Boston and New York; and weekly to Albany. The regular winter route from New York to Albany was by steamboat to New Haven, thence by stage over the Straits turnpike by way of Litchfield, a long journey in bad weather.

Waterbury, like New Haven, had stage lines in every direction,—to New Haven two or three times a week; and later a stage twice daily to Meriden to connect with the train from Boston to New York. These left Meriden on the return trip at six in the morning and half past twelve on the arrival of the steamboat train. The advertisement giving the time-table is adorned with pictures of a stage coach drawn by horses dashing to meet a boat in full steam. There were stages to Derby to connect with boats there.

This shows how one era merged into the next, for as late as 1869 the mail was carried from New Haven to Durham by stage. These later stages were predecessors of modern trolley or bus lines rather than of railroads, as had been the case with the earlier lines over the great turnpikes. The height of the real stage coach era was about 1840. It should be added that there were freight hauling stages, one between Waterbury and New Haven three times a week, and the stage drivers did all sorts of errands and commissions, in the fashion of Captain Brown and his vessel going to Boston.

A Meriden man said, "When I was fourteen years old, I remember Gen. Andrew Jackson and Martin Van Buren coming through Meriden. As there were no railroads they travelled by stage. We had but two carriages in Meriden that were considered fit for riding. Parties went down the turnpike as far as the gate, took them from the stage and brought them up to town." About the same time a party of people from Guilford who were moving to the west came to New Haven in a barouche, spent the night, next day went by stage to Bridgeport, and took a steamboat there for Albany.

Travel in the stage coach era was slow, especially until the stages began to carry mail, when they were obliged to go faster. In the winter they were often held up by storms, which might make the trip from Boston to New York consume as much as nine days. The old stage coaches have been praised in song and story, but they must have been most uncomfortable. One traveler spoke of the "most weary day's work of nearly twenty one hours," and another, a farmer, said "he had rather Cradle grain all day, than to ride in a stage."

From the beginning towns had made some provision for the entertainment of travelers, "that strangers might know where to resort." In 1767 the regulation was passed that taverns must be kept at frequent intervals, a necessity with the many stage lines and the slow progress made by the stages, involving night stops on long journeys. Tavern

keepers must be licensed, and sometimes nominated, except the fortunate owner of the Meriden farm, which carried a perpetual license, and had a wonderful situation "on the Great Road leading from Boston to New York," through Hartford and New Haven, that is, until the route was changed. They must also file a bond with the county treasurer that they would duly observe the laws respecting tavern keepers. Such regulations were necessary. Thomas Robbins stopped at a tavern in Waterbury in 1807 at which "there was dancing and great noise in the house all night." Taverns were numerous, and often were not very different from an ordinary house, one traveler referring to a "racon tavern," which was somewhat like the houses today on motor highways where tourists are "accommodated." Three or four beds in the tavern were sometimes put in a room, sometimes with three people in a bed, the travelers often taking their meals with the family. At the close of the century there were seven taverns at least in Waterbury.

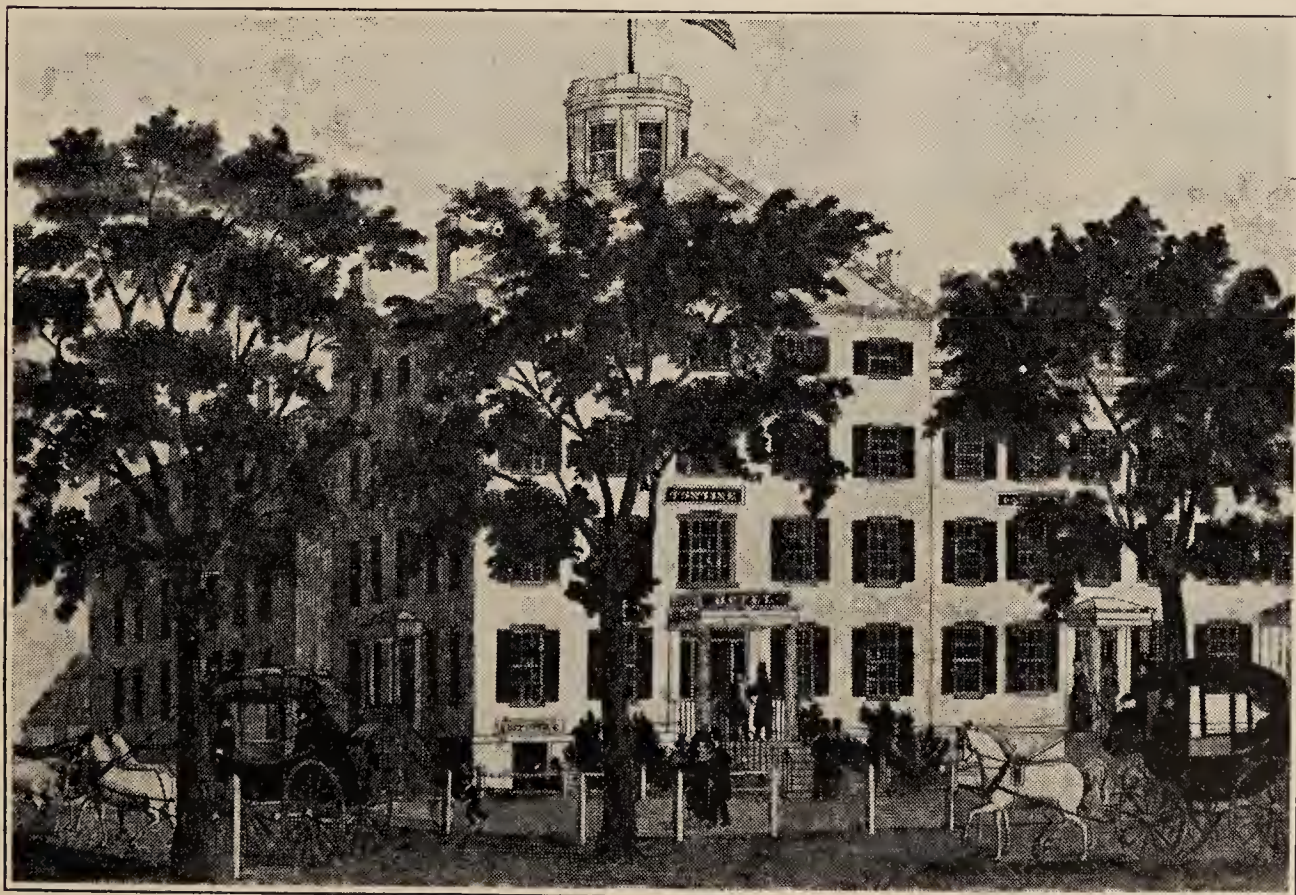
There were of course popular taverns, whose names have been preserved, and tavern keepers about whom tales are told. Some of these were the Bellamy House in Mt. Carmel which was built about 1745 and was well known for 150 years; the Andrews tavern in North Haven which became a center of town life, where balls and all sorts of festivities were held, and dances were enjoyed, such as Reel of Four, Money musk, Up and Down, Cheat, Oppper reel, the names of some mentioned by Thorpe; the Beecher and Judd taverns in Naugatuck and Waterbury; and the Mansion House in Waterbury. Some of these buildings remain, a famous one the old Collins tavern, near Naugatuck, built about 1810, or the earlier Oakdale Tavern in North Haven. Another well known tavern was Hough's, later the Central tavern in Meriden, opened in 1792. It became headquarters for stage passengers, a place where stage horses were exchanged and a stop made for meals. Here also were kept the books of the library, and balls and the meetings of the town officers were held. In fact, taverns were general headquarters of the town, as the churches were the only other public buildings. This tavern later degenerated into a common drinking place, and was closed in 1873. The turnpike from Meriden to Middletown as has been said was built largely through the efforts of Dr. Hough. Captain Dayton, victim of the famous Bethany robbery, kept a tavern later, strangely enough opposite the one in which the robbery had been planned.

"Taverns in those early days" said Curtis in the book of the Meriden Centennial "were very important centres of life in every community. There the farmers learned the news of the outside world from the chance traveler, and perhaps exchanged notes on crops and live stock. No one was permitted to become an innkeeper without the recommendation of the selectmen and a license obtained from the county court." It may be said that the first meeting about forming the New Haven Bank seems to have been held at a tavern kept by a Mr. Thomas.

The character of these taverns is illustrated by the sign of one in Seymour on the Oxford turnpike (given in Sharpe's Seymour), which



FIRST METHODIST CHURCH, OLD TORY TAV-
ERN AND A PORTION OF YALE DIVINITY
SCHOOL, BEFORE 1880



(Courtesy of R. C. Chamberlain, New Haven)

THE TONTINE "REPOSING QUIETLY IN THE SHADE OF THE
TREES AND FACING THE GREEN"

Built by David Hoadley. The proprietor, William Jones, was postmaster
for a time. Notice stage office at left and stage coach

was the picture of an attendant changing one of the horses on a coach. But as travel increased and travelers made greater demands, something more than stage houses and taverns was needed, although these sufficed for the needs of traders, post riders and teamsters. People from a distance who were merely stopping over night on a long journey did not expect too much in the way of accommodations. An interesting plan was tried in New Haven, an adaptation of the idea of a lottery. About 1825 a joint stock company was formed, to build a hotel in New Haven, called the Tontine, the name taken from that of an Italian count, Tontini. Each share was held in the name of a particular person, called the nominee. There were 243 shares, and when the number should be reduced to seven, the property was to be divided among them. This hotel was taken down to make way for the new post office. There was a hotel called the Tontine in Waterbury, and about 1850 two new hotels were opened in that town, Brown's and the Scovill House. A hotel on the old tavern site, the New Haven House, was opened in New Haven in 1851 by Seth Moseley, who bought it from Yale College in 1867. In 1909 the Taft Hotel was built on the same location.

Predecessors of modern automobile guide books began to appear as early as 1732, when a "Vade Mecum" was published, containing the distances along the roads, together with names of tavern keepers, and doubtless some idea of the character of the houses. Almanacs often gave similar information. The Connecticut Register and Manual for 1808 has at the back "The Traveller's Guide to Roads, with names of the best Innkeepers." This information covered the roads from Boston and Portland to Utica and Niagara Falls, and gave the time-table of mail stages from Boston to New York.

Changes in the means of transportation can be followed in the diary of Thomas Robbins, who even in those days seems to have thought no more of starting on a horseback trip from Hartford to New Haven than one does today in an automobile. The best time made on his horseback journeys was six hours. After a time he began to go in a carriage or sulky, and to take the stage. Some of the entries in his diary give hints of conditions of travel. In 1827 he went from Saugatuck to New Haven, riding from eight P. M. until eight A. M. "A very pleasant night. Some of the way the stage was very full. I slept a little. We could not stop for supper." The next year he went from New Haven to Hartford, alone in the stage to Middletown. He started between seven and eight P. M., and arrived about five A. M. In 1829 he rode in a crowded stage to New Haven and got in late, finding the roads very rough. This was in the winter and he had been carried in a sleigh to Hartford to meet the stage. Sometimes he went by way of Farmington to New Haven, and then to his parish in Stratford in the late mail stage. Of one of these trips he said, "A very pleasant road from New Haven near the canal." Again, "Rode by Plymouth, Waterbury and Derby to Stratford. Five or six miles further than by New Haven, and much worse road. Got home late. Very dusty. Much fatigued." In 1831 he began steamboat travel and later took the cars as a matter of course.

CHAPTER II

SAILING PACKETS, STEAMBOATS AND THE FARMINGTON CANAL

By the end of the eighteenth century most towns along the coast had boats running frequently to New York, one going regularly twice a week from New Haven in 1791. These boats were comfortable, but uncertain as to the time of arrival at their destination, the trip sometimes taking a week. Young Timothy Pierce wrote in a letter, "Commencement evening I set afloat [from New Haven] for New York, & arrived here after a head wind voyage of—I have forgotten exactly how long." When Lyman Beecher was married in 1799 and wished to take his bride and her "candle-stand, bureau, table, clothing, bedding, linen and stuffs," from Guilford to his parish on Long Island, "Uncle Benton hired a small sloop to take us over." Ten years or so later he moved from Long Island to Litchfield, and brought the family back in a sloop. He himself went to Litchfield on horseback to make arrangements for their removal to that place, hired a large two horse wagon to carry the family, and four great farmers' wagons to get the goods which had been stored on Long Wharf in New Haven,—it is to be hoped with the candle-stand, bureau and table. In 1817 when he was bringing his second bride to Litchfield, in whose genteel society she no doubt wished to make a good impression, her trunk was sent by water from Portland to New Haven, but the vessel was frozen up, and the poor lady did not get her trunk until spring. Meanwhile, said her husband, she "had to patch up for the winter."

But new and closer relations with the outside world were at hand, as the "genius of Fulton went smoking his pipe in the teeth of the tide." In March, 1815, the "elegant Steamboat *Fulton*" began to navigate on Long Island Sound, or as the Poet Hillhouse said, "Fulton's smoking chariots glide." Orcutt's "History of Derby" says that Talmadge Beardsley, a ship builder of that place, who built the fastest sailing vessel that ever plied between Derby and New York, helped build this first steamboat in 1814. Round trips were made each week for three years, the company calling itself the Sound Steamboat Line. The service was continued until 1822, the *Connecticut* taking the place of the *Fulton*. When President Monroe visited New Haven in 1817 he came from New York on the *Connecticut*. When the steamboats began coming to New Haven stage coach offices and hotels were moved to a place near the landing,

for this became part of a longer journey for many. A young New York girl going to Miss Pierce's school in 1816 went by this route. "I took a steamboat to New Haven, and went by stage from there to Litchfield."

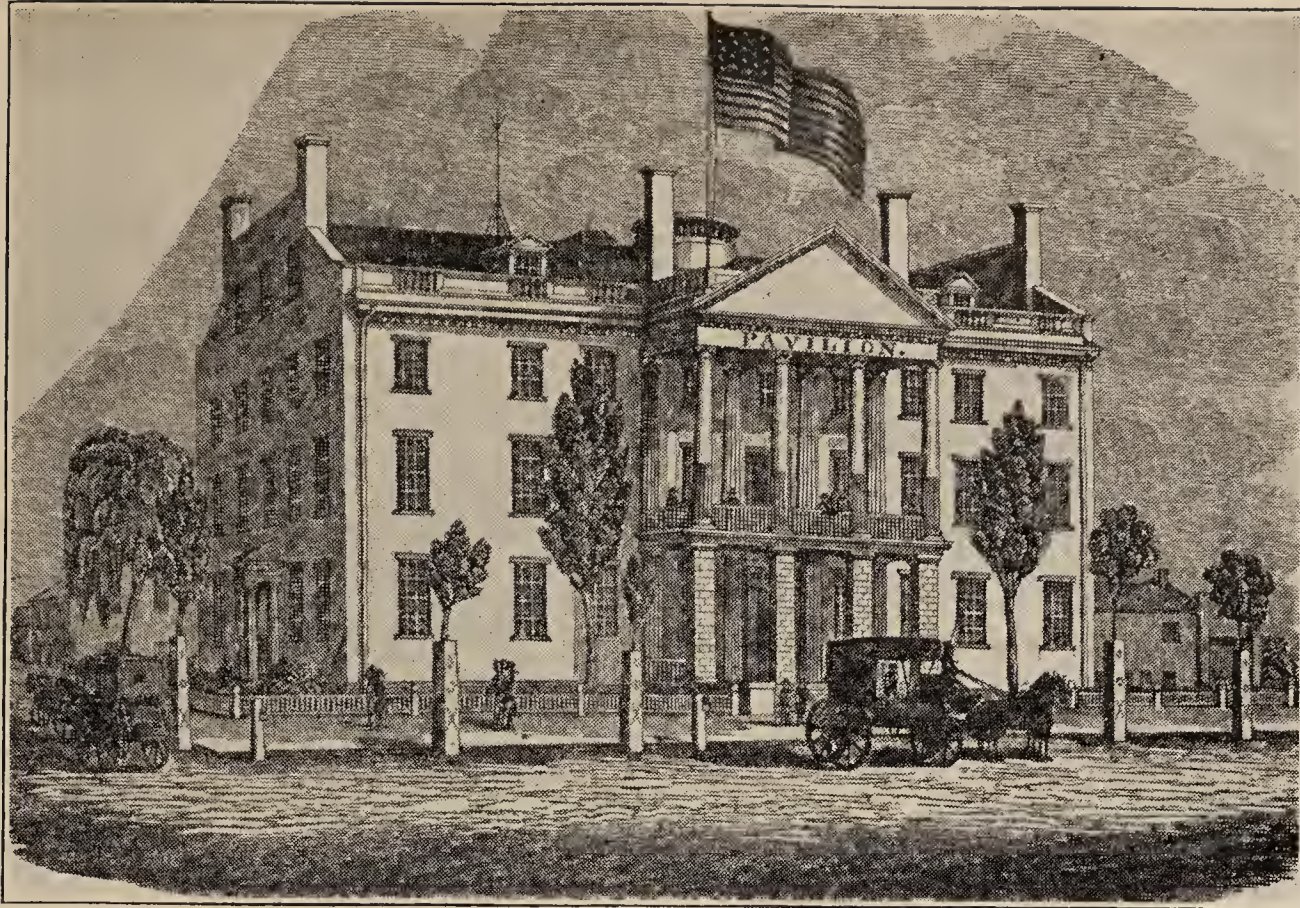
An interesting incidental result of better facilities for transportation was that New Haven County became a place of resort for Southern families during the summer. The Ives farm in Hamden, for instance, was at one time owned by planters from the West Indies. Mr. J. H. Dickerman said, "I well remember the place as the home of the families of the Van den Heuvels and the Walters, who were the owners of rich sugar estates and sent their sweets to the New Haven markets, in return shipping horses, mules, casks, hoops and staves. The hickory poles of Hamden formerly found an excellent market in supplying the planters' demands." A little later Barber said there were two packets plying regularly between Derby and New York, and a steamboat was about to begin running. During the time of the West India trade the families of planters also came to Derby. "Guilford," said Barber, "is a place of considerable resort during the warm season of the year, for the benefit of the sea air, etc. There are two establishments for this purpose.

* * * Both these places are accessible to steamboats." Perhaps it was through some such visit that Mary Foote of Guilford met the West India planter whom she married, only to find life on a slave plantation more tragic than she could bear.

Some people still preferred the old ways of travel. Rev. Thomas Robbins on his return in 1821 from a visit to New York wrote in his diary, "Pleasant weather. Rode to New Haven. Found Tudor, who arrived in a steamboat last evening." Packets were still running, five plying between Guilford and New York in 1810, and in some places well into the century. Lyman Beecher after a visit to Boston in 1821, let his wife return to Hartford by stage. "I shall return in the New Haven packet with Captain Collis by water, which suits me best." The poet Percival said,

"If you dislike the steamboat's fare or racket,
And choose a *smaller* evil—take the packet."

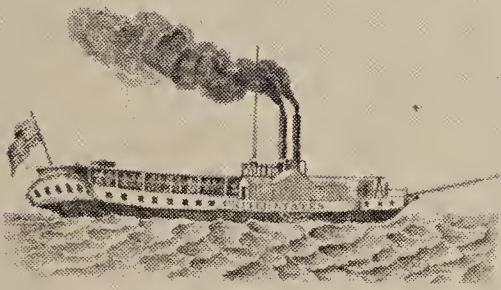
In 1822 the New York Legislature gave Robert Fulton, who had a patent for operating vessels under steam, and Livingston, his wealthy backer, exclusive rights in New York waters. Connecticut replied by excluding them from Connecticut waters, for the competition of steamboats from New York, especially without reciprocal rights, was not desired in Connecticut. Seafaring men in Derby also opposed steamboats in the Housatonic River, and kept them out for several years. Fulton put on a line of sailing packets, which ran from Oyster Bay to New Haven, connecting at Oyster Bay with a steamboat to New York, and on the other side a steamboat, the *United States*, not licensed by Fulton, ran from New Haven to Byram's Cove at the New York state line, where it connected with a coach for the city. This boat was owned by the Connecticut Steamboat Company, formed in 1822.



THE "NEW STEAMBOAT HOTEL" ON EAST WATER STREET, NEW HAVEN

Built about 1820 for the convenience of passengers of the boats. Located on the bank near the bridge where the "Fulton" arrived and departed. For several years it was a place of resort for families from the southern states and from the West Indies. Later it was used as a tenement house

New-York and New-Haven STEAM-BOAT DAILY LINE.



THE STEAM-BOATS
United States, Capt. Beecher,
AND
Providence, Capt. Sanford,

HAVE commenced their regular trips, and will continue to run through the season, between New-Haven and New-York, in the following order, viz.

One of said Boats will be dispatched from New-Haven every evening at 7 o'clock, and one from New-York, (foot of Maiden-lane,) every morning, at the same hour, Sundays excepted. Two extra trips in each week will also be performed, a Boat leaving New-York on Saturdays, at 4 o'clock, P. M. and New-Haven on Mondays, at 9 o'clock, A. M.

POST COACHES

Will always be in readiness, on the arrival of the Boats at New-Haven, to convey passengers immediately on to Hartford, Boston and Providence--on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays, by the way of Middletown, and on Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays, by Meriden and Berlin.

The MAIL STAGE for Hartford, by Middletown, also leaves New-Haven every evening at 10 o'clock, and an ACCOMMODATION STAGE for Hartford will also leave New-Haven every morning, Sundays excepted. By this route the passage from New-York to Hartford is usually performed five to six hours sooner than by any other route.

Passengers travelling eastward, will breakfast and dine on board the Boats, and if they choose, stop at Hartford, where they will arrive within fifteen hours from the time of departure from New-York, in season for a comfortable night's rest, and to take the early Stages from Hartford.

Freight received on board at moderate prices. For information relative to freight or passage, apply to the Captains on board, or, at the Steam-Boat Office, head of Long-Wharf, New-Haven, to

JOEL ROOT, Agent.

S. H. All Goods, Baggage and Species, at the risk of the owners thereof
New-Haven, April 6, 1826.

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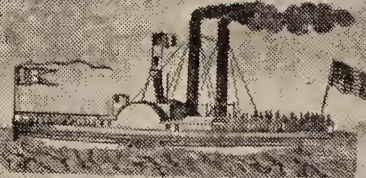


NEW HAVEN AND NORTHAMPTON DAILY CANAL BOAT LINE, AND STEAMBOAT TO CHEAPSIDE.

The New Haven and Northampton Canal Transportation Line have extended their line of Boats to Cheapside, by adding a New-England to run from New-Haven to Cheapside. They have also a Steamboat running to connect with the above line from the Basin Wharf in New-Haven to New-York.



By this arrangement Goods shipped from Albany and Boston by the Western Railroad via Westfield Depot, and from New-York and the North via New-Haven, will arrive at Cheapside with safety and regularity in the best dock Canal Boats.



The Steamboat Franklin will leave Northampton for Cheapside, touching at Middletown, on TUESDAY, THURSDAY, and FRIDAY. Returning leaves Cheapside touching at Middletown, on MONDAY, WEDNESDAY, and SATURDAY. The Steamboat STEER will leave the Basin Wharf in New-Haven for New-York, every MONDAY and THURSDAY at 8 o'clock P. M. Returning leaves Old Slip, New-York, every TUESDAY and FRIDAY, at 4 o'clock P. M. For freight or passage inquire of J. & S. BRIGGS, No. 40 South Street, New-York, or of A. J. BACON, New-Haven, or of the Captain on board.

Freight from Boston and Albany will be delivered daily at the Brick Depot, Westfield, and transhipped without delay in the canal boats for Northampton and Cheapside landing, near Greenfield, and in convenient price.

BEECHER'S DAILY LINE FROM NEW HAVEN,

the present arrangement affords facilities and dispatch heretofore unimagined. The rates of freight generally have been reduced, and Flour from Albany via the Western Railroad will be delivered at Northampton, for 34 cents per barrel, and from Albany to Cheapside landing for 40 cents.

For further particulars inquire at the store house west side of the Deerfield Bridge, at Cheapside of JOHN H. ROYLE; HENRY BEECHER, New-Haven, J. & S. BRIGGS, No. 40 South Street New-York, or of the subscriber at Northampton.

Northampton, April 1, 1845.

JOSEPH L. KINGSLEY, General Agent.

In 1824 the New York law was declared unconstitutional in a case appealed to the U. S. Supreme Court, and the Connecticut Steamboat Company began regular operations between New Haven and New York, landing at the foot of Maiden Lane on the East River. In that year it became the New Haven Steamboat Company, and continued operating boats for eighty years, until 1904. It is interesting that its agent in 1828 was Joel Root, who was president of the Farmington Canal Company. By the spring of 1825 three boats were running regularly to New York, owned by New Haven people, one of them, the *United States*, the first really Connecticut boat, another, the *Hudson*, and a third, the *Providence*. The first two were day boats, the latter a night boat. At first they proposed to go only during the summer, but a rival started trips, and it was necessary to begin a winter schedule. Later two new boats, the *Superior* and the *Splendid*, were put on by the company, and took the places of the first boats, the *United States* having exploded in 1830. It was on the *Splendid* that President Jackson came to New Haven. It took eleven hours to make the trip from Hartford to New York, the traveller coming to New Haven by stage, and taking the boat there for New York. It may be of interest to compare this with the time required to make the journey by private means. Rev. Thomas Robbins of East Windsor who made continual trips to New Haven often recorded the time expended. In 1812 he rode from Hartford to New Haven in seven hours; in 1815 from Stamford to New Haven, forty miles, in about eight hours. In 1820 he and a friend set out for New Haven from East Windsor, apparently in a sleigh, about noon and got to New Haven at eight o'clock. The best time was less than six hours in 1815.

Sailing packets were still on the waters of the Sound. An advertisement in the *Columbian Register* of May, 1832, of "The Regular line of New Haven and Albany Packets" shows the picture of three sailing packets, supposably the *Calhoun*, *Superb* and *Imperial*. The advertisement stated that one of the three leaves every week through the season, carrying freight to New York and landing places on the river, or forwarded on the Erie and Champlain or Farmington Canals. Passengers were also carried. Directly under this was the advertisement of the New York and New Haven Steamboat Line, the steamboats *Superior* and *Hudson* leaving every day but Saturday and Sunday, fare from New York to Hartford, including stage \$3, and to New Haven \$2.

Another element entered into the situation with the opening of the Hartford and New Haven Railroad. An arrangement was made in 1838 between the railroad and the Steamboat Company, by which the former agreed not to run its trains in connection with any other line of boats, and the Steamboat Company paid the railroad \$500 a year, the amount to be increased to \$1,200, on completion of the road to Hartford. This was called the "Secret Monopoly." Commodore Vanderbilt who was running a line to New London, threatened to have his boats stop at New Haven, and as the New Haven Steamboat Company had a burdensome contract

for carrying the mail daily, even though the trip did not pay otherwise, it sold its boats to Vanderbilt, keeping the charter.

He did not wish to live up to the agreement with the railroad, threatened to break the railroad, tried to raise his prices, and for a time took off the boats *New Haven* and *New York*, which had succeeded the *Superior* and *Splendid*, and replaced them with an old Staten Island ferry boat, the *Bolivar*, saying he could not afford to run a better one. It was one of these boats that Dickens described as a "floating run-away bath-house." Then began a period of opposition and price cutting. Various agreements were made from 1842 to 1849 between the railroad and the steamboat company, as to service and fares.

Individual companies took part in this war of boats, and at one time the fare to New York was as low as 12½ cents. One man, Capt. Richard Peck, was destined to become an important figure in the development of steamboat traffic on this route for the next fifty years. He appeared for a time with the *American Eagle*, brought from the Hudson River for the fray, bearing the device, "Our Motto is Fair Play and No Oppression." In 1841 the New Haven Steamboat Company put on the Citizen's Line, with first, the *Telegraph*, and, this boat proving unsatisfactory, "the splendid and commodious low-pressure steamboat," the *Belle*, Captain Peck. This was a very popular boat, and gave its name to the dock which was built about 1840. At one time it was deliberately run into by the *New Haven* of the Connecticut River Line, while at the dock, and had to undergo repairs for a week. These boats were sold to the Connecticut River Company in 1843.

The Hartford and New Haven Railroad had also got the right to run boats in 1838, and put on the *Traveler* and the *Champion*, but sold them soon to the Connecticut River Steamboat Company, and by them they were sold to Chester Chapin about 1850. Now still another force had to be reckoned with, another railroad, the newly opened New York and New Haven Line. This company naturally did not want people traveling to New York on boats belonging to another company instead of by its trains. Indeed it had been said that a railroad to New York could not be made to pay and was not needed because of the steamboats.

The New York and New Haven road took the following measures,—in its dealings with the Hartford and New Haven Railroad over traffic arrangements the two made an agreement by which trains from Hartford were not to be run to the steamboat wharf as heretofore, but to the new station of the New York and New Haven road on Chapel Street. An exception was made of the train connecting with the night boat. The boats belonging to the Hartford and New Haven Railroad were withdrawn from the New York route, the *Traveler* running only as the night boat to New York, and the *Champion* between New Haven and Hartford. Prices were regulated, and the steamboat company was to be paid \$20,000 a year for five years for the loss of patronage by withdrawing its day boats.

The United States Courts however decided that this agreement was unconstitutional and against the charter of the Hartford and New Haven company. The railroad put on boats occasionally, the *Commodore* and *Connecticut*, but sold them to Chester Chapin about 1850. Within two or three years he, with Captain Peck and C. H. Northam reorganized the New Haven Steamboat Company and started a new régime, under the management of Captain Peck, as superintendent. Chester Chapin already had a stage business and passenger and steamboat traffic between Hartford and Springfield. Using the *Traveler* as a spare boat, new boats were put on, the *Granite State* in 1853, built by Captain Peck; the *Elm City*, known as the fast night boat, in 1856; the *Continental* the largest boat on the line, in 1861; and the *C. H. Northam* in 1872. The latter was burned in 1877. In 1892 the *Richard Peck*, and in 1899 the *Chester Chapin* were put on, twin screw steamboats with steel hulls, and the company ran some freight boats. In 1899 it extended the lines to Providence. This company, as was said, continued to operate boats to New York until 1904, though its capital stock was sold to the New York, New Haven and Hartford Railroad Company in 1900, after which no night boats were run.

Another line of boats, the *Starin*, was started in 1871 at the time of the opening of the New Haven and Derby Railroad, at first for freight, and then, beginning with excursions to Glen Island, putting on passenger boats to New York, the *J. H. Starin* and the *Erastus Corning*. This service was continued until 1920. The freight boats are still running, not locally owned, with motor trucks collecting packages throughout the state. One of its boats, the *Yale*, was the first oil burner regularly plying between New Haven and New York. There was also a line known as the Propeller Line, the New Haven Transportation Company; and from Derby, navigation on the Housatonic River was carried on by the Naugatuck Transportation Company before 1857, and until comparatively recently by the Naugatuck Steamboat Company.

About 1900 the New Haven Steamboat Company, with its new boats the *Richard Peck* and the *C. H. Northam*, seemed to the railroad a "desirable adjunct to our company." The capital stock was bought, as has been said. After 1904 the New Haven Steamboat Company ceased to operate boats and was merged in the railroad company. The steamship lines were operated for a time by companies under other names for the railroad. Their physical properties were afterwards sold to the operating companies because of legislation by Congress. The subsidiary company at present running boats for the railroad is the New England Steamship Company, with freight boats only on the old New Haven line. Connected with it is the New England Transportation Company, organized 1925, which among other things, operates a freight trucking service that covers hundreds of miles and is coördinated with both the railroad and steamship companies.

Besides the freight brought by the two steamboat lines, some commodities, such as coal, oil, automobiles, are brought in by coastwise boats and barges.

The Farmington Canal

About the middle of the Turnpike-Stage-coach Era the enterprise was started of building the Farmington Canal in an effort to compete with traffic on the Connecticut River, and it was hoped, by bringing much of the Hartford trade to New Haven, to make it a great distributing center. It was even dreamed that it might become a rival to New York. The canal was to be part of a system extending from the Sound to the borders of Canada. The project commanded the interest and support of the Connecticut Legislature, of the business world and of the small investors of the vicinity. A joint stock company was formed and a charter obtained by the promoters, requiring owners of land to give up the property necessary to build it from the tide water line at New Haven to the Connecticut-Massachusetts line. Disagreements over prices were to be settled by a board of commissioners. Joel Root was president of the company, James Hillhouse superintendent. Eli Whitney Blake made one of the preliminary surveys, assisted by Henry Farnam, who had been employed on the Erie Canal. George Beckwith of almanac fame was also employed. Thus, though the movement for the canal did not start in New Haven, and the canal was given the name of a town and river in another county, the leaders were men from New Haven, and there was great local pride and interest in the project.

The estimated cost of the canal was over \$400,000, plus land damages, a far more expensive undertaking than turnpikes. Representatives of several towns met to start the project and voted to raise \$1,000. New York financiers subscribed \$90,000, Farmington, \$12,500, the citizens of New Haven, \$122,900, and some small investors along the line took subscriptions. By 1833 individuals had subscribed \$645,000. Not enough money was raised at first by subscription to complete the canal and the company was helped in various ways. In 1822 its stock was exempted from taxation until twenty-one years after its completion; in 1824 one of the conditions of the incorporation of the Mechanics' Bank of New Haven was a subscription of \$100,000 to the Canal Company and an additional sum of the same amount if the directors of the company should call for it. It is almost unnecessary to add that the second subscription was called for. In return however the capital stock of the bank was exempted from taxation. It may be added that in 1839 the bank sold its stock in the Canal Company for seventy-five cents a share. In 1829 the City of New Haven subscribed \$100,000, and two years later the City Bank had to subscribe a like amount, with its capital stock freed from taxation until the canal tolls should pay a dividend of six per cent. The New Haven County Bank also had to help the canal as condition of its incorporation, by paying \$2,000 at once, and \$1,000 annually for three years. The City

of New Haven helped in other financial ways, as the payment of \$3,000 a year for a time for the use of the water of the canal.

To return to the beginning of the enterprise, one person, "A Stockholder in 1828 objected to the way in which it was being done. The construction of canals is the proper work of the sovereign power and should never be committed to private corporations."

Ground was broken in 1825 at Salmon Brook near Granby, the first spadeful of earth dug by no less a personage than Governor Wolcott. It was made a gala occasion, Capt. George Rowland of New Haven transporting a distinguished party containing the Governor up and back in a canal boat on wheels, with an awning for a top, thoughtfully provided, as it was the 4th of July. The boat bore the device "For Southwick and Memphramagog." Two or three thousand people had assembled, and in honor of the day the Declaration of Independence was read, the Governor made an address, and an oration was delivered.

People of New Haven were much interested in the discussions over the route the canal would take through the city, and a "middle or Creek-route" was finally decided on. The Rev. Mr. Croswell described another point reached in its progress towards completion. "February 19, 1828. Towards noon it was announced that the Canal was full of water—and at 3 in the afternoon a boat was put afloat, and was lifted up all the locks in town, passing through the whole length of the Canal to the basin of Mr. Hillhouse, and returning to the last level. The crowd to witness the first exhibition was immense, and filled the town with joy, the bells rang, cannons fired, &c."

The first boat on the canal itself, the *James Hillhouse*, started from Farmington June, 1828, on another festive day. In September the canal was open to New Haven, and the first passenger boat arrived from Cheshire, the *Oliver Wolcott*. By 1830 the canal was open for navigation as far as Westfield. Most of the traffic on the canal was freight, but efforts were made to carry passengers. In 1838 the New Haven Packet Boat Company was organized to put on a daily line of passenger boats to Northampton. The New Haven Chamber of Commerce invested \$100 in the purchase of three shares of the stock of this company. The trip required twenty-six hours and cost \$3.75, with meals, and the business is said to have been profitable. The passenger boats were gay affairs, painted in bright colors, and in the earlier days were drawn by large gray horses, ridden by colored boys dressed in white. There was a difference between regular passenger boats and the others, though both carried passengers. The former were "elegantly furnished, and meals are served up on board by the owners, but the line boat is only used for transportation of freight and passengers who find themselves." The former were also faster, and had berths or beds, one of them with hinged beds somewhat like a Pullman. The other boats had no such convenience. Some of these boats were built in New Haven at the foot of Olive Street, on Water Street, near the Canal Basin.

The canal never had more than sixteen or seventeen boats a day on its waters, and never paid expenses. It cost much to operate, having sixty locks, twenty-two of them between New Haven and Southington, a distance of twenty miles; many miles of banks that had to be kept in good order, with frequent expenses for repairs after freshets, one in 1843 costing \$20,000.

Besides the financial help given by the City of New Haven, James Hillhouse made an unsuccessful appeal to Congress for help. But the canal was opened too late, partly because the railroad age was beginning. Specifically any chance for success ended when the Hartford and New Haven Railroad Company built tracks in the direction of the canal, and made an arrangement with the Connecticut River Steamboat Company. This, however, only partly explains the failure of the canal, for the part from Westfield to New Haven had a thorough trial for nine years without any parallel competition from the railroad, yet it was a financial failure. It would be truer to say that the railroads completed the disaster, and prevented the canal from profiting from the traffic that arose from the development of manufactures.

The Northampton and New Haven Company was organized in 1836 to take over the properties of the two canal companies (in Connecticut and Massachusetts), and straighten out their finances. On seeing the coming of the railroad, and at the suggestion of Joseph E. Sheffield, who, with his friends had acquired much of the stock from New York people who were tired of the enterprise, the company got the Legislature to change its charter (1846) enabling it to build a railroad along and on the canal bed. The canal was kept open for navigation until the railroad was ready to take its place.

One town seems to have been always friendly to the canal. Cheshire in 1822 called a special town meeting to consider the proposed application for a charter for the canal company, and "believing that the laying out of said canal will be highly honourable to this state and greatly beneficial to a large proportion of the people of the same:—Whereupon Voted, that this town do consent that the same may be done, and do hereby wholly wave all objections on account of not being cited before said General Assembly." Beach in his "History of Cheshire," said the canal was a success. One part of West Cheshire was known as Beachport, from the name of a man who had a warehouse there, conveniently arranged with a projection over the canal for loading the boats. "'Beachport' was a busy place during the days of the old canal; for until the building of the Naugatuck Railroad all products were brought over the hills from the Naugatuck Valley to Beachport for shipment."

The canal during its existence, which ended in 1848, pursued the policy of fostering manufacturing, with factories at the end of the Mount Carmel locks using the water power. The same George Rowland who navigated the canal-boat on wheels, had a grist mill in the middle of New Haven turned by the waters of the canal. A pumping station lifted the

water into a huge tank high enough to give a fall of six or eight feet. This grist mill stood until the depot was built in the forties.

A few fragments of advantage could be garnered from the wreckage of the failure of the canal. The work done for the canal lessened the cost of building the railroad which took its place, by the grading which had been done and land damages adjusted. It saved in expense of transportation; some use of the water was made by towns in putting out fires; one man got some hay from the bank for his dividend, and small boys are said to have enjoyed fishing in its waters, though statements are not available as to results. The old buildings that were removed to make way for the canal were used for tenements for the working people who came to help build it, and remained to help build the railroad. Otherwise the tale of the Farmington Canal is a Jeremiad of the invasion of peaceful towns, the removal of houses, and disfigurement of fair landscapes, not to mention the financial losses.

The history of the canal shows that there was a considerable amount of capital in New Haven and the vicinity that was seeking investment. Ultimately most of the stock came into the hands of New Yorkers, so that this financial operation represents only in part the savings of local investors. The directors of the enterprise were wholly from this district. In particular the personality of James Hillhouse was significant. Without his masterful leadership the canal might never have been completed.

Orcutt in his "History of Derby" says that at one time there was a proposition to construct a canal from Derby to the Massachusetts state line, and quotes from the town records the vote to "forward," that is favor, a petition "to the next General Assembly to incorporate a company for the purpose of establishing a navigation of the Ousatonic River, by means of a canal near its banks or by improving the bed of the river as far as the state line * * * provided nothing herein contained is to be construed to subject this town to the expense of purchasing the land over which said canal may pass."

CHAPTER III

THE RAILROAD

The history of the railroads in New Haven County is influenced by the position of the City of New Haven as the meeting point of lines of traffic going in many directions, a situation already noticed in connection with turnpikes. This story of the railroads in the county therefore is more than the history of the development of its lines of communication. It is also the story of the process so far as this county is concerned, by which one of the railroads, (and that not the oldest in the state, nor even in the county), has gathered under its control at one time or another all forms of public transportation meeting at this point,—companies acquired sometimes singly and sometimes in groups, about two score in all in this region. The result is the "New Haven System" of today. It extends over a wide area, but within this county, besides the lines, are some of the important parts of its present equipment, such as the Hump and General Headquarters.

Railroad construction took place as follows:—the road from New Haven to Hartford opened in 1839; the Housatonic along the western border of the county in 1842; the New Haven-Northampton road in 1848 as far as Farmington; the road from Winsted down the Naugatuck Valley, joining the New Haven road at Devon in 1849; the New Haven-New York line the same year; the New Haven-New London in 1852; the Waterbury-Hartford road in 1855; the Air Line to Middletown in 1870; the New Haven and Derby in 1871; and from Waterbury to Poughkeepsie in 1882. The great era of railroad building was the period from 1835 to 1870, contemporaneous with the expansion of manufactures. It terminated the era of the turnpike, the stage coach and the canal.

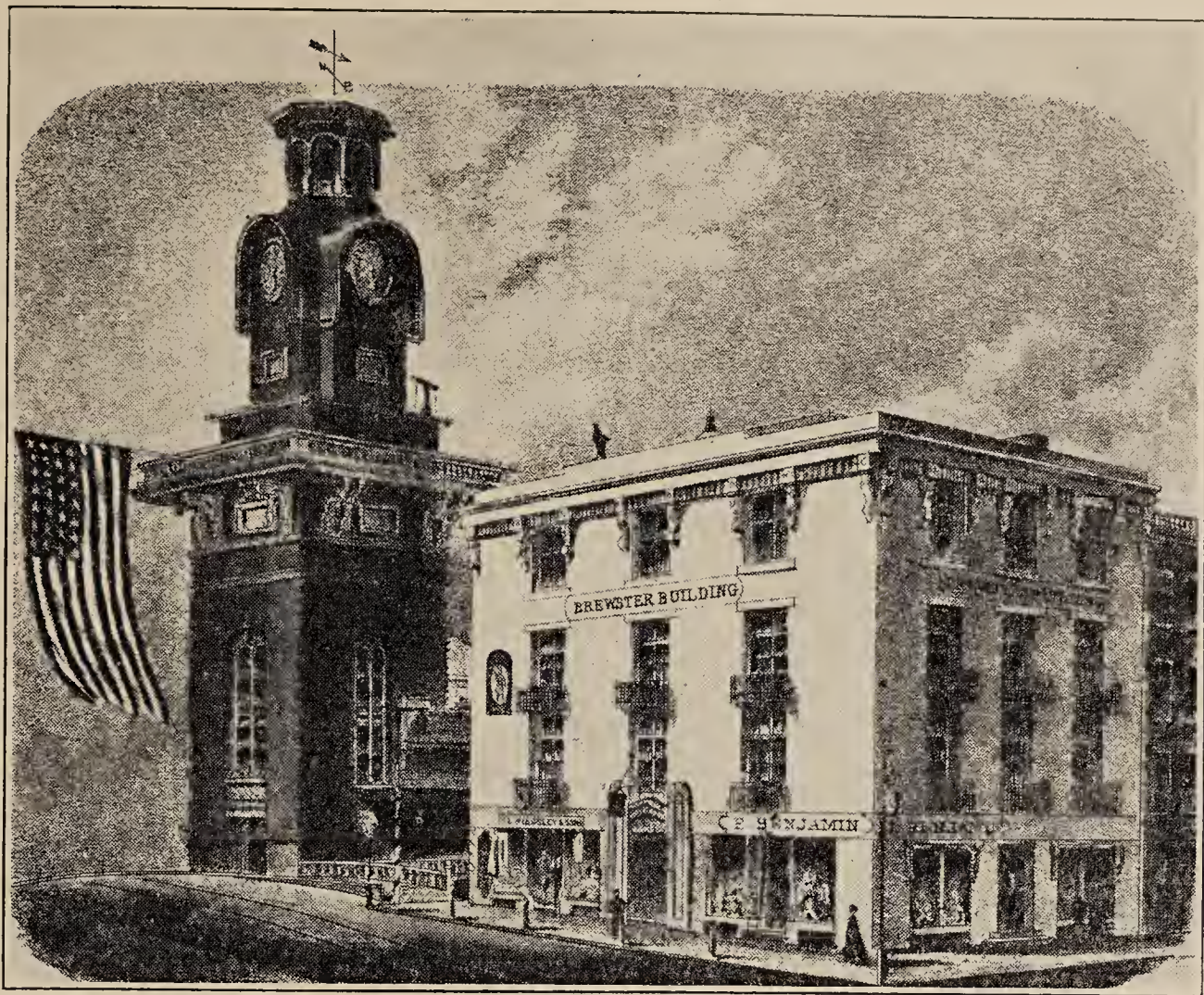
The Hartford and New Haven Railroad

The oldest line in the System, the first in the county, and one of the earliest in the state, but not the one that might be called the parent, or to speak more properly, the stem or thread on which the others are strung, is the Hartford and New Haven Railroad, 36.5 miles long, incorporated 1833, organized 1835, opened first in 1839 to North Haven, and soon extended to Meriden. The line went from Hartford to Belle Dock at Tomlinson's Bridge in New Haven, where it connected with the steamboats to New York. The route followed was first pointed out by a poet,

James Gates Percival, while on an official geological exploration trip, and follows a depression between the eastern and western lines of elevation in the trap rock system. Three routes to Hartford were possible, but the one through Meriden was chosen, largely as a result of the efforts of Maj. Elisha Cowles, a shrewd business man, a merchant with interests in manufacturing, and Judge James S. Brooks. Both were directors of the road, the latter acting as president for a time. Mr. Cowles had a building where it is said he and Dr. Isaac Hough had a railroad restaurant.

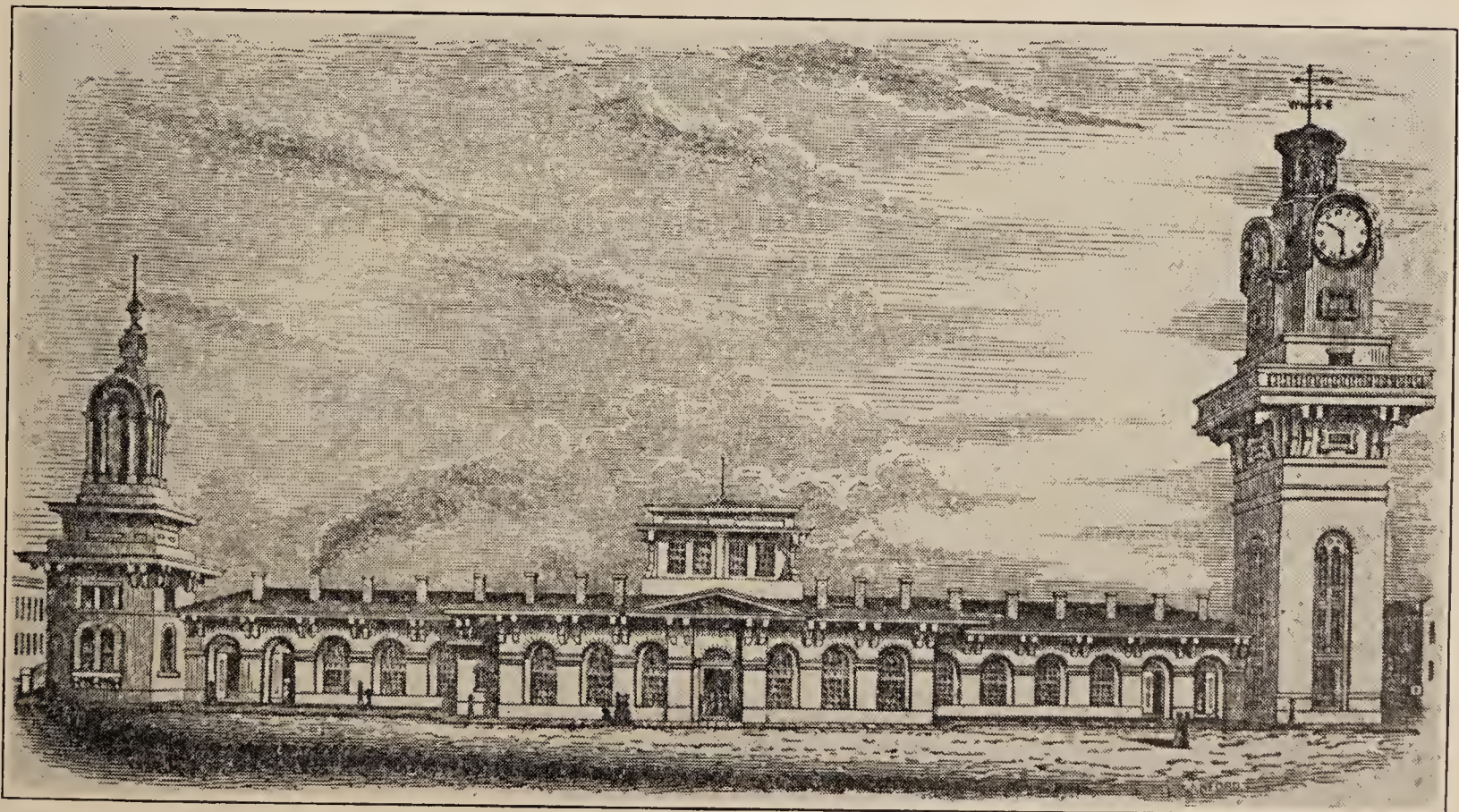
Land owners, and men who had stock in turnpikes and stage coaches, and the canal were opposed to the opening of the railroad. A memorial was presented by some of them to the Legislature in 1832 protesting against granting the incorporation as "injury and injustice to private property." In view of later events some of the reasons they advanced are of interest. "A railroad is a monopoly in a peculiar sense. On a canal or turnpike everyone has a perfect right to use his own vehicles—not so on the railroad. The carriages upon that must belong to the proprietors of the road, or run by their special permission and must be subject to one superintendence. In the monopoly now contemplated your memorialists are informed and believe that, although no names appear on petition but those of the citizens of this state, yet a great majority of the interest is to be owned and held by strangers, citizens of other states, proprietors in the great and overwhelming establishments of steamboats and railroads which now monopolize the conveyance of passengers between the cities of New York and Philadelphia, and are endeavoring to seize the exclusive route through this state and Long Island Sound, and unite the whole with such additions as they may hereafter acquire under one power." If they should succeed in extending the line to Boston, the protest continued, they would stifle all competition in transportation and then increase the rates. "By the grant now contemplated, four turnpike companies between New Haven and Hartford in which many widows, orphans and persons in moderate circumstances have invested their property, the steam navigation between Hartford and New York, the steam boats between the latter city and New Haven, and many other of the vested interests of our citizens would be utterly destroyed." This memorial was signed, among others, by Simeon Baldwin, J. Wood, Roger M. Sherman and William Bristol, "overseers of turnpike stock." The memorialists had investments in the canal or the turnpike, and feared loss through the railroad. The charter was however granted.

The railroad was thus described soon after it was opened, "commencing near Mill Creek, in New Haven, and crossing that Creek, the road is conducted to the bank of the Quinnipiack, in North Haven. Here the road crosses the stream by an aqueduct, gains its left bank, which is ascended to Meriden, and thence through the towns of Berlin and Weathersfield, to Hartford, its present point of termination." *The American Railroad Journal* of November 15, 1838, says the road was opened to



(Courtesy of R. C. Chamberlain, New Haven)

THE TOWER OF THE OLD RAILROAD STATION FROM THE STREET LEVEL



RAILROAD STATION, CORNER OF CHAPEL AND UNION STREETS,
NEW HAVEN

Built about 1848, designed by Henry Austin. Tower on northeast corner, with bell and illuminated clock. "The Depot called by some persons rather sneeringly the Subterranean"

North Haven, eight or ten miles, by a short excursion by a small party of gentlemen to try the quality of the materials and test the susceptibility of motion. Two cars and the locomotive went seven miles to the bridge in North Haven in twenty-five minutes, and back in nineteen. Everything worked kindly and happily, the track was smooth and easy, the cars elegant and commodious, and there was no jerking and jarring in starting and stopping, such as had been seen on other roads. "It will not be long," said another account, "ere we shall be able to leave New Haven after breakfast, reach Hartford and spend some time there, and return home in season for an early dinner."

The railroad did only a small amount of business at first, its gross income from freight and passengers for the first nine months was said to have been only \$24,000. It had been hard to get money to build this second railroad in the state, and it was accomplished largely through the efforts of James Brewster. Joel Root, first president of the Farmington Canal Company, and one of the Steamboat Company, was one of the incorporators of this railroad. Books were opened in New York for subscriptions, and in one day six times what was needed was subscribed, (\$6,000,000) but much of this could not be collected, because of the great fire of 1835 and the panic of 1837. Suit was even brought in some cases to collect unpaid stock subscriptions. For four years Mr. Brewster spent his time in getting the road started, and also gave much land.

The investment in turnpikes, the canal and the railroads indicate not only that there was capital in the county that was seeking a favorable field for investment, but also that this county was regarded by the experienced speculators of New York as an advantageous area for exploitation. Such a conclusion is justified since the three biggest enterprises attracted capital from the greater city. The Aetna Insurance Company in 1835 subscribed for 300 shares.

The New Haven and Northampton Railroad

The road opened next (1848), though chartered earlier (1836) and allowed in 1846 to change its charter to build a railroad, was the New Haven and Northampton. This change was made, as we have seen, in an effort to do something with the Farmington Canal property, and followed its lines, using for much of the way its bed and tow path. How closely the canal was followed at some points is shown by Beckwith's Almanac for 1857, which reported that "A rail of the track on the Canal Railroad broke, and threw one of the passengers into the canal. (Where?)," he added. Joseph E. Sheffield was the one who recommended the substitution of the railroad for the canal. The road was opened from New Haven to Plainville in 1847. "People of all ages, including children * * * and all their friends, were invited to a free ride on the cars up to Plainville, which was as far as trains were running at that time."

Even before the completion of the road, and before the opening of the New York and New Haven Railroad, agreements were made between

the two companies. The first one, January, 1848, known as the "Canal Road Lease" was a lease of the road for twenty-one years from the date of the completion of the road as far as Plainville and from Grand Street in New Haven to the Canal Basin. This was followed in March by a perpetual lease of the bed of the canal from Grand Street to the basin at the head of Long Wharf, which was wanted for a station on Chapel Street, and for engine house, machine shops, etc., at the head of the canal basin. Finally in 1852 permission was given to fill up the canal basin, for work shops and needs of that sort. Within a few months the two railroads built a dock at the canal basin where freight was loaded and unloaded from steamships and sailing vessels. In 1850 an "Extension Lease" was made, of the road beyond Plainville to extend as long as the first lease.

For part of the way through Mount Carmel the railroad used the turnpike road for its tracks, paying the company for the use of the bed. This was dangerous and caused accidents, and later the town paid the railroad \$14,000 to move its tracks. One reason for going by the turnpike instead of the canal bed at this point was not to disturb the factories in the use of the water power. The railroad, like the canal, wished to encourage manufacturing and local traffic, which were quite flourishing, until the route of the road was changed at this point and it adopted the policy of cultivating through traffic rather than local.

The New York and New Haven Railroad

On December 27, 1848, a third road in the county, the New York and New Haven road, incorporated 1844, organized 1846, was opened from Mill River Junction, where the Hartford trains entered New Haven, to Williamsburg, New York, with about 62 miles of single track. The leases with the Canal Road by which it got site for a station, etc., have already been described. When Mr. Sheffield suggested the idea of a railroad to New York he was ridiculed, because there was already a steamboat line, with which it was said the railroad could not compete successfully. Another reason for objecting was the difficult nature of the country, with many rivers, bays and estuaries to cross. Mr. Sheffield, however, had a survey made by A. C. Twining.

In the first ten days the stock was on the market only three men bought shares in New Haven,—Mr. Sheffield, who took one hundred, Mr. Farnam, twenty, and Judge Hitchcock, ten. Mr. Sheffield tried to get capital in England, sold some to capitalists in New York, and finally \$100,000 in New Haven. To prevent Cornelius Vanderbilt from getting control he bought twelve of the twenty thousand shares offered. Later he resigned as director when he could not get this road connected with the Canal Road, (the New Haven and Northampton) of which he was chief owner, and turned his attention to western railroads.

The first step in the consolidation process of the various companies was taken, as has been said, before the road was opened. The rent paid the Canal Road for the land in New Haven, according to the lease of 1848

for twenty-one years, was \$3,500 a year, but this was soon (1851) extinguished by payment of \$50,000 in bonds. To check competition by water from the steamboats running to New York, fares were kept low and an agreement was made with the Hartford and New Haven road, in April, 1849, that its trains should not connect with day boats to New York, but instead should come over the New York and New Haven's track to its station on Chapel Street, and send only one train to meet the night boat. This was followed by an agreement to operate no boats, and in 1850 a traffic alliance was made by which the two roads made arrangements over selling tickets on a road recently constructed, the Providence, Hartford and Fishkill Railroad. This was arranged in a way to prevent competition between the Hartford and New Haven and the New Haven and Northampton roads. Price arrangements were made for five years, by which \$10,000 a year was paid to the Hartford and New Haven road and the same amount to the Connecticut River Steamboat Company for loss of trade. It has been said in another connection that the State of Connecticut brought suit, in the course of which it was decided that the arrangements concerning boats were unconstitutional. Otherwise the agreements were carried out as planned.

At the time the two railroads made the agreements with each other and the steamboat company, they entered into another regulating their relations with the Northampton and New Haven Company, then under lease to the New York and New Haven Railroad. This was intended to prevent the construction of the Northampton road north of Granby in any direction easterly of the old canal, in order to protect the natural business of the Hartford and New Haven road. If such a road should be constructed, its northern terminus was to be Westfield rather than Springfield. The Hartford road did not want a parallel line developed. Charges were made that the Canal Road was sacrificed in these leases between the other two roads, and that an attempt was made to prevent it from buying property needed in its extension. Resolutions were passed in a meeting in New Haven that "A railroad monopoly would be more odious than the steamboat monopoly for which some of our citizens have suffered so much." The author of these resolutions was C. B. Lines, who became leader of the band that went to Kansas equipped with rifles presented in New Haven. On the other hand, the Hartford road brought suit against the New York and New Haven company for its lease of the Canal Road beyond Granby, but before the suit was settled, the existing agreements expired and new arrangements were made.

The New Haven and New London Railroad

The next railroad to interest the county was the New Haven and New London, chartered 1848 and sending its first train in 1852. This road was started largely through the efforts of two Guilford men, R. D. Smyth and F. R. Griffing, and Henry Hotchkiss of New Haven. Much of the stock was taken in Guilford, and its cars described in the New Haven

newspapers as "exceedingly pretty," were made in Seymour. In 1857 it was united with the New London and Stonington Railroad as the New Haven, New London and Stonington Railroad Company. Agreements and leases of land for track were made with this company also by the New York and New Haven company, bringing its trains to the New Haven station until July, 1869, the Hartford and New Haven Railroad Company granting it a strip of land near Mill River and the right to cross its tracks to reach the right of way and station of the other road.

The financial history of this company is one of unpaid indebtedness. On foreclosure of mortgages it was reorganized in 1864 as the Shore Line Railway, and in 1870 the trustees leased it in perpetuity to the New York and New Haven company for \$100,000 a year, the first consolidation of any of the lines entering New Haven. In 1897 it was merged in that company, all its stock retired and its existence as a separate company ended.

New Haven thus by 1870 had railroad connection in the three main directions, to New York; to Hartford, and to Westfield; to New London; with all four companies controlled by one, the New York and New Haven Railroad Company. The rest of the history is the account of the merging of these roads and the opening of smaller roads, mostly inside the county, and acquisition of them by the same company.

From 1870 the New York and New Haven and the Hartford and New Haven roads were managed by a joint board, five of them selected by the directors of each company, the New York road to get 57% and the Hartford road 43% of the net earnings of the two. In 1872 the joint management ended and the two were joined as the New York, New Haven and Hartford Railroad Company. This road got much of the stock of the Canal Road and first made an agreement to pool earnings, but this was apparently never carried out. In 1887 the Canal Road was leased for ninety-nine years, and 1910 its franchise and property were bought. Thus with the addition of the smaller roads was formed the "New Haven System," as far as New Haven County played a part. The name familiarly given it, the "New Haven," seems historically correct.

The Smaller Railroads—The Naugatuck

In 1845 the Naugatuck railroad, Timothy Dwight president, was opened from Naugatuck Junction (now Devon) to Waterbury, and extended soon to Winsted, about 56½ miles. This was built to open up the narrow district of the valley of the Naugatuck River. So narrow is this important valley that when the road was double-tracked later, it was necessary to divert the Naugatuck River in places to find room. In order to make Bridgeport its southern terminus, instead of the junction with the New York and New Haven railroad, a contract was made with that company for ten years, extended in 1859 for twenty years, for the use of its tracks from the Junction to Bridgeport. To secure the business of this valley the New York and New Haven company built a second track

over this part of the road and paid for half the cost of track facilities at the Junction. When the twenty year contract was about to end, in 1887, the Naugatuck road was leased by the New York, New Haven and Hartford company for ninety-nine years. In 1906 it conveyed all its property but the franchise and was finally merged in 1907.

Meanwhile the Naugatuck company had acquired its own station in Bridgeport in 1863, having up to this time used that of the Housatonic Railroad; a new station in Waterbury in 1868; built connecting track and begun to run trains to New Haven in 1868; and bought the short line from Waterbury to Watertown in 1869 from its trustees. It also made (1880) a pooling agreement with the New Haven and Derby Railroad Company, which was cancelled in 1887 when it was leased by the New York, New Haven and Hartford Company. The Naugatuck Transportation Company had also put on some steamboats in 1845 which plied for many years from Derby to New York. At Waterbury the road connected with those going in other directions, and on the river High Rock Grove was opened, a picturesque place for excursions. This was done largely under the influence of George W. Beach, superintendent of the road after 1868. He had started as railroad clerk in the Seymour office, and was president of a bank, a paper company, a manufacturing foundry company, and held many public offices.

The Watertown road mentioned above was a short one of 4.44 miles, incorporated in 1869, leased to the Naugatuck company for five years. When its mortgages were defaulted to the state and the lease expired, it was taken over by the state and given to Superintendent Beach of the Naugatuck company to manage as agent. The latter got most of its stock and 1893 it was merged.

The question naturally arises why this road went to Bridgeport rather than to New Haven for its southern terminus. Business men had little expectation of returns from the road, and while they would do something, would not buy enough stock to bring it here. There had also been a plan for the Hartford and New Haven Company to build a branch from Cheshire to Waterbury, connecting the Naugatuck Valley with New Haven in that way. The Naugatuck company persuaded people not to present the petition for this to the Legislature as had been expected, but the preference for this plan was one reason for the slow subscriptions to the Naugatuck road in New Haven.

The first number of the *Derby Journal* appeared in December, 1846, and contained an appeal to people of the Naugatuck Valley to help build this road. Humphreysville subscribed \$40,000. The capital stock was \$600,000, with the privilege of increasing it to \$1,000,000. The time for building the road was extended and the stock increased a few years later. It is said that more than 80% of the manufacturing interests of the Naugatuck Valley have been introduced since the construction of the road.

The Derby Railroad

When New Haven business men saw the trade of the Naugatuck Valley going to Bridgeport, they made an effort to get it back by building the New Haven and Derby Railroad. One of the movers for the road was Francis E. Harrison of New Haven, who was in the postal service, and saw a need for better mail facilities between Derby and New Haven. Another was C. E. Atwater, who was in business in New Haven and a large owner in the Birmingham Iron and Steel works. He was treasurer of the company. Among the incorporators were Cornelius S. Bushnell, Henry Dutton and N. D. Sperry. Mayor Lewis of New Haven helped get the charter. The company was incorporated in 1864. The city of New Haven besides other later help in the way of loans, subscribed for 200 shares, the officials to be represented on the board, and to have one vote for every four shares of stock.

Though this road followed a more direct route than the Naugatuck road, it was a difficult and expensive one to build. Various mishaps occurred in building its thirteen miles, but it was finally opened to Ansonia. The first train on the line, August 1871, was run by Edward B. Bradley, who had had a successful stage business between Seymour and New Haven. At this time "there was not a platform along the line * * * not a ticket was sold, and he took all cash fares * * * two trains a day were sufficient for all the business." The career of his father, by the way, is interesting as showing the development of the business of transportation and its ramifications. He was driver of a stage between Derby and Bridgeport, then between Woodbury and the Derby docks, then from Woodbury to Seymour in connection with the Naugatuck Railroad, and later was manager of the Tontine Hotel in New Haven.

In 1868 the Derby company was allowed to use the wharf in New Haven by horse drawn cars; in 1871 a contract was made with the New York and New Haven Company for a union railroad station in New Haven. In 1880 the Derby and Naugatuck roads (the latter was by this time coming to New Haven) made arrangements for pooling of interests. This lasted until the Naugatuck road was leased to the New York, New Haven and Hartford Company. In 1889 the Derby road was leased to the Housatonic road for ninety-nine years. A branch connecting the two at Huntington had been opened. With the Housatonic the Derby road was leased to the New York, New Haven and Hartford Company. In 1905 the Derby road conveyed all its property and rights but its franchise to the New York, New Haven and Hartford, and 1907 was merged with it. This included the branch line which had been opened in 1888 from the Junction to Huntington, about 3.79 miles.

In 1870 the New York and New Haven Railroad made an agreement with still another newly opened railroad for the use of its station and tracks to it from Mill River Junction. This was the New Haven, Middletown and Willimantic road, about fifty miles long, organized 1868 for another route to Boston. This road also had a contract with the Hart-

ford and New Haven Company for the use of tracks from Cedar Hill to Mill River Junction. Mortgages on this road were foreclosed 1873, and the holders organized as the Boston and New York Air Line Company, 1875. Two years later an agreement was made with the New York, New Haven and Hartford road for pooling earnings, and in 1882 the road was leased for ninety-nine years, and 1907 was merged.

Railroads to Waterbury and Meriden

The history of other roads coming into Waterbury is complicated and has been described as an "almost interminable mass of co-ordination." Beginning in 1855 several companies entered Waterbury, connecting it with Meriden, Hartford and more distant points to the east and west. A series of failures, consolidations and foreclosures resulted in the acquisition by the New York, New Haven and Hartford road of these half dozen or so small railroads.

The earliest was one connecting Waterbury with Bristol in 1855 by the Hartford, Providence and Fishkill road, made up of two or three small roads, which in 1881 also connected Waterbury with Brewster, New York, and with the Naugatuck. Citizens of Waterbury had contributed \$50,000 to help extend the road to that place, and by this means had connected with Providence. This road, finally as part of the New England Railroad Company, in 1908 became part of the New York, New Haven and Hartford Company.

Another unit acquired by the New York, New Haven and Hartford Company was the Middletown, Meriden and Waterbury Railroad, organized in 1898. This company bought the foreclosure of the mortgages of the Meriden, Waterbury and Connecticut River Railroad Company, which had been organized in 1885, by freight shippers of Meriden and Waterbury who were dissatisfied with freight rates and methods. It was to be part rail and part water, and was made up of a union of the Meriden and Waterbury Railroad (organized 1887) and the Meriden and Cromwell (organized 1885), the former 17.57 miles long and the latter 10½. The resulting company was acquired, as has been said, by the New York, New Haven and Hartford Railroad Company in 1898 for one year, the arrangement renewed from year to year until 1902, when it was made for fifty years, in 1905 all property but the franchise was sold and 1907 it was merged.

In 1870 a branch road, the "Cheshire Loop," was started, which became very popular until the trolley took away its business. It had furnished a shorter route to New Haven than the way by Derby, and did away with changes.

Thus, in less than one hundred years was built up the New Haven System, beginning in 1838 with carrying "a small party of gentlemen" eight or ten miles to North Haven. Today, its engines and motors in every part of the county furnish the inhabitants with one important means of communication and traffic with the outside world. On special



(Courtesy of Waterbury Chamber of Commerce)

RAILROAD STATION AND ENTRANCE TO WATERBURY
Showing Library Park and Benjamin Franklin Statue

occasions thousands of visitors can be brought to great attractions within the county. It is not germane to the object of this outline to consider certain aspects of its general history, such as legislative investigations into its "web of entangling alliances," though it might be mentioned that for about two years, as a result of the World War, it was under government administration.

Acquisition of Wharf and Bridge in New Haven

The New York, New Haven and Hartford Rail Road Company also came to own the wharf in New Haven. This was apparently at first the property of the "Proprietors." When the wharf needed to be repaired and extended in 1760, a company was incorporated to protect those who were to spend money to do the work. This was called "The Union Wharf Company in New Haven." In 1801 the wharf again needed repairing and extending, and a new company was formed for the same purpose, using the same name, and embracing many of the original company. It was necessary to get a new charter, and this company was given broader powers and perpetual succession. It gave out work to various individual contractors, who in return were given the revenues of the property until they were repaid, with interest. They bought a majority of the stock of the company, and 1810 were incorporated as "The Contractors to Rebuild and Support the Union Wharf and Pier in New Haven," the two companies continuing a separate existence. Various agreements were made with the different companies wishing accommodations at the wharf, the Farmington Canal Company, and the railroads, for the use of the wharf for tracks, etc. In 1890 the New York, New Haven and Hartford Railroad Company got the stock of the second company, which carried with it ownership of the wharf. The two companies were merged with the railroad company in 1895.

A small link added to the System was the "last relic of antiquity," the toll bridge over the Quinnipiac River at the point where the old ferry had been. In 1796 Isaac Tomlinson and others obtained a charter to build a toll bridge. As it would be an expensive bridge to build the company was given the rights to the near-by wharf on the New Haven side of the river in addition to the tolls over the bridge. The new bridge and causeways were half a mile long, and 27 feet broad. The flats were also reclaimed. The first bridge was a wooden truss bridge. The Hartford and New Haven Rail Road Company wanted to use the property of the Bridge Company as its southern terminus and 1835 bought a majority of the stock of the company, (57½ of the 60 shares). In 1838 the Bridge Company voted to lease the railroad as much as it needed, and 1868 sold it practically all its real estate except the bridge itself and causeway. This was conveyed to the city in 1886 and the tolls were ended. In 1895 the Bridge Company was merged in the New York, New Haven and Hartford Rail Road Company.

In 1885 a new bridge had been ordered by the state. This was steel, with an electric draw, and 1924 a bridge was built over the tracks of the

railroad. Wooden bridges in the Naugatuck have also been replaced by the steel structures necessitated by the heavier engines.

To finish the history of the bridge a quotation is given from the *New Haven Real Estate Record* for January 8, 1887. Under the title, "A Subject for Congratulation" it said, "A very fitting New Year's gift and one which will be highly appreciated by the people of New Haven was made last Friday night in the consummation of the purchase of the Tomlinson Bridge from the Company for Erecting and Supporting a Toll Bridge from New Haven to East Haven by the city and town of New Haven, each paying \$12,500 for that object. A little after nine o'clock Mr. Edwin M. Reed, president of the company, signed the quit-claim and at midnight, December 31st, 1886, the Tomlinson Bridge was made free. This will undoubtedly mark a new era in the growth and prosperity of that part of the town lying across the bridge, and the citizens living in the Annex are to be congratulated."

Another small local acquisition was the Manufacturers Street Railway Company. This was organized in 1893, opened 1896, and its name changed 1897 to the Manufacturers Railroad Company. It extended from Cedar Hill to Belle Dock (1.997 miles), used motors on the trolley tracks for part of the way, and proceeded for the rest by rail. All its property and franchise were transferred to the New York, New Haven and Hartford Rail Road Company in 1907.

Development of Equipment

It is said that about the middle of the last century it was necessary, in going from Boston to New York, to change trains five times. Transportation conditions have changed entirely, and instead of many local trains there are today not only many through trains, but many special ones. Some of these have become famous, the Gilt Edge and the Ghost train for instance. The oldest named train in the country is the Federal Express of this system, which was started as a day train in 1876 during the Centennial. The latest is the Yankee Clipper, well named as suggesting speed and beauty, the romance and tradition of the sailing vessels, and the long relations the railroad has had with transportation by water. A punning remark that it clips off time calls attention to the fact that the time of the trip from Boston to New York is reduced by this train to four hours and forty-five minutes. It is noteworthy that the Yankee Clipper in New York was christened by a great-granddaughter of Donald McKay, famous builder of clipper ships, and that a grandson gave a talk at the exercises.

Many things besides trains, however, are necessary to a railroad. The first Union Station in New Haven was built on Meadow Street in 1875, leaving the old "Station-House" on Chapel Street for a public market. The change from the old below-level station was desirable in many ways, and the new building was considered a wonderful structure. The market was burned in 1894, as was its successor the Meadow Street Station in

1918, necessitating the present new building, opened 1920. This has many features in addition to the railroad's more obvious and direct needs. Established in 1926 on the second floor is an eight-room hospital, a first aid station for employes, with doctor, nurses and assistants in attendance during the entire twenty-four hours. Within nine and one-half months from its opening, 15,580 treatments were given. Here also are given the physical examinations of new employes, many of the periodical examinations, and examinations for retirement.

The railroad makes other provisions for welfare. Its publication, *Along the Line*, says, "The New Haven Railroad recognizes the relation of health and good fellowship to a successful industrial life. Having in mind the social and physical welfare of its employes, the Health and Recreation Section was established to facilitate the promotion of a program of Social and Athletic Activity among employes. The Health and Recreation Division is one of the sections of the Personnel Department."

Waterbury was given a new station in 1909, Italian Renaissance in style, with a tower on the lines of the Campanile in Siena, planned not by local architects, but by McKim, Mead and White of New York. Great rearrangement of near-by streets was made by the city at the same time, and the Library Park was formed. This too was the third building, the first station of 1857 having been replaced in 1868 by a "palatial" new one.

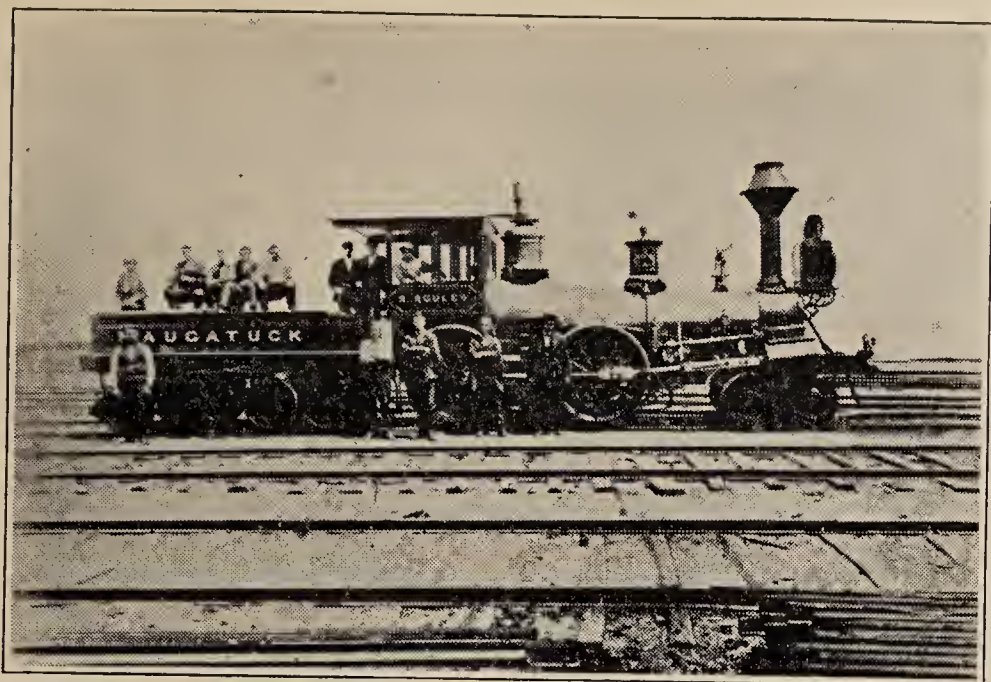
It is not possible in a short account to tell of the work that has been done in building stations, laying tracks, double tracking begun in 1850, and later four tracks from New Haven to New York; in the elimination of grade crossings; or of the electrification of the road, the most intensive in the world, begun in 1907 and completed to New York in 1913. Technical knowledge too would be necessary to give an account of the changes in locomotives, and in fact such descriptions belong to the history of a railroad rather than to a history of the county. It may only be said that the little engines of the middle of the 19th century have given way to the monsters of the present. It was reported in 1855 that the "Locomotive and baggage car on the Canal Railroad, ran off the track, in consequence of running against a horse near Granby." The first of the heaviest engines were used on the New Haven road in 1896. Their appearance is very different from that of the old wood burning engines, with uncovered cabs and engineers wearing tall hats,—“The engine with the funnel-stack,

The kind that Webster knew,

That crossed the water and the wild

In Eighteen-fifty-two.”

The story of how a plague of grasshoppers in Pennsylvania led to putting sand boxes on locomotives; of the bonfire carried on a platform in front of the engine as an experimental head light; and of the fist fight necessary before it could be established that the engineer should obey the simple equipment of signals rigged up by a conductor, are all interesting, but also belong to railroad history.



(Courtesy of N. Y., N. H. & H. R. R.)

THE "B. SOULES" OF THE NAUGATUCK LINES
IN THE EARLY '70s



(Courtesy of N. Y., N. H. & H. R. R.)

LOCOMOTIVE USED ON THE "GHOST TRAIN,"
1890



(Courtesy of N. Y., N. H. & H. R. R.)

ATLANTIC TYPE, 1907

There has been an equal change from the little four-wheeled passenger cars of the first trains, built like stage coaches. The first cars were heated by stoves at either end, and lighted by candles, and would seem to have presented great fire hazards. It is noteworthy that Superintendent Beach of the Naugatuck road was the first to use kerosene oil for lighting passenger cars, in 1860. There was no ventilation, no screens were furnished for the windows, and no covered passage-way between cars. An ordinary car today, for looks and comfort, would seem in comparison like a Yankee Clipper. These trains looked better to the people who were to ride in them than they would to us. The *New Haven Palladium* said in 1838, of the first trip over the Hartford and New Haven road, "The President and Directors and a party of some fifty or Sixty other gentlemen, took seats in a couple of the beautifully finished cars of the Hartford & New Haven R. R. Co., on Wednesday morning last, for the purpose of testing the road and things pertaining to it." Some cars were built by the American Car Company of Seymour, organized 1852, with Timothy Dwight as one of the directors. The first sleeping cars were adapted from the canal boats.

Arrangements for providing for one part of the materials used in the railroad today are interesting. After the chestnut blight destroyed trees of that variety in New England, it was necessary either to go farther away for ties, or to use other kinds of wood. A plan was developed for treating these woods in a way to make them useful and to prolong their life. A plant was located at Montowese where a company from Kentucky, the American Creosoting Company, prepares wood for ties, by first steaming it and then making it absorb the oil. The road is thus able to get all its ties in New England, and from wood along the lines of its own road, most of which would otherwise be useless for this purpose.

In this connection the experience of a man in earlier days is of interest. About the time of the Civil War he bought, he says, "a tract of land in the south of Meriden, one mile from the depot—twenty-five acres for fifteen hundred dollars. This was heavily timbered, and after cutting off the wood I laid it out in lots and streets for buildings purposes. As the railroad was then using wood for fuel, I had no difficulty in selling it at a good price. I employed men to chop, cord and cart it, and after paying all expenses cleared about eighteen hundred dollars." Another man, John S. Lane had a similar experience later—1880-1890. He began supervising the construction of a portion of the road-bed of the railroad, stone-ballasting 62 miles of the main track. He had the thought that it would be profitable to furnish the crushed stone, and became a pioneer stone contractor. He looked about and found the right kind of material in the hills near Meriden, established a firm, and opened quarries in 1891. He did a great business, the largest of the kind in the United States, because so much construction work was going on. The contract in 1892 for supplying the ballast for the four-track improvements of the railroad necessitated a daily average of one hundred car loads of stone. This large business opened quarries elsewhere.

Today, over seven different routes radiating from New Haven, on four tracks to New York, and double tracks along the shore and north to Hartford, over eighty regular passenger trains pass daily. At certain times a special traffic problem arises of particular interest to New Haven County,—handling the crowds that come to foot-ball games, a test of the efficiency and resources of the road. The greatest number carried was the crowd about fifteen years ago, when 66,795 persons were transported in one day to and from New Haven by the railroad, besides the usual number of passengers on the regular trains, and the freight cars. At the time of the 1929 game forty-three special foot-ball trains and regular trains were sent over the tracks within a few hours, carrying something like 25,000 persons each way. The time of greatest congestion of traffic on these occasions is from 5:30 to 6:00 P. M., when trains must be kept going oftener than every two minutes. These people must also, within that time be got in and out of the station out of each other's way, with the 1,500 or so pieces of luggage which they wished checked and cared for.

A smaller problem of the same kind is presented by the boat races at three times,—the Derby races on the Housatonic, the Yale-Harvard Regatta at New London and the Inter-Collegiate races at Poughkeepsie. In May, 1930 a new observation train of thirty-five cars was used, each car containing 106 persons, and all sold out. The railroad grand-stands were also filled, and over 500 automobiles were parked in its station yard.

The general headquarters of the System are at New Haven, and located here also at the Cedar Hill terminal is the equipment by which direct shipments of freight are made over the various routes to 155 destinations. Here speed and promptness are the important things, "hot foot" rail-roading, it is called. "We on the New Haven Road," said a superintendent recently, "of course understand that essentially our property is a terminal property and that our industries in Massachusetts as well as the New Haven Company have not a single thing to sell other than service. Commodities such as we have are produced all over the United States and we no longer control the market. Therefore, unless we are capable of putting our shipments at the man's back door or front door in the quickest possible time, the industry loses the market to some other place geographically remote from New England. * * * This regularity of service enables the customer to confine his stock requirements to a minimum, thus decreasing the amount of capital tied up in stock in hand."

To handle freight cars a diversification yard, with gravity switching, the "Hump," has been developed, which concentrates transfer work at Cedar Hill, and relieves other points. This is described by the company as "a raised portion of trackage just before the entrance to the [40] classification tracks, the latter sloping away gradually in a descending grade. Freight cars are pushed over this hump, and then allowed to travel by force of gravity, switches being set to send them to the proper tracks." This classification yard is in a tract at Cedar Hill of 1,160 acres, with about a score of tracks to receive trains from the main lines, between sixty

and seventy classification tracks and over forty departure tracks, on which cars are placed after they are made up into trains, until arrangements are made for their removal. There are also at Cedar Hill long, specially designed classification platforms for package freight, served by tracks with a capacity for over four hundred cars, and various devices for speeding up the movement of cars. The August 1930 number of *Along the Line*, gives the record for a twenty-four hour period ending 11:00 P. M. June 29, when a total of 2,592 cars were handled. "An average of 864 cars were humped during each 8-hour shift, * * * The hourly average for each hour of the twenty-four was 108 cars. The highest hourly average was during the second shift when a peak of slightly more than 121 cars were humped each hour."

CHAPTER IV

TROLLEYS AND TELEPHONES

While railroads took the place of stage coaches for long journeys, there was still need for stages in more localized business, doing the work later cared for by street railway companies. There were many stage lines out of the towns and cities of the county, such as the Fair Haven Omnibus Line running between New Haven and Fair Haven. The advertisement said the fare was 6¼ cents with an extra charge if passengers off the route were called for. Stages went five times a day in each direction, twice in the morning, and three times in the afternoon. Beckwith's Almanac for 1863 has time tables for 14 "Post routes" from New Haven, six of them starting from the Eagle Tavern. Even after Horse Railroads were started, there was still a place for these stages in transporting people in the city and to near-by towns, beyond the sphere of operations of horse-drawn street cars. When people began to spend the summer at the shore in large numbers, in the latter part of the last century, another need and another opportunity were created. An example of this is the line to Morris Cove, which put on many extra stages in the summer, four regular trips, taking about forty-five minutes. W. H. Beers ran a bus from 1870 to 1898 from Branford to the Montowese House. Later, instead of going into the city, these stages met the trolleys as they began to be extended beyond their original lines, the stage gradually retreating before the advance of the trolley. Sometimes a stage line was turned directly by its owner into a Horse Railroad, as the one started by W. W. Ward to Savin Rock in 1860.

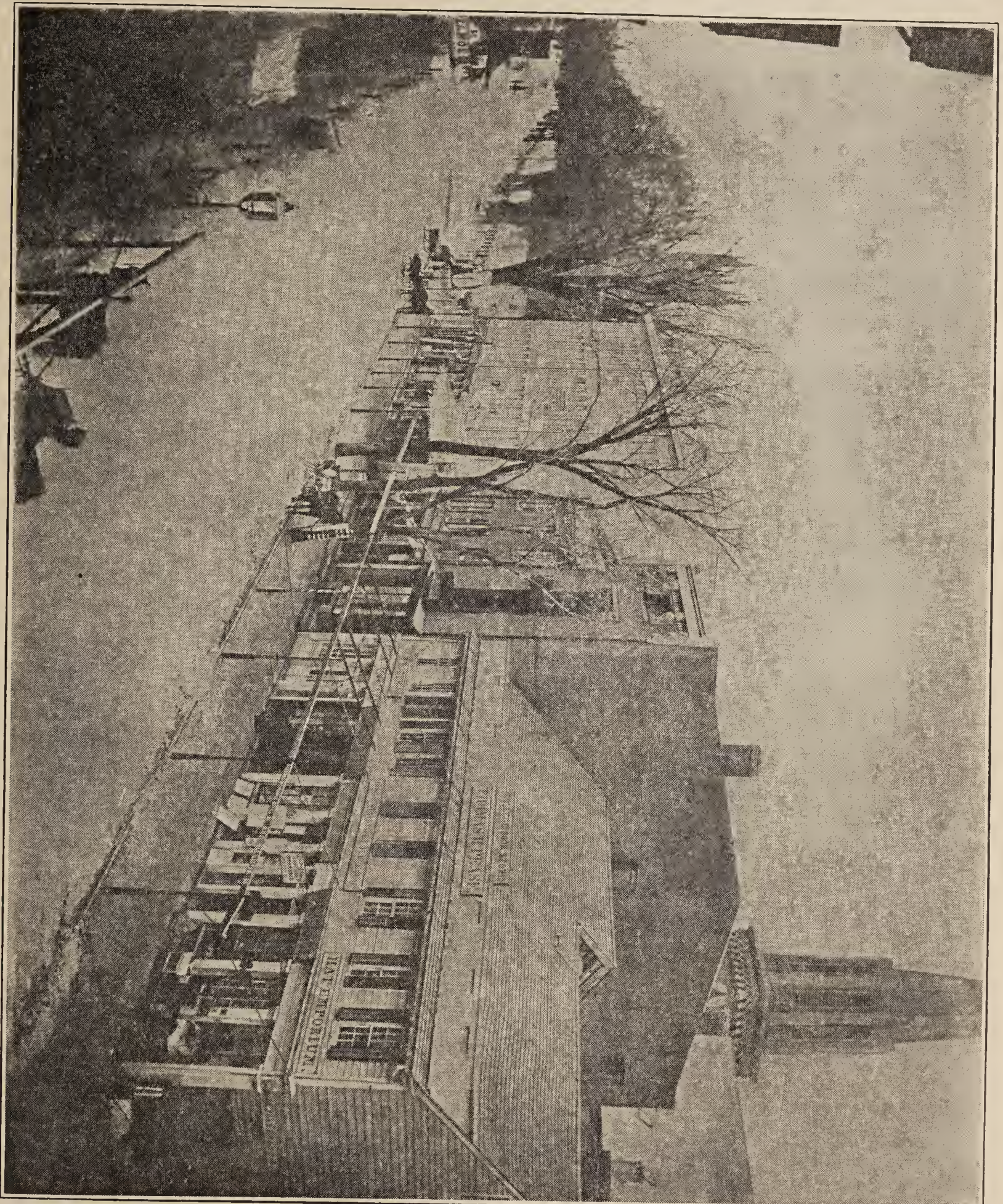
The first period of street railways was that of horse-drawn cars. The earliest of these lines in New Haven was the Fair Haven and Westville road, started in 1860, covering about five miles, with a charter allowing branches to other points, to the station on Meadow Street, to the steamboat wharf, and up West Chapel Street. Hoadley B. Ives was the president of this prosperous road. He had been an incorporator of one of the Plank Roads, and one indication of his success is that his widow was the donor of the building for the New Haven Public Library. Five years later came the New Haven and West Haven road, and the New Haven and Centreville company, started because of manufacturing interests, and the transportation of workers in the factories. Elliot's Guide Book says, "For another penny added to the six already paid at the depot, you

can extend your ride in that direction [to Centreville] one or two miles. Here you will find the carriage works of Mr. Newhall; the large and extensive works of the New Haven Car Company, James M. Townsend Esq., President; and the works of the New Haven Saw Company." John E. Bassett was one of the incorporators of the New Haven and Centreville Company, and was for many years president and treasurer. Cornelius Pierpont was another incorporator. The line was sold to a Philadelphia firm which in turn sold it to the Fair Haven and Westville road.

About 1870 the State Street line was started. Samuel L. Blatchley was largely instrumental in bringing this about, in connection with opening up large tracts for buildings and new streets. In 1872 the New Haven and Allintown, afterwards known as the Sylvan Avenue line, was started, and later a road to Lake Whitney. These lines all came to the corner of Church and Chapel streets, at one time covering Chapel Street between Church and Temple with four tracks. More lines were added from time to time, as the Edgewood Avenue road; and the double process of extension and consolidation was begun. The Winchester Avenue road was extended to Savin Rock and then (1895) to Woodmont; the New Haven and Centreville to Mt. Carmel and later to Waterbury via Cheshire; the Fair Haven line through North Haven to Wallingford, where it connected with a line from Meriden. The lines were united in various combinations during the period between 1890 and 1900, as the union of West Haven and Winchester Avenue lines about 1893, and of the Fair Haven and New Haven and North Haven in 1896. By 1902 the Fair Haven Electric Road controlled all the electric lines.

As to the equipment of the roads and the service furnished, the same Guide Book to New Haven said, "The Horse Cars, with elegant horses, run from the corner of Chapel and Church streets every half hour [to Savin Rock], and at some seasons of the year every fifteen minutes," adding that the excursion tickets cost thirty cents. This was in the days when Savin Rock and the shore at West Haven was still a quiet, pleasant summer resort. A less enthusiastic description of these early cars was given in the Anniversary number of the *Journal-Courier* (1926), based perhaps on the recollections of some one who had personally experienced the system of self-starting heat in winter. "The early street cars were a little larger than a good sized baby carriage; their four small wheels were close together; and when old Dobbin could be persuaded to hustle they shimmied so it was a wonder they stayed on the tracks * * * At night a smoking lamp or two pretended to light the inside * * * with straw on the floor and the personal warmth of the passenger the only heat in winter." They bore about the same resemblance to modern street cars that early railroad passenger coaches and automobiles bore to modern ones.

New Haven was not the first town in the county to try the use of electricity to propel street cars. The manufacturers of Ansonia and Derby organized a Horse Railway Company in 1885, to try to cut down



(From a photograph in the collection of the New Haven Colony Historical Society)

CHAPEL STREET, NEW HAVEN, 1860

Before the days of street railways

expenses in hauling freight from the factories to the docks of the Naugatuck Steamboat Company. Before the work was done it was made an electric road, the first in the State. A recent number of the railroad magazine, *Along the Line*, gives an account of the discovery of "the first electric freight engine in the United States, built for the Ansonia, Derby and Birmingham Electric line, now a part of the Connecticut Company, and thus a part of the New Haven System. * * * It was built by the Pullman Car Company at Pullman, Illinois, and was delivered at Ansonia, Conn. in 1888. The first trial trip took place May 1, 1888. The locomotive weighs seventeen and a half tons and was capable of hauling a train weighing about thirty-five tons at less than ten miles per hour. * * * (It) operated on a voltage of 500, while those of today on the New Haven use a voltage of 11,000 * * * the car could be operated in either direction, a most unusual feature of construction at that time, and the brakes were controlled by a long lever operated by hand. An amusing feature * * * was the oversight that it would be required to operate through a low clearance underpass. As a result, it was necessary to lower the roof of the car and a collapsible trolley frame was improvised at the Ansonia shops in time for the initial trip."

The Steamboat Company, by the way, its first terminus, soon went out of business. Holton Wood, donor of the Derby Public Library, was prominent in the construction of this road. It was followed in this use of electricity soon after by the Meriden Horse Railway Company. One of the principal organizers, and a director of this road was W. W. Lyman, inventor of the Lyman Fruit Jar. In 1892 New Haven, which had experimented a little with electricity before, tried it on one of the roads.

Electricity was introduced to the public of New Haven as a means of transportation in 1892 on a new open car in West Haven. Filled on its maiden trip, with the load of officials usual on such occasions, the car "dashed down Campbell Avenue at the rate of ten miles an hour. * * * On the avenue the car was sent along at a 20 mile rate until the post office was reached," the officials no doubt obliged to hold on to their hats. Its course was marked by "antics of frightened horses and jubilant spectators." By 1895 all the New Haven roads were run by electricity, the Dixwell Avenue line the last to be thus equipped. The early electric cars were practically horse cars equipped with motors, still lighted with oil lamps and heated by small coal stoves, and with the motorman on an open platform. But with the use of electricity the cars could go farther afield, and interurban lines were opened.

About the same time, as has been said, the companies, of which there were now nine, began consolidating, and some of them were sold to syndicates outside the city. During the period from 1885 to 1900 one of the most prominent men in connection with street railways was Israel A. Kelsey of West Haven. A record of his life says, "He was a pioneer in the successful use of electricity as a motive power for street cars, and a prominent promoter of electric street railways. * * * While con-

nected with the New Haven road he had it double tracked, from end to end, taken all in all, it may be truthfully said of him that he built and superintended more street railroads than any other man in the United States." He was connected with street railroads in widely separated places, besides those in New Haven County.

Waterbury, like New Haven, started with the Horse Railway, for which a charter was granted in 1882. It was in operation from 1886 until 1894. The first electric cars were run to Naugatuck in the summer of 1894, and its use was extended to other routes by September. In 1899 the company was sold to the Connecticut Lighting and Power Company, made up of New York men, and the name of the company was soon changed to the Connecticut Railway and Lighting Company. In 1902 this company bought, besides several other lines outside the county, the Milford Street Railway (which had opened in Milford in 1900), the Derby Street Railway, the Naugatuck Electric Light Company, and began to try to get control of the Connecticut field of operations. At the same time the Consolidated Company (the New York, New Haven and Hartford Railroad Company) was also beginning a long line of purchases of trolleys. In 1906 the Consolidated Company leased the roads of the other company. New lines were built, as the one from Waterbury to Cheshire and Mt. Carmel in 1904, which incidentally put the "Cheshire Loop" of the railroad practically out of business, and from this time the Canal Rail Road became almost exclusively a freight carrying road.

The railroad had begun to be interested when "The competition from the trolley companies showed signs of presenting a serious situation and the management felt that the problem would be best met by electrifying and operating a service as closely competitive with the trolley service paralleling the right of way. It was also thought that the experience gained in branch line service would be of value in subsequent main line electrification." The railroad bought and then segregated the trolley lines and organized the Connecticut Company to take over by lease and operate its electric railways. By this time this company dominated the system of trolleys. In 1910 the Connecticut Company bought the electric railways of the railroad company, and 1914 the stock was placed in possession of the New England Navigation Company. In that year the United States Court, finding that this acquisition of trolley lines was a combination in restriction of trade appointed five Federal Trustees to take charge of the trolleys, among other holdings of the railroad company. The Interstate Commerce Commission had made an investigation of the transactions of the railroad and indicted some of the directors. Most of them were acquitted, the jury disagreed in some cases, some of them have died, and the case was quashed in 1924. The Government's charge was that, as the Commission reported, "the railroad system has practically monopolized the freight and passenger traffic in five of the states of the Union. It has acquired a monopoly of competing steamboat lines and trolley systems in the section which it serves. The financial operations necessary for these

acquisitions and the losses which they have entailed have been skillfully concealed by the juggling of money and securities from one subsidiary corporation to another." The Trustees returned the trolleys to the New Haven road in 1927.

In 1903 Waterbury experienced a trolley strike accompanied by riots, with damage to property, injury to people and the killing of a policeman. The historian of the county is interested in the procedure at this point. The Chief of Police, seeing that his men were unable to keep the peace, called on the county sheriff for help. The First Regiment, four companies of the Second Regiment and two machine guns were sent to Waterbury to assist the local companies. In two or three days fifty or more deputy sheriffs arrived and many of them were placed on the cars. Within a few days it was possible to withdraw the out-of-town troops.

The use of electricity had made possible the extension of street railways over wider territories, and during this period interurban lines were opened and lines extended until it was possible to go by trolley from Boston to New York, and in fact almost anywhere. An electric railroad was laid out from Wallingford to Meriden in 1893, from Derby and Ansonia to Beacon Falls in 1904-5, to Guilford 1910, to Woodbury in 1908, and an independent company, the Shore Line went through the shore towns to the Connecticut River. This system at one time controlled nine lines. Woodbridge and Bethany have no trolley system for motor cars and coaches were developed before lines were opened in this district.

The railroad had the problem of making up losses on local traffic due first to the electric trolleys, and later to private automobiles and motor coaches. Besides taking off many local trains and acquiring trolley systems, other plans have been tried, that of gasoline engines on certain lines which had no trolleys and little traffic. Later the problem faced the interurban trolleys also, and in driving through the country one sees abandoned trolley tracks. At present "relying on the trolley as the only practicable means for mass transportation in congested city streets," a subsidiary company of the railroad, the New England Transportation Company, has been formed for interurban traffic, with a large fleet of motor buses on most of the main highways. Eight bus routes from New Haven, to Boston, New York, Hartford, Middletown, Willimantic, Simsbury, Danbury, and Waterbury, and others from Waterbury cover the main highroads of the county opening up communication to all parts. The New Haven and Shore Line Company a new company, chartered in 1921, have lines in the other direction to Guilford and New London. This might be considered a reincarnation of the old stage coaches, with the loss of much picturesqueness due to the substitution for horses of mechanical (and more efficient) engines.

Thus at one point in the Naugatuck valley, the motor highway, the railroad and the abandoned trolley track pass through a gap in the hills. At another point in the county, where the "Steps" once led people with difficulty over a narrow opening, can be seen not only the highway, once



CORNER OF CHURCH AND CHAPEL STREETS, NEW HAVEN, ABOUT 1895
Showing Franklin Elm, early trolley cars and horse car

the turnpike route of stage coaches, but the trolley, the railroad tracks, now seldom used, and the remnants of the Farmington Canal. Here is written on the road, almost to be read by him who runs, the history of transportation in New Haven County. Over-head are the wires connecting towns and hamlets by telephone and telegraph, another form of communication.

Mention has been made of the opening of High Rock Grove on the Naugatuck railroad, as a place for excursions. Trolley companies also developed such places on their lines, Lake Saltonstall, Momaguin, and especially Savin Rock, the Coney Island of the region. The story of Lake Saltonstall as a pleasure resort and the reason for its abandonment are given in Hughes "History of East Haven." In 1851 the New London railroad was built across the south end of the lake, and the first use of the place for pleasure was a few years later when a skating craze brought crowds to the lake, transported by the railroad. "Great skating carnival at Saltonstall Lake, in East Haven, 1,000 or more people present," was the entry in Beckwith's Almanac for January 26, 1859. Other crowds were attracted during the summer when Yale inter-class boat races were held there. About 1890 a station was built, and eight regular trains and many excursion trains stopped there. Steam launches and barges were put on for picnic parties and small boats for fishing. Finally in 1894 the New Haven Electric Railway was extended to the lake. "The first car was filled with invited guests of the company, and members of the press. The run to East Haven was most delightful. The appearance of the car in the center was the signal for the ringing of the church bells and the applause of the citizens, who were out in full force to welcome the visitors. The company had also four cars at East Haven, and two hundred citizens enjoyed the hospitality of the company. They were brought to the city and then back to East Haven." A tract of seven hundred acres had been accumulated as a park, and until June, 1895, the lake was used as a summer resort. At that time the New Haven Water Company bought the tract, and picnics were forbidden. Business fell off, and the company tore up the tracks, and ran their cars only to the East Haven Green.

The relations of the town of East Haven and the trolley company at this time are interesting. The people wished a five cent fare, such as was charged on the Fair Haven and Westville road, covering about the same distance, but both the trolley company and the Legislature did nothing in response to their petitions. In 1899 however the trolley company wished to extend its tracks from the East Haven Green to Branford center by way of shore places, and develop Momaguin as a resort. The selectmen of the town now had their "turn to give the deaf ear to the company's entreaties." Only an eighth of a mile was involved, but the company gave the five cent fare and the road was extended in August 1900.

For a time in 1915 trolley companies themselves were threatened with a rival, the Jitneys. These, many of them private cars, were run for passengers at hours when traffic was heaviest, and the spirit of their

owners moved them to do so. In 1920 they were regulated by the city, and in 1921 by the Public Utilities Commission, which decreed that they should not operate in competition with an established company. The trolley companies however took the hint which this experience had given, and themselves put on motor buses in many places. The railroad has adopted the same idea, and now has a subsidiary company, the New England Transportation Company, with seven bus routes from New Haven. This was organized 1925, and now has also a freight trucking service. It is the first effort of a railroad to inaugurate and maintain a highway service related to traffic on the railroad. The motor coaches cover hundreds of miles. As a freight trucking service its object is two-fold, to replace local freight cars as far as possible, and to enable the railroad to make over-night delivery in New York. It is intended principally as a feeder for water transportation.

Transportation by air is yet in its infancy, so far as the general public is concerned, though New Haven County is beginning to be well supplied with facilities by various companies. There are fields, for instance, on the Milford Turnpike, (named for Senator Bingham), Woodmont, Bethany, Hamden, Meriden and New Haven. The city of New Haven has already amended its charter to add a Board of Air Commissioners, composed of the Mayor as chairman, and six members. A municipal airport is being prepared at Morris Cove, 172 acres in extent. It is expected to be ready for limited operations by September 1930. This new form of transportation is raising new legal questions of trespass and nuisance from the noise of low-flying airplanes making frequent trips over the city.

New Haven has the distinction of having the first commercial telephone exchange. In 1877 Herrick P. Frost and George W. Coy, the latter an electrician and former telegraph manager, were given permission by the Legislature to form a Telephone Company, with a capital of \$5,000. This was called the New Haven Telephone Company, and was opened at the beginning of the next year, with not quite fifty subscribers, whose names on the first telephone directory filled only one side of a sheet. In less than three months it had three times that number, and 400 within a year. No numbers were given, and the exchange was closed from two until six A. M. Soon surrounding towns were included in the system; in 1880 it was merged in the Connecticut Telephone Company; and 1884 the name was changed to the Southern New England Telephone Company. In 1888 it had a building of its own. Meriden soon had an exchange, Waterbury had one in 1878, called the Automatic Signal Telegraph Company; and Naugatuck followed in 1879.

Connected also with the beginning of the telephone in the county was Thomas B. Doolittle, who lived in Branford (Pine Orchard) after 1893. His ancestor, Abraham Doolittle, was one of the first sheriffs of the county, and was a member of the committee formed to start the settlement at Wallingford. In 1877 Thomas Doolittle became interested in the telephone and got the license under the Bell system for western Connecticut and

Massachusetts. With several men, he established a Social Telegraph System in Bridgeport where he was living, and sent messages over a switchboard operated in fashion similar to a telephone switchboard. Soon the telephone was substituted, and he took out the first patent for a complete exchange. A company was formed to lease instruments, and a Hartford man had the agency for New Haven County, with other counties.

Mr. Doolittle started to form an association in New Haven, and experimented in Ansonia, where he got information which led later to his invention of hard drawn copper wire, that made possible the long distance telephone.

In New Haven, however, his telephones were taken out of the offices of the railroad and those of the Western Union company put in, because the president of the road was a director of that company.

It may be added that today, the main offices of the Southern New England Telephone Company, which operates throughout the state, are in New Haven and that in the city alone are between 45,000 and 50,000 telephones.

Much material used in telephones and telegraphs has been manufactured by Seymour companies. One of them had its beginning in 1854, when Austin Day established works for making hard rubber goods and insulated electric wires, which later developed into a company that manufactured cables for various Telephone and Telegraph companies.

SECTION XI— PROTECTION OF PROPERTY AND HEALTH

CHAPTER I

FIRE AND POLICE PROTECTION

The growth which changed country communities into towns and cities brought many prosaic problems to be settled. Conditions which were harmless or tolerable in the one case brought discomfort and disease in the other. The technique and equipment of city life had to be developed, police and fire protection provided, lights, water, sewers. First it had to be recognized that these were necessities and were things proper for the community to look out for rather than leave to private enterprise. To-day, more and more activities are being so considered, such as matters of health and more recently recreation. At first safety was the consideration. "Our department of public safety," said Mayor Hendrickson of New Haven in 1896, "may be classified as Health, Police and Protection."

The account which follows is not designed to give a complete description of organizations for these purposes in each town, a lengthy matter, involving much detail, but to give an idea, with some examples, of activities in the county along these lines,—the undertaking by public authority of their care, the development of equipment, and the widening spheres of public activities.

The two most obvious and immediate needs, fire and police protection, had been subjects of attention from the beginning. We have seen the provision for the night watch, and the simple regulations for fire prevention,—frequent cleaning of chimneys, the ladder each man must keep against his house, and the effort to find some one to act as chimney sweep. City lights, water, sewer, are modern public conveniences. As to how modern they are may be seen from the fact that in New Haven Mayor Lewis (in office 1870-1877) is credited with having brought, during his term of office, most of these "modern improvements" now regarded as necessities to anything like completion and efficient management. The same problems were considered at about the same time in Waterbury and Meriden.

In the winter of 1788-89 came the first start of a fire department in New Haven. A meeting of citizens was held in the State House resulting in the enrollment of the male population between the ages of six-

teen and sixty, and the organization of two companies, each limited to seventeen members, with officers chosen by the Common Council, and a group of six wardens. Foremen of the companies were Elias Shipman and Hezekiah Sabin; James Hillhouse was first on the list of wardens. An engine was bought, built by Ebenezer Chittenden of New Haven. Hezekiah Sabin will be remembered as leader of military forces at the time of the British invasion of New Haven, and as member of Benedict Arnold's Company of Foot Guards. Now in time of peace he was a crockery merchant on State Street.

The duties of the wardens were to examine fire-places, chimneys and the general condition of houses with respect to fire safety. They were authorized to order repairs as needed, and fines were laid for neglect of chimney cleaning every two months. Certain rules were laid down for people to observe. No bonfires were allowed within fifteen rods of a building, or after twelve o'clock at noon. These were added to from time to time. "Rigid rules," says Levermore "fettered the action of the householder in minute details, and heavy fines were imposed—on paper." A little later building restrictions were laid down in individual cases. In 1825 the Council ordered the Fire Wardens to oppose and prevent the location of a confectionery store on Chapel Street for fear of fire from over-heated chimney. In 1827 laws were passed regulating the sale and storage of gunpowder.

The fire forces were soon increased. Companies were made to contain twenty men each (1791), and four fire wardens were added (1794). Equipment was increased also. In 1797 a committee of men whose names are familiar was appointed by the Council, Elizur Goodrich, David Daggett, Simeon Baldwin, to get the General Assembly to pass a law for each householder to provide a fire bucket, since supplying fire equipment was not yet regarded as a matter for the city to take over entirely. The law was passed, and Mayor Samuel Bishop issued the order that all householders should furnish a bucket, and when an alarm of fire was given turn out and use the bucket to assist the firemen, or throw it from the window or place it on the walk, so some one could use it to help put out the fire. Two lines of men were formed at a fire, one to pass the buckets full of water from the well to the engine, and the other to pass back the empty ones. After the fire the buckets were all taken to a place on the Green, where each owner came and got his own, for their names were on the sides of the buckets. This work did not appeal to the citizens of New Haven, and later a man was employed to return the buckets to their owners. There were fines for failure to be supplied.

Equipment and organization were gradually increased. A new engine was bought in 1801, and a third company raised to take care of it. Soon more engines, and fire ladders, fire hooks, and a cart to carry them were added, and the first leather hose in 1812. The city was divided into six districts, each with its warden. That people might know who the wardens were at a fire, they were given thick hats with the words Fire

Warden on them, and firemen soon were given labels for their hats. Later the firemen must have presented an elegant appearance arrayed in white duck Prince Albert coats and stiff hats.

Soon after 1800 a plan was devised for raising money for the Fire Department which looked towards public support. This was to levy a tax, not on all the city, but on property liable to destruction by fire.

In 1814 sackmen, "respectable freeholders," were appointed to save property, one company in the '40s having the motto, "We sack, but 'tis to save." In 1823 three men were appointed carmen to go to all fires with horses and carts to take all portable goods to a place of safety. These men were paid by the city. Still later (1854) squads of fire police were formed by four men from each fire company. Earlier (1816) the city had voted to call on the sheriff of the county and his deputies and the town constables to attend fires to preserve order.

Provision was made for improvement in the alarm system by ringing church bells, and two men were to go on horseback and locate the fire and then cry it out. The bell of the First Church was rung so vigorously in the winter of 1854 at the time of fire that it cracked, and the city paid for having it recast. In the early part of 1868 the Gamewell system of fire alarm telegraph was adopted.

A chief engineer is first referred to in 1822, but the origin of the position is not known. In 1834 was the first regularly appointed Board of Engineers, a chief with five assistants,—Richard M. Clark, the first chief, Hiram Camp the last Volunteer Chief. He had been foreman of one of the companies. The Fire Wardens were continued, like a modern Board of Fire Commissioners. The first Fire Marshal was in 1858, Thomas Bennett. His duty was to investigate the cause and origin of fire in the city, and to see that ordinances for fire prevention were properly observed.

From 1815 to 1820 the creek east of the city was used to supply water, a lock being made for the purpose. In 1832 arrangements were made to use the waters of the Farmington Canal at Rowland's mill. A force pump was placed there, run by water power connected with the mill and rent was paid at the rate of \$50 a year. The pump and attachments belonged to the city. Other suggestions were made for the use of the waters of the canal. In 1858 an agreement was made with the Water Company to supply the city with water for extinguishing fires for twenty years, for \$4,000 a year. Water was not successfully in use until 1861, when post fire hydrants were put up. Before this arrangement with the Water Company, several long-handled wooden pumps were set out in the streets. One was on Orange Street in front of the New Haven Savings Bank, one at the corner of Orange and Crown streets, one at Fleet and George streets, two at the head of the wharf, another at the corner of the Green, and one in Broadway. In the '50s the city placed cisterns at different points in the centre, which were refilled after a fire.

By the time of the reorganization of the Fire Department in 1860 and the end of the old volunteer system, much progress had been made. The

city was protected by Croton Engine Company No. 1; Fountain No. 2; Relief No. 3; Franklin No. 4; Phoenix No. 5; Neptune No. 6; Washington No. 7; Hercules No. 8 (in Fair Haven); Empire No. 9; Guardian No. 10; Mutual Hook and Ladder Company No. 1; Howard No. 2; Quinipiac No. 3; Columbia Hose Company No. 1; Deliverance Sack and Bucket Company No. 1.

October 30, 1841 was the beginning of the custom of "wash day" and inspection of the Fire Department, and the whole city turned out to admire the engines and firemen and enjoy the rivalry between the various companies. The "washing days" occurred four times a year, to soak the apparatus. This one took place on the Green, and led to a conflict with students of the college who were playing football there. The two parties came to blows, and the students were driven to the campus, but while the firemen were at supper in the State House the students resumed hostilities, and were again driven back. During the night they went to the house of Engine No. 7, which was on Chapel Street back of the college, and with axes and hammers damaged the engine so that it was unfit for duty, pieces of it making wonderful souvenirs on the campus. A riot nearly followed, but the college authorities paid several hundred dollars to repair the engine, and the company moved its quarters to a less tempting place. It may be mentioned that another conflict between students and firemen broke out several years later (1858) during the course of which a fireman was shot and killed.

The first firemens' excursion was in 1842, when Engine No. 3 went to New York as guest of a company there. In 1849 the Firemen's Benevolent Fund was started by a check of \$50 from the New York and New Haven Rail Road Company. There were also parades and field days. "Beckwith's Almanac" records one in September, 1857. "Great firemen's parade. Engine Companies, with their machines, were present from all parts of the State,—from New York State, and many places in Massachusetts and Rhode Island, as well as one (Niagara Company, No. 3.) from Chicago, Illinois. They played for 3 prizes, of which No. 1, of Stamford, took the first—\$500; No. 4, of Hartford, second—\$200: No. 11, of Brooklyn, L. I., third—\$100." And then the author of the Almanac added characteristically, ["A splendid dissipation. Of the sum thus squandered, a suffering fellow creature could not have obtained from those parties a tithe to save him from death."] The firemen also acted in escorts welcoming troops home from the Civil War. When the Second Regiment returned from the three months campaign in the summer of 1861, it was given a great ovation. The men left the steamboat at Belle Dock, and with their escort started the march for the State House to the accompaniment of "the ringing of church bells, the firing of cannon, and the whistling of two steam fire engines. * * * The escort was closed by the members of Hook and Ladder Company No. 1, whose foreman, Captain Hendrick, was orderly sergeant of the Grays." Perhaps in this connection may be mentioned also an occasion on which

the Fire Department received the attention of royalty. In December 1874 King Kalakaua of the Sandwich Islands visited New Haven for three hours. He was shown two special things, one at least at his own request. He wished to see "the workings of our model fire department. An alarm was therefore sounded from station No. 2 (City Hall). The first steamer which arrived in response was No. 2, which reached the hall before the alarm ceased striking." The other thing he was shown was Centre Church from which missionaries to the Islands had departed.

Chief Hendrick in his report for the year 1876 described as beginning at that time the custom of the parade of the Fire Department. Beckwith had spoken of one in 1857, and in 1859 recorded the "Annual parade of the fire department", which perhaps refers to wash days. "For the first time in the history of the present organization of the Fire department, and at the urgent solicitation of the Court of Common Council for the year 1876, the full strength of the forces paraded on the fourth day of July, in honor of the Centennial Anniversary of our National Independence. It is with gratification we can point to that display with pride, as showing to the citizens that portion of the city's defenders who, in time of conflagration, battle with our common enemy."

As there were 43 alarms and 66 special calls on the department July 4, 1928, between the hours of 12:04 A. M. and 10:48 P. M., one can readily see that at present the department is occupied otherwise than in parading, thereby depriving the public of a picturesque and always popular spectacle.

Some large fires occurred during the early period. In 1801 a brewery in the new township burned, with a loss of \$15,000 and insurance of \$5,000; in 1820 occurred the great fire on Long Wharf when thirty buildings and four lumberyards were destroyed and one dwelling house was pulled down to prevent the spread of the fire. The loss was \$70,000 and insurance \$3,000. Jerry Alling, who brought the Franklin Elm into the city, and was known as the "Milton of Hamden Plains," wrote a poem on this fire, if lines such as these may be called poetry, "The lumber yards, so rich and great, Not equaled in the towns or state." But four lines are of interest as suggesting use of the waters of the harbor for fighting fire.

"I went to the almanac to see
What time high water was to be;
I found 'twas but half flood
And 'twould do but little good."

In 1825 the Liberian Hotel at the foot of Greene Street was burned. As it was a notorious dance house conducted by a colored man, its loss was regarded as a public improvement, although the method was regretted. The year of the panic (1837) was the Great Fire when twenty buildings on Chapel and Orange streets were destroyed; and 1839 the steamer *New York* was burned at the dock. At several times, 1830, 1835, 1837 for instance, there was trouble with incendiary fires, and special watch was set.

Soon after 1860 the Fire Department was completely reorganized, and put on a different basis, being changed from a volunteer to a paid department. Levermore says the volunteer companies had become centres of political influence, not always of the better sort and in some cases wielded social power. The changes started with the purchase of the first steam engine drawn to fires by horses. The immediate result of this investment was jealousy and outbreaks of violence between the companies. Soon three companies were formed with steam engines, called the Washington, the Constitution and one named H. M. Welch for the mayor. In 1861 the volunteer companies were disbanded. The next year the city by-laws were amended to create a fire department, and the amendments confirmed by the General Assembly. A Board of Fire Commissioners of six members, each to serve three years, was to be chosen by the Council, the number changed to five in 1874. The first chief engineer was Charles W. Allen, who served from 1862 until 1865, when he was succeeded by Albert C. Hendrick.

The report of the chief engineer in 1866, the first submitted by Chief Hendrick, showed the department as made up of the chief and three assistants, and ninety men. The apparatus consisted of three steam fire engines, drawn by horses, each capable of carrying 1,000 feet of hose; two hand hose carriages, each capable of carrying 500 feet of hose; one hook and ladder truck, carrying five ladders, ten hooks, lanterns, axes, etc., and drawn by hand. The city owned nine horses for the department, and in order to give them sufficient exercise one driver and three horses worked on the streets daily, receiving \$4 a day for their labors.

Each company was composed of one foreman, one engineer, one engine driver, one fireman, one hose driver and nine hosemen. The highest salary paid was of course to the chief engineer, who received \$1,200, and the lowest to the truckmen who received \$30 a year. The engineers and engine drivers devoted their whole time to the service of the department, the other men were on duty only in case of fire, except two hosemen who slept in one of the engine houses.

The city was divided into four districts, and the entire department did duty in all the districts, but was instructed not to get out the apparatus on insufficient evidence of a fire. Alarm bells were in the City Hall, Depot, South Church, First and Second Methodist churches, and the Howe Street Church. The bell ringers of the churches received one dollar for ringing at each fire, and an extra dollar to the one who struck the first bell. The City Hall bell, under the charge of the Police Department, and the Depot bell ringer never got an extra dollar.

By this time there were the three engines and the Mutual Hook and Ladder No. 1, Phoenix Hose No. 1, and Neptune Hose No. 1. For water supply there were 189 hydrants erected by the city, twenty-one by the Water Company, and twenty-eight private ones, 238 in all. There were also 61 reservoirs and 22 wells owned by the city, though two of these were listed as of no use, and twelve as of little use.

A number of rules were drawn up regulating the conduct of firemen, among others that no cards, dice or other articles used for gaming should be brought into any of the buildings used by the department, and that any driver "who allows his horse or horses to run or gallop, in going to or coming from a fire, will be discharged."

The mechanical equipment today consists of seventeen engines and six hook and ladder trucks, chemical and hose cars, besides reserve apparatus, automobiles for the chiefs, marshals and other officials. A system has been devised by which a district is not left unprotected when its engine is called out on an alarm, another specified company answering any call that might come, following a schedule that provides for service for more than one fire at a time in a district. The city is divided into three battalion districts and seventeen company districts.

The personnel of the department consists of a chief, and his first assistant; six assistant chiefs; a marshal and two deputies; a supervisor of motor apparatus; a loss finder; clerk and stenographer. There are thirty captains of the first grade and five of the second; thirteen lieutenants and other men, making a total of 337, with 131 available substitutes. The department is under a Board of Fire Commissioners and the men are under the Civil Service Commission. They must be citizens of the United States, residents and legal voters in the city, able to read and write and of good moral character.

There is a separate fire department in the Thirty-second Ward, the Annex, which did not come under city administration when Morris Cove and Fair Haven East did.

The Fire Department must keep a complete record of alarms and fires, a list of considerable human interest, the department proving helpful in other crises than fire. Twice in 1928 for example it was called out to set free a child locked in a room. The first summons in 1928 was January 1, 12:05 A. M., because of a bonfire in the street; the last was December 31, at 10:47 P. M., a "false alarm, malicious mischief."

Training schools are held for the firemen, the courses covering several weeks. The work is outlined in the annual report of the department as follows: "Thorough practical instruction in the use of all tools, fittings and proper size nozzles used by the department in extinguishing fires. The handling and using of scaling and ordinary ladders. Hoisting and lowering ladders to and from top floor in tower; coming down rope from top window in tower; and carrying a person down. Also lowering others by rope from top floor and upper floor windows; jumping into life net and properly holding same, also other life saving appliances. Making different approved knots; connecting lines of hose to different connections and the proper size nozzle and pipe holder used in each case." Company evolutions are also practiced, and instruction given in proper care and precautions to be taken in cold weather.

Anderson gives the steps by which Waterbury achieved a fire department adequate to its needs. Some kind of a fire company was established

in that town by 1828, but all that is known of it is the fact that it seems to have had twenty-one members, with names familiar in Waterbury annals, and that it had an engine, "a most simple affair, shaped like a churn on legs, carried about in a wagon and operated by two cranks."

There is no official action recorded for providing for the extinguishment of fires until 1830 when the first fire company was formed by the recently created borough. The resolution bringing this about is quoted by Anderson. "Resolved, That such able bodied citizens of said borough, not exceeding the number of sixteen, between the ages of eighteen and forty-five, as shall enroll themselves as members of said company, and by their consent in meeting shall agree to submit to such rules and regulations as the wardens and burgesses shall make relative thereto, shall be and remain a fire company for said borough." The number was soon increased to twenty, and 1832 it was voted to erect a suitable house for a fire engine. The proprietors granted the land for this and a small sum was appropriated to pay for the building. The equipment of the company, including probably the engine, was furnished by subscription.

Water to supply the engine, of the first company of 1830, Anderson says, was taken from the nearest wells, cisterns and streams, and was carried in pails to fill the engine box. A few years later a pump well for fire purposes was built on West Main Street at the foot of what is now Prospect Street, and there were one or two others, probably built by private enterprise. In 1844 a tax was laid for reservoirs, probably for fire, the first one probably at the east end of the Green.

A new company, the Mattatuck, was formed in 1839 by fifteen men, the number doubled in 1848. It bought an engine belonging to a New York company. Each member must contribute \$3 to its treasury, but apparently the borough owned the engine. In 1848 it appointed a committee to dispose of the old engine, and to try to get by subscription \$100 to put up a new building for an engine house. A committee was also appointed to make a new constitution for the company, and a few months later a tax was laid to buy hose and a hose cart "for the use of the engine now owned by the borough, to construct reservoirs and to defray all other necessary expenses." The number of firemen was soon increased to sixty. In 1849 this company was found "insufficient for the needs of the town," and the department was reorganized.

Citizens over eighteen years of age were to be formed in two companies of fifty or sixty men each, new apparatus was bought and an engine house was built. Some of the money for these purposes was raised by subscription, some by the sale of old apparatus.

When Waterbury was made a city in 1853, the fire companies came under the control of the Common Council, and their property became the property of the city. In the second charter (1871) the various functions of the municipal government were put in charge of boards of commissioners and conducted as distinct departments. A Board of Fire Commissioners was appointed annually, to inspect conditions in the city with

regard to fire hazards. The first chief engineer of the reorganized Fire Department was Edward S. Clark, and he had two assistants. The two companies were Phoenix No. 1 and Protector No. 2. New engine companies, hose companies and hook and ladder companies were formed from time to time. In the '80s horses were bought to draw the apparatus to fires. In that decade two new officials were added to the department, the fire marshal and superintendent of the recently (1879) installed fire telegraph system of alarms. The former must devote all his time to the department. Samuel C. Snaggs was appointed chief engineer and fire marshal. At this time the forces consisted of the chief, two assistants and 245 officers and men. The companies were Phoenix Fire Company No. 1; Citizens' Engine Company No. 2; Monitor Hose Company No. 3; Mutual Hook and Ladder Company No. 1; Protector Hose Company No. 4; Rose Hill Company No. 5; Brass City Company No. 6. The history of these separate companies is given by Anderson. Most of the men were volunteers. Eight men made up the permanent force,—the chief, four drivers, two hosemen and one ladderman. There were organized in 1889 several fire companies among the employes of large manufacturing companies, the Scovill Company having the first one. The paid department dates from 1898, when the number of volunteers was decreased.

Derby has a similar history in its hundred-year-old fire department. A group of sixteen men was chartered as a volunteer company in 1830, with power to appoint officers and make fire regulations. They bought an engine by subscription, a "squirt gun," which cost \$200, held several barrels of water, and was worked by levers by eight firemen. Numbers were increased later, and then, as the center of population moved to Birmingham, people lost interest in this organization, and the engine was finally put up in a barn with the wheels taken off. A fire department was formed in Birmingham, starting in 1837, and developing along similar lines. The companies still keep old names, the Hotchkiss Hose Company No. 1, one of the oldest in the state, Paugasset Hose Company No. 1, Storm Engine Company No. 2.

Meriden's Fire Department had similar small beginnings in the Cataract Engine Company No. 1, formed in 1851 in West Meriden. A bucket brigade was also formed, which owned ladders as well. A volunteer system was developed, with some equipment bought by the town, and after the Great Fire of 1863, reservoirs constructed at suitable points. Before this water had been obtained from Harbor Brook and cisterns conveniently placed. Other disastrous fires caused reorganization and improvement, and finally the change in 1873 to a paid fire department. The same men were kept in charge, Mr. John C. Byxbee acting also as chairman of the Water Board, and for both positions received \$500 a year. In 1880 the office of fire marshal was introduced, and equipment was increased,—steam engines were bought, the Gamewell system introduced, and the department is now furnished with "motorized equipment of the latest type and the most efficient fire fighting agencies." At the time of the one hundredth

anniversary of the incorporation of Meriden as a town, the Department consisted of 91 men, with the following equipment: one hook and ladder truck, one steam fire engine, four hose wagons, one chief's wagon, one hand jumper, two three-horse exercise wagons, and some reserve apparatus.

The Fire Department of Naugatuck had a slightly different form of volunteer organization at the beginning, according to Pape's History of the towns of the Naugatuck Valley. "Naugatuck's Fire Department history began in 1882, when George M. Allerton, then president of the Glove Company, organized a volunteer company. The organization was completed on February 6, 1893, as a company to protect the Goodyear India Rubber Glove Company's property and adjacent territory. * * * The twenty-three men in the original company were employees of the glove concern, and the shirt that formed a part of their uniform carried the company's trade mark across the breast. The organization was known as Glove Hose Company No. 1, 'and their apparatus consisted of a jumper and about fifty feet of hose.' The town authorities established the Naugatuck Fire Department after the glove concern turned the apparatus over to the town in 1890. At that time it numbered thirty-five men. The company then became known as the Naugatuck Hose No. 1 and the force was increased to sixty-five men. The first building for the department was on Water Street, which was formally occupied March 15, 1892."

A disastrous fire in 1882 led to the first consideration in Seymour of protection against fire, according to Sharpe's History. Three large furniture stores, two smaller stores and a house were destroyed. A meeting of business men was held which led to calling a town meeting. A committee was appointed to buy apparatus and provide a place in which to keep it. A second-hand engine worked by hand was bought which almost at once proved its worth, and proved at the same time that it was a hard machine to manage. A meeting was soon held to form a company, resulting in the "Ocean Fire Company." Another fire made people feel the necessity for a steam engine, and money was raised by subscription to pay for one, an engine specially built for Seymour. The company managing this engine was incorporated 1886, called appropriately the Citizen Engine and Hook and Ladder Company No. 2. Another fire demonstrated the need of a good fire bell, and another subscription was started. Enough money was quickly raised, and the town voted an appropriation to build a bell tower. Later the town built an engine house, a handsome brick building two stories high, with a tower. Its parlors on the second floor were furnished by subscriptions and fairs. H. B. Wooster, who was one of the most active in organizing the fire department was chief for a time.

The beginning of the Fire Department of Ansonia is thus described in the History of Derby, showing that in this new town such equipment was immediately regarded as a necessity. The borough was chartered in 1868, the charter amended in 1871 giving fuller powers. In that year

the Eagle Hose Company No. 6 was organized, with 29 members, changed later, because of additions, to the Eagle Hose and Ladder Company No. 6, numbering 60 men. There was another company in West Ansonia.

The old town of Guilford had regulations similar to those in New Haven, concerning bonfires, cleaning of chimneys and ladders to reach the eaves of the houses. One of the first ordinances of the borough was concerning fire inspection and orders concerning ladders and scuttles on roofs of houses. In 1850 it began to consider buying a fire engine, and 1852 bought a second-hand engine from New Haven and one that belonged to a volunteer company in the town, the Guilford Fire Engine Company. A house was put up, two fire companies formed and later other apparatus supplied.

Stow's Recollections of Milford tell of the start of the fire department in the formation of a volunteer fire company in 1839, with an engine. The company was called Wepowaug No. 1. In 1854 the town bought a new engine and put up a larger house. "The company took a new name, Arctic No. 1, and with it a new inspiration." An entry of the preceding year suggests another line of development towards safer conditions,—“A Gas plant installed at Straw Hat Factory. Wax candles had been in use there.” After a number of years, Milford also bought an engine from New Haven, a start towards a fire department which now has nearly a dozen pieces of apparatus. A training school is also held for firemen.

Insurance Against Fire

Dwight's Statistical Account of the city of New Haven said, "There have been burnt in this city in 75 years, 2 Dwelling Houses, 1 Brewery, 2 stores, 1 workshop, and 1 small Turpentine Distillery. Such a list forcibly exhibits the care of Divine Providence in preserving a town, raised of such combustible materials. It is ardently to be wished, that, hereafter, buildings of a safer and more solid structure may be erected." Instead of merely insisting on such regulations financial protection against the results of fire have been developed.

In 1795 the Hartford and New Haven Insurance Company was formed by Hartford men, with the addition of Elias Shipman of New Haven, who was made agent for that city. Later he withdrew and established the New Haven Insurance Company in 1797, largely for marine insurance. The formation of this company was assisted by a committee of the New Haven Chamber of Commerce. It was the fifth marine insurance company in the United States. Elias Shipman was a Long Wharf shipping merchant, president of the new insurance company, as well as of the Chamber of Commerce, and was active in the early days of the fire department. There was close affiliation with the recently formed New Haven Bank, and many of the officials of the two organizations were the same. Simeon Baldwin and Timothy Phelps were also in both. The dividends of the insurance company were paid at the bank, and the cashier of the bank was treasurer of the company. The capital was \$50,000, one

fifth in cash, and the amount might be increased. The company was prosperous and declared dividends at once, and continued in business until 1833, when heavy losses by French spoliations led to its coming to an end, with Timothy Dwight made president in order to bring this about. Its organization was kept, on account of the claims against the government.

The Derby Fishing Company, chartered in 1806, engaged in a sort of marine insurance, and met heavy losses. Another marine insurance company was formed in 1818, the Ocean Insurance Company of New Haven, with offices on Union Wharf, but it did not live long. Its capital was \$60,000 which could be increased to \$100,000.

In 1800 a committee of the Chamber of Commerce was appointed to devise plans for fire insurance. These men bore familiar names, Henry Daggett, Isaac Beers, Abraham Bishop, Noah Webster, Charles Chauncey, and Abel Burritt. The latter was a deacon, and merchant, dealing in hardware, dry goods and groceries. In 1801 a Mutual Assurance Company was formed, with Elizur Goodrich as secretary, Simeon Baldwin treasurer, but it was not successful, and was turned into a stock company.

In 1813 the New Haven Fire Insurance Company was formed, with Isaac Tomlinson as president, followed in that office by Charles Denison and Simeon Baldwin. In 1822 it was merged with the Hartford company. This company, through Timothy Dwight, as agent, soon wrote the first insurance on the buildings of Yale College, for \$20,000.

The next effort to establish a New Haven company was in 1841, with the formation of the Security Insurance Company of New Haven, chartered as a mutual society, with \$200,000 subscribed capital, \$50,000 paid in. That feature (mutual) was abandoned two years later. The company was mainly marine until 1872, when it turned to fire insurance. Prominent men of that generation were connected with the company, James Brewster, Henry Farnam, Cornelius Pierpont, T. R. Trowbridge. It now has a capital of \$800,000; surplus of \$4,375,218.51. In 1923 it established a subsidiary company, the East and West Insurance Company, in West Haven, with a capital of \$800,000, assets of \$3,278,247.44, and surplus of \$1,195,862.64.

Various companies formed during the nineteenth century lasted for shorter or longer time. The City Insurance Company, started 1850, retired with honors, so to speak, having paid all its claims, and a profit to the stockholders. It was revived unsuccessfully from 1874 to 1876.

The Home Insurance Company, started in 1859, principally for fire and with some attention to marine insurance was at one time one of the largest companies in the United States, with agencies all over the country. It resorted to reckless methods and failed in 1870. Its capital was entirely lost, and the creditors received little.

The Quinnipiac, 1869-1871, also retired with honors. A Meriden company was organized in 1872, but was involved in the Boston fire and was squeezed out by the larger companies. After nineteen years of existence it closed its business honorably.

There are at present two other companies in the county besides those in New Haven and West Haven, the Mutual Fire Insurance Company of Guilford and the Madison Mutual Fire Insurance Company. New Haven County thus can claim only four of the forty insurance companies in the state.

Though New Haven has never been an insurance center, plenty of insurance business is done through the agencies. An early agent in New Haven was Gardner Morse, who acted for several companies. New Haven has agencies that have been in the same family for two or three generations, the North Agency, and the Burton Company. The former was established in 1843 by John C. North, and some of the companies the agency represents have been continuously associated with it for over eighty years. The business is now carried on by the great-grandsons of the founder. It handles many forms of insurance. Most of its business in New Haven County. The Burton agency has been in the business since 1865, and is now in the third generation in the same family.

The story is similar for Waterbury, where several companies have been formed. The Connecticut Indemnity Association was organized in 1883, chartered 1887, for life, health and accident insurance. This company lasted until 1898. The Connecticut Mutual Steam Boiler Inspection and Insurance Company was formed in 1886 and lasted for ten years, when it was merged with the Hartford Company. A Mutual Security Company was formed in 1902 against strikes, but it ended in 1910, not having roused sufficient interest to keep it going.

New Haven has one monument to departed insurance companies in the name of the Insurance Building. A company was chartered in 1847, the American Mutual Life Insurance Company, Benjamin Silliman president, Benjamin Noyes, secretary and leading spirit. In 1871 the name of the company was changed to The American National Life and Trust Company. It invested much of its money in the Insurance Building, for which the governor laid the cornerstone. The authorities became suspicious of the company, held an investigation, and for hidden transactions in connection with various companies Mr. Noyes was sent to prison for eighteen months. The company tried to protect itself by getting a charter from Congress, with headquarters in Washington and New Haven called a branch office, but its credit was injured and the office had to be closed.

The advertisement of this American Mutual Life Insurance Company contained one interesting sign of the times,—“*No California risks have been taken. * * * The Company is doing a safe and careful business—by insuring only the best lives, in the most healthy States.*”

Levermore, in his “Republic of New Haven” gives an account of an interesting plan of insurance considered at one time in that city. “In connection with the development of the Fire Department, mention may be made of a remarkable petition which was presented to the Common Council in 1865 by Henry Peck, Theodore D. Woolsey, *et al.* The petitioners besought that a mutual city-insurance system might be adopted where-

by every building within the city limits should be insured by the city. The property owners were to be 'taxed at an amount not to exceed in any instance what was paid to the insurance companies'." The request was supported by elaborate calculations of the profits of insurance companies which might thus be saved to the citizens.

"The petition was referred to the Fire Department Committee of the Common Council, who reported favorably upon it, alleging that 121½% upon a total valuation would cover all losses and leave a profit to the insurers. The danger of a great fire in the city was not regarded as imminent enough to render the scheme impracticable. The Common Council, after delay, instructed the committee to apply to the Legislature for an act authorizing the city to become its own insurer, but stipulated that no such act should take effect until it had been ratified by a City-Meeting. Nothing more is heard of the proposal."

Police

Historically the oldest police force in New Haven County was the watch system, by which every man was at times an armed policeman. It will be remembered that in early days the citizens were divided into groups to act as watch, going about through the settlement at night to guard against fire and prowlers. Officials partaking of the nature of police were the marshals, constables, and later the tithing men, a force described by President Dwight in 1810 as "far from being either vigorous or exact."

The first action taken for police protection by the City of New Haven was in 1820. That the city had existed for thirty-six years without a police force showed, says Levermore, "either Arcadian simplicity or alarming insecurity," probably a mixture of both. At this time the Common Council resolved that a night watch should be established and kept under its direction when it should be deemed expedient. For that purpose the Council was empowered to "appoint not to exceed seven discreet citizens to act as superintendents of the watch and not to exceed fifty discreet citizens to act as watchmen" during its pleasure and under rules prepared by it, and with the authority of constables. A list of fifty persons was to be made who were to serve in alphabetical order in squads of eight, from nine o'clock until daybreak every night except Saturday and Sunday, which were to be observed as the Sabbath by watchmen as well as by everyone else, including presumably, evil-doers. The nights of general elections and college commencements were particularly mentioned as times for them to be on duty. The superintendents received \$1.50 each night for their services, and the watchmen \$1, between November 1st and April 1st, when their pay was reduced to seventy-five cents during the time of milder weather. They were equipped with staffs three feet long, and later were given star shields.

The numbers were soon increased slightly, and in 1836 a permanent watch of ten men was appointed to serve a year, instead of merely when called out by the mayor. But this force was soon reduced, and 1842 a free-

men's meeting voted that the watch should be discontinued altogether, apparently from motives of economy. For five years the city had no regular watch. At times a special night watch was set and voluntary patrol, because of town and gown riots and the setting of incendiary fires. It had also been necessary to allow the employment of special constables on training days, and to protect property at fires. In 1848 a permanent watch was re-established.

Maj. Lyman Bissell, an officer of the regular army, promoted for distinguished bravery in the Mexican War, was appointed captain. He was in office for seven years. During his incumbency occurred a riot in which a student killed a man. The mob was bringing a cannon, prepared to avenge this and to batter down South College, as the students had retired to their rooms. But Captain Bissell heard it passing through the streets, and in the darkness of the unlighted streets of the time, was able to get near unobserved and spike the gun. It is noteworthy that one of the captains during this period was named Elihu Yale. Later he was chief, in 1865, and described as "a veteran in the temperance cause."

In 1861 the General Assembly passed a "bill for the Organization of a Police Department of the City of New Haven." This created a Board of Police Commissioners, which made rules for the department, and soon adopted a uniform for the men, a measure having an excellent effect on their morale and efficiency. This Board, of six persons, was chosen by the Common Council, with the mayor as chairman ex-officio and general superintendent. It was to be non-partisan in character, a provision which, due to party feeling, led to tie votes. The first chief under this act was Jonathan W. Pond. The force had one captain, one lieutenant, any number of policemen up to twenty, and fifteen supernumerary policemen.

The department kept expanding slowly as the city grew, with constant demands from outlying neighborhoods for more police protection. Salaries were increased from time to time, and a system of discipline and rules of order were gradually developed. In 1874 the Police Building was finished. At this time there were 105 policemen, the Department had a wagon, the "policeman's best friend," and later an ambulance and a surgeon. Chief Allen, who also had been fire chief introduced military drill for a time. Justice Courts had been changed to Police Courts, and in 1884 the Gamewell system of telephone and signal service was introduced. Mounted police and motorcycle men were added to the force. In 1888 the mayor reported that a matron had been appointed, since "a very large number of ladies of this city of the highest respectability, have repeatedly petitioned for such an appointment, and the concession to their feelings and wishes is very properly and justly made."

The growth of the police force may be seen by comparing its numbers at different times in the history of New Haven, first soon after the union with Connecticut, when there were three constables, two for New Haven and one for East Haven; in 1888, an anniversary year, when the entire numerical strength of the department was 133, of whom 25 were super-

numeraries, that is, 108 employed every day; and 1928 when there were, including every one connected with the department and the care of its buildings, 400 in all. Just as in the case of the Fire Department, this does not include the police of the Annex, which did not come under city administration with Morris Cove and Fair Haven East Side.

Waterbury also was still in the stage of simple regulations for maintaining public order when it became a city in 1853. By this charter the Common Council was empowered to appoint annually special constables (not more than 25, 18 actually appointed) and provide other equipment of justice, a police court and city prison. Then men were not paid except during actual service, and then at the rate of fifteen to twenty-five cents an hour. The official in charge was called variously chief, captain, foreman, and these constables were apparently regarded as a police force. An old building was rented for a prison until 1859, when a new police station and city prison was built, which was used until 1890. Under this charter the active force consisted of the captain and three constables, with, in addition, the supernumerary force.

The Charter of 1871 established a new Board of Police Commissioners made up of four persons, two elected biennially, with the mayor as president. This board could appoint as many policemen as it wished, and the sixteen supernumeraries were to be called out at the discretion of the chief. The term of service was changed from time to time, usually it has been for good behavior, but from 1882-1885 it was for two years. In 1896 a new charter put the police under a Board of Public Safety. Other things were added, the Gamewell signal system in 1901, a detective bureau in 1902.

In 1915 several large manufacturing concerns coöperated with the city in establishing a special police force or constabulary. These men were uniformed, paid by the companies, but were placed under the superintendence of the Waterbury Department of Police.

The Police Department of Meriden was created in 1868, when need here as elsewhere was felt for more adequate protection as population increased. Some people argued against its formation, but a department was created, consisting of a Chief and three policemen. One of them, the first man appointed as it happened, later (1898) became chief of police, George Van Nostrand. These men were paid as a regular force. The Chief was on duty from 6 A. M. to 6 P. M. and the patrolmen from 6 P. M. to 6 A. M. They were designated by badges and by hats with the brim turned up at the side. At first they had no particular headquarters, then were located in the town hall. In 1892 the Gamewell system of alarms was introduced and the department had a wagon. A police court was established. At the time of the centennial of the establishment of Meriden as a town, the force consisted of a Chief, captain, lieutenant, 13 patrolmen and two reserve officers.

These examples will show the building up of the force which protects life and property in modern cities. It has of course been necessary to

make rules for its discipline and often to take action against individuals.

Costello speaks of the great and varied amount of work expected of the policeman. "Not only is he required to care for the lives and property of citizens while they sleep, but he must be present at every fire; must be present to preserve peace at large gatherings, political meetings, entertainments, and such like; he is supposed always to be able to enlighten you in regard to persons as well as places; he must be an escort for processions, for lost children, the sick, injured, or disabled, and he must be on hand to protect strangers from the operation of confidence men who are sure to be found in every city. He must report fires, broken and unlighted gas lamps, look after the violation of the city ordinances, and perform an infinite range of other work."

Lighting the Streets

During this period lighting the streets was also undertaken by the cities and larger towns. The message of a mayor of New Haven says of this in 1877, "The importance of lighting a city I think is underestimated generally, as a matter of protection, and it is my opinion that the protection of our people afforded through this instrumentality is greater in proportion to its cost than any other devised. If one third of the amount spent annually upon the Police Department were to be appropriated to this object, the protection of life and property would be enhanced." These sentiments did not prevent him from adding that he thought the city was paying the Gas Company at too high a rate.

The New Haven Gas Company was organized in 1847, and the streets were lighted by it in the spring of 1849. Before this the only lighting of streets had been that furnished by some private citizen who kept a light in front of his house, doubtless something like the lantern hung aloft as a signal to Paul Revere. For artistic reasons it is a pity that links were not used in the colony as they were in old days in London, leaving the beautiful iron link-holders still to be seen in front of some London houses.

The first president of the Gas Company was W. W. Boardman, who was also one of the founders of the Water Company when the city would not take it over, president for a time, and one who contributed largely to its success. Mr. Beecher, in his *Reminiscences* told the following happening when the gas was first put in. "Upon the occasion of the Whigs celebrating the election of Zachary Taylor for president I recollect Hon. W. W. Boardman's coming to the corner just after a lamp-post had been set (minus the lamp) and directed that a *Whig Light* should be displayed at this corner upon the occasion of their parade that evening. The gas was turned on and a flame of fire four or five feet high was the result. This exhibition of burning gas was a novelty to me, being the first gas light I ever saw."

When New Haven by a vote of 182 to 80 took up the matter of lighting the streets in 1848, the only other small city in the country which

had done this was Trenton, New Jersey. Some tax payers objected to it on the ground of possible injury to the trees.

Waterbury was having a different experience with regard to lighting. In 1852 a New York man asked for and received "the exclusive privilege of laying gas pipes through the streets, for the supplying the inhabitants with gas light." This was given, a committee of "five respectable persons" being appointed to make the contract. In 1854 another company, the Waterbury Gaslight Company was organized and took over the business thus started. The city was one of its first regular patrons.

Later a Citizen's Gas Company was formed, but was bought by the Waterbury Gaslight Company and its works discontinued. The works of the other company were reconstructed and leased to a company with headquarters in Philadelphia, the United Gas Company, organized in 1882 to "buy, build or lease" gas works all over the country. The Waterbury Gaslight Company still owns the property and keeps its existence.

Naugatuck had a Gas Company, established in 1862, but it existed only a short time and gas is now supplied from Waterbury. Wallingford has a publicly owned electric light and power plant. There is a Wallingford Gas Light Company. The region immediately around New Haven is served by the New Haven Gas Light Company, and the United Illuminating Company.

CHAPTER II

PUBLIC HOUSEKEEPING

City life brought need of protection in other ways, not so readily recognized as danger from theft, fire, murder and sudden death. This was the safety brought by a supply of pure water, proper disposal of waste,—in short the creation and maintenance of sanitary living conditions. Here a two-fold development was necessary, realization that supplying these needs was a matter of public interest, and formation of the organization to meet the needs. A further question was whether the work would be better done by private enterprise independent of the government, or by organized departments of the communities themselves. How has New Haven County met this situation?

At first in the various towns most of the public improvements, either for beauty or utility, were dependent on private funds and private energy. This appears particularly in connection with the development of the systems of parks, and has already been considered somewhat in the history of public libraries, the public having received great gifts in both these departments. It is the period when "any gentleman who might agree to defray the expense" was allowed by town meetings to undertake measures such as clearing up and fencing the town green.

In early days a public water supply was not considered very important or necessary. There was a town pump at the corner of the Green in New Haven, and a supply of water more or less adequate for extinguishing fires. In 1797 the annual meeting of Trinity Church voted that \$10 be paid out of the Society's treasury towards the public wells and pumps in New Haven. The matter of water for household use was a different question. The dependence was on wells whose condition was not always of the best. It was however a matter of attention by a few people in New Haven even at the beginning of the 19th century. Levermore says that a proposition to build an aqueduct was debated in a city meeting in 1804. The consent of the General Assembly to the enterprise was received two years later, and a committee headed by Noah Webster was appointed to manage its construction. Poverty of the city prevented the execution of the plan, and people continued to depend on creeks, wells, and hand pumps until almost to the Civil War. Efforts were made to improve the quality of the water in East Creek, but in vain.

In 1849 a charter for a water company was granted to a number of business men, but when they could not get the people to subscribe to the stock in sufficient amounts, the charter was altered to enable the city to undertake the work. New Haven, however, after changing its mind and its vote decided against municipal ownership of water supply. It reaffirmed this decision twenty years later when the first contract with the Water Company had to be either renewed or taken over by the city. A paragraph from the message of Mayor Shelton in 1877 is of interest in this connection.

"There is a bill before the Legislature, receiving the sanction of the previous Council, authorizing the City of New Haven to purchase the rights and franchises of the New Haven Water Company, and the privilege of issuing bonds not to exceed two millions of dollars in payment thereof, and extension of water facilities. Where this bill originated I have not been able to discover. Having conversed with quite a number of the stock holders, they have expressed themselves as averse to selling. The contract between the City and Water Company does not expire until February, 1882, so that it has five years to run, with an additional proviso for an extension, guarded in such a manner as to quiet the fears of those who apprehend the city is to be made a victim to the rapacity of the Water Company. The objections to this project, in my judgment are insurmountable. First, the additional indebtedness, of two millions of dollars at a time like this. Secondly, the number of officials that would be required, under municipal management, to conduct its affairs, which would amount to more than we should ever have to pay for water rents; whereas, under the company's management it is economically conducted and pays a fair dividend to its stockholders, with water rates which are not oppressive. Another argument which is used by the advocates of buying, is that nearly every city owns and controls its Water Company. The benefit to be derived by owning the works is not clear to me as long as we are supplied with water at a fair price." * * * (he quotes) "the opinion of the Mayor of Cincinnati, whose people have passed through the experiences which the advocates of this scheme are anxious to force upon the City of New Haven, which I think would be detrimental and against sound policy. And I would recommend that this Board instruct the Corporation Counsel to withdraw the bill from the Legislature."

It is interesting to put with this a message of Mayor Hendrick's on the subject, nearly twenty years later (1896). "While the question under this head [water] seldom figures in the general information concerning our City affairs, possibly owing to the fact that the supply of that commodity is furnished the City by contract, we should, however, be informed from time to time of the actual resources of the corporation supplying this necessary and important article, that we may fully understand that the Water Company is fulfilling its obligations to the City, and in pursuance to the last contract, made in February, 1892, for a period of

ten years, at the rate of twenty thousand dollars per annum, payable in half yearly payments, as set forth in said contract.

"I am informed that there has been no diminution in the supply since the contract was made; on the contrary, it has been greatly increased, and in no instance has the Fire Department experienced any lack of an abundant and adequate supply."

It is said that it was difficult to collect money to pay Mr. Whitney for building the works, owing to a severe financial crisis that came soon after Lincoln's election. Little of the contract price (\$350,000) was paid in cash, but most of it in stocks and bonds. The cash required came from the arms factory, which fortunately was running night and day to fulfill its contracts for arms.

The following historical sketch of the New Haven Water Company was kindly furnished by the courtesy of the company, through its secretary.

"The original charter of the New Haven Water Company was granted by the General Assembly of the State of Connecticut in 1849 and the original incorporators were Henry Peck, Ezra C. Read, Henry Hotchkiss, James Brewster and Wooster Hotchkiss. The population of New Haven at that time was about 22,000 and many of its citizens felt that some kind of a public water supply was imperative.

"In 1852, three years after the incorporation of the present company, a meeting of citizens was called to consider the advisability of a municipal rather than a private plant and a committee of nine was appointed to enquire and report. Of these nine, it is interesting to note that two were also incorporators of the proposed private plant and it was evident that the incorporators of the original company were quite willing to surrender their rights if the city would undertake the construction of a plant. This committee of nine completed surveys and made a report in March of 1853, when the citizens voted by ballot in favor of a petition to the General Assembly for an amendment to the charter of the city authorizing an issue of bonds to build the works and, the amendment having been passed by the Legislature, a ballot was taken in July following accepting the amendment.

"A Board of Water Commissioners was organized in August, 1853, and a contract made with Mr. Eli Whitney in January, 1854, for the sale of the Clock Factory privilege with water rights and land where the present first bridge across Whitney Lake is located. Mr. Whitney was to take his pay in New Haven city bonds at a premium of ten per cent.

"But at a city meeting held the 4th of January, 1854, to arrange the details for the issuing of the bonds, great opposition developed to the project of a municipal plant and at an adjourned meeting in February, 1854, it was voted that a petition be sent to the Legislature for another amendment to the charter of the city, restricting the total outlay of \$325,000 and also that the whole subject be again presented to the citizens for their decision by ballot; in the meantime the Commissioners were to stay proceedings.

"June 12th, 1854, a petition was presented to the Legislature signed by a large number of citizens praying for the repeal of the act authorizing a municipal water plant and a bill was finally passed ordering a new ballot on the project and requiring a three-fifths vote in its favor to make it binding, and appointing the City Treasurer an agent to issue the bonds. On July 17th, 1854, this vote was taken and the municipal project was defeated.

"Books to receive subscriptions to the capital stock of the private company were opened by the original incorporators and a contract was made with Mr. Eli Whitney and Charles McClallan & Son in July, 1859, for the construction of the works. In the Spring of 1860, \$250,000 had been subscribed and the construction of the works had commenced.

"There were two projects submitted by the Engineers for a City water supply, one from the Quinnipiac River and the other from Mill River. The latter was finally chosen and the Whitneyville Dam was located on Mill River at the 'Point of Rocks' in Whitneyville where the present dam stands.

"A great deal of interest attaches to this spot, for it was here in the early days of the colony that a grist mill was erected and not only the Colonists but Indians as well came to get their corn ground into meal. At one time the mill was destroyed by fire and it became necessary to carry grain as far as Milford. When the dam was built a number of mills up the stream were flooded out.

"In addition to the dam, a distributing reservoir holding ten million gallons of water was erected on Prospect Street from which the City was to be supplied. In order to pump the river water from the dam to the reservoir two undershot water wheels thirty-five feet in diameter, were erected below the dam, each of these wheels operating pumps which supplied water to the distributing reservoir at the rate of 1,000 gallons per minute. These were started in December, 1861, and on New Year's Day, 1862, the reservoir having been filled, water was turned into the distribution system leading to New Haven.

"New Haven was at this time a city of 22,000 people. The mains laid extended a distance of eighteen miles. The company now serves a population of 280,000 with a distribution system of nearly 500 miles of pipe line, drawing its supply from seventeen reservoirs, with a storage capacity of about eighteen billion gallons. There are seven distributing reservoirs equalizing the flow. Watershed areas of 110 square miles feed into the storage reservoirs. Reservations surround all the reservoirs with an area of over 23,000 acres. On this land the Yale Forest School carries on an intensive field work of Forestation, not only building up new forest areas but caring for the extensive forests of hardwood and coniferous trees surrounding the different reservoirs. The average daily consumption of water is about 28,000,000 gallons.

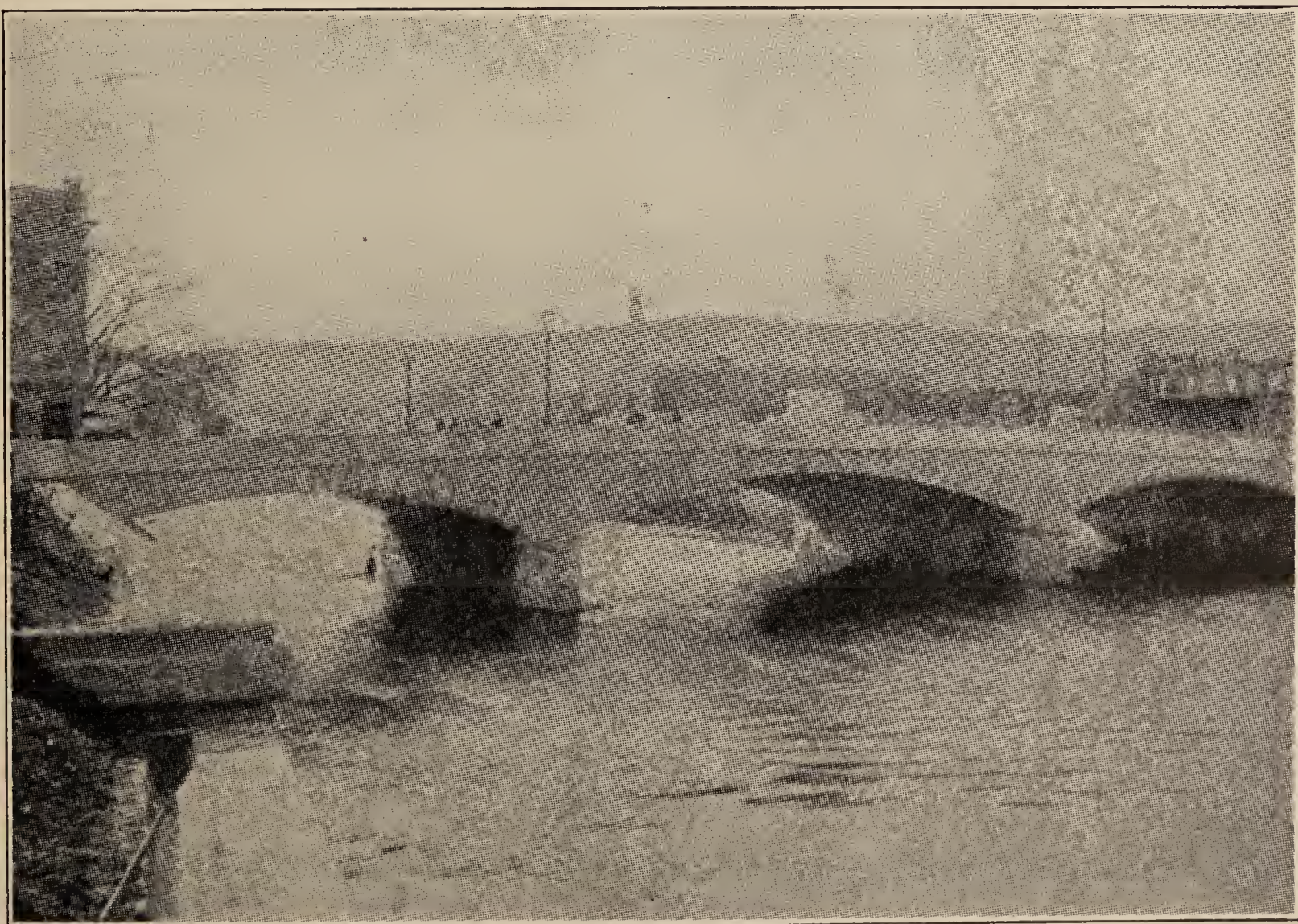
"In reviewing some of the more important facts in this development one cannot help but feel that those in control of the company took their



(Courtesy of E. G. Wooster, New Haven)

SPERRY POOL, WOODBRIDGE

Now under Dawson Lake, part of the West River System of the New
Haven Water Company



THE WHITTEMORE MEMORIAL BRIDGE, NAUGATUCK

duties seriously. Water supply is so essential to the welfare of any community that this attitude was fortunate for those served and it no doubt has had a beneficial effect on the growth of the community as a whole. It has never been considered a service which could be limited to one section. As nature has provided no outstanding large source of supply, it has been necessary to bring together into one system all the available sources from which water could be obtained in order to create resources which could adequately provide sufficient supply for the ever increasing needs of the community.

"The first steam pumps were installed at the Whitneyville Station in 1871. At present there are five pumping units in operation at this station, with a total capacity of 34 million gallons per day.

"The Fair Haven Water Company was purchased in 1875, together with the Mountain Water Company. Their supply came from the Maltby Lakes and from Lake Wintergreen, both of which have been rebuilt since that time.

"A pumping station was established in 1882 at Lake Saltonstall and a distributing reservoir built in Fair Haven. This added a new supply to the system. Enlargements and additions have made this one of the most valuable sources of supply. The construction of a tunnel through Saltonstall Ridge in 1901 makes it possible to divert water from Farm River into the Lake. This adds greatly to the supply available from this station.

"The Woodbridge system was started in 1889 with the erection of the Dawson Dam on West River. In 1891 Lake Chamberlain was constructed on Sargent River, one of the tributaries of West River, and in 1907 an additional reservoir created on the same stream known as the Glen. The Bethany Reservoir on West River was built in 1894 and the Watrous Reservoir in 1911. This provides two storage reservoirs on each of the two streams flowing into Lake Dawson, all of which furnish a gravity supply to the city.

"The West Haven Water Company was acquired in 1900. This was supplied by Lake Phipps which was abandoned and the supply taken from the Maltby Lakes. These lakes, three in number, lie north of the Derby Turnpike. Their watershed was limited. The dam at the lower lake, No. 1, was rebuilt in 1898, and Lake No. 2 was raised in 1922 about ten feet to the same elevation as No. 3. A tunnel two miles in length was driven westward from No. 3 to the Wepawaug River in 1910 bringing in water from Trout Brook, Race Brook and the Wepawaug.

"A high pressure supply for higher elevations in the city is derived from Lake Wintergreen. In 1907 a standpipe was erected on Mill Rock receiving its supply from the Whitneyville Pumping Station and connected into this high pressure system. In 1929 this was connected northerly into the high pressure Cheshire System to supply the Ridge running northerly from East Rock.

"The Cheshire System supplied from Ten Mile River with a reservoir in Prospect was started in 1907. It extends through the towns of Cheshire,

Hamden and North Haven. It serves with the Mill Rock Standpipe and Lake Wintergreen in providing a continuous high pressure system through the city supplied by pumping in the Central section and by gravity from impounding reservoirs on either end.

"The Branford Water Company was acquired in 1911. This was supplied from Queach Brook, the water being pumped to a distributing reservoir on Goldsmith Hill.

"The Milford Water Company, while still a separate organization, is practically owned by the New Haven Company. It is supplied from Beaver Brook and by pipe lines connecting it into the New Haven System. The acquisition of these two companies allowed the development of water resources without conflict with independent companies. Neither one had developments capable of supplying sufficient water for future needs of the territory served. Combined with the New Haven Company they benefit from the larger developments made possible by the larger company.

"The North Branford Supply started in 1925, is still under construction. This provides a storage reservoir of sixteen billion gallons, supplied by feeding tunnels bringing into the reservoir watershed areas north and east of the reservoir totaling about fifty-three square miles. Present development covers about eighteen square miles.

"Such in brief is the historical outline of the New Haven Water Company. We see Metropolitan Districts, so-called, being established to properly care for community interests in water, sewerage and other necessities of our present life. This was recognized many years ago by the water company and its entire work has been laid out with this in mind—to develop and bring together into one system for the good of all, the water resources of the region. These vital and necessary sources of water must be preserved and developed for this fundamental need of our community. In doing this as a private company under State supervision both efficiency in operation and economy in construction have been attained."

The Forestry work mentioned in this account of the Water Company deserves a further word. At first water companies owned relatively small amounts of land near the sites of their reservoirs. About 1900 the New Haven Company began purchasing land on a large scale, and it now owns 20,545 acres. The purchase was made in order to provide natural protection of the sources of water supply, conservation of the water by natural means, and to prevent pollution. The land is incidentally made productive by the sale of lumber, railroad ties, piling, and cordwood.

At first a small area, 250 acres, and all of it since 1907, was put in charge of a forester. The Yale School of Forestry, opened in 1900, needed a field laboratory and demonstration area, and was allowed to use this forest, whose forester, Ralph C. Hawley, is also a member of the faculty of the school. It has recently (1929) been named the Eli Whitney Forest, most appropriately, since Eli Whitney, president of the Water Company for many years, began the policy of buying land and adopting the practice of forestry. He was also a Yale graduate of the class of 1869, and a member of the Yale Corporation from 1901 to 1919.

The shores of the reservoir are lined with a solid belt of conifers to form a barrier to keep the leaves of the hardwood trees from blowing into the water and discoloring it. A nursery has been developed by the company in the Maltby Division which provides these trees. The company is not without consideration for aesthetic values. The *Bulletin of the Forest* recently issued, with beautiful illustrations, says, "As a further objective, the creation and maintenance of pleasing landscapes is attempted. This purpose also does not need to be in conflict with commercial use."

This forest is especially interesting and valuable to the students as it has been under such management for several years, portions of it since 1900, thus covering practically the entire period of the practice of forestry as a profession in the United States, longer, it is believed than any other forest tract in this country. The Yale Forestry School, it may be added, is the oldest school in the United States with an unbroken history.

The erection of the dam for the Water Company backed up the water for two and a half miles, making great changes in the country around what is now Lake Whitney, the old Sabin's Mill Pond. The water in the mill pond was only six feet deep, and near this point Mrs. Jonathan Edwards was drowned in 1782 while trying to water her horse by the roadside. In constructing the dam twenty buildings and three bridges had to be removed, three mill sites were destroyed, and the road was submerged, necessitating a change in its direction. All the part of the town near the dam had to be reconstructed. One of the most interesting things in this connection was the removal of the old covered bridge from its original place, and its location a quarter of a mile higher up the stream. The bridge was designed and built about 1823 by Ithiel Town, the famous architect and engineer. It was perhaps the oldest truss bridge, at least one of the oldest, in the United States. Constructed of oak timbers, 100 feet in span, about 114 feet in total length, it was built in such a way that it would have been equally strong if turned upside down. Engineers thought it too difficult and dangerous an undertaking to move such a long and heavy bridge, but it was done successfully under the direction of Mr. Whitney by building cribs under it, and rolling it to the new location, all at a cost of only \$250.

The hillsides near Waterbury, full of springs, made it possible to form many small private water systems which supplied the owners of the springs and those to whom they rented a connection with their systems. There were several of these, one in 1847 leading to several residences in Grand Street, another in 1849 on Prospect Street, and one for still another group of residences. Larger ones were built in 1854 and 1859, and later companies were formed which built reservoirs. Other people depended on wells. About the same time, water was needed for putting out fires, for the town was considering buying new fire engines and apparatus, and factories were wanting water. Barber speaks of a "canal" route which "has been surveyed by a practical engineer for constructing a canal to

bring the Naugatuc on the bank at the west end of the town, which will, when completed, afford a supply of water power, capable of employing as much or more capital than has been already invested." Barber also speaks of a "canal" from the Naugatuck River by which the mills and factories of Birmingham are put in operation. The canal he says "extends upwards of a mile and a half northward of the village." Some firms were putting in their own systems, the Scovill Company in 1852. The borough appointed one or two committees in 1849 and 1852 to consider the matter, especially for use in cases of fire, but they either accomplished nothing or were refused a hearing in the town meeting after their labors.

In 1867 a committee was appointed to apply to the Legislature for a charter, with power to issue bonds up to \$150,000. (Waterbury now has a \$10,000,000 municipal water system). This was granted with the proviso that the charter was valid only if accepted by the voters of the city. The vote was 879 to 256, opposition based on the ground of expense and increased taxes. It was difficult to sell the bonds and the contractor was obliged to take a large part of his pay in bonds. The first Board of Water Commissioners was elected by the Council and the work of bringing water from East Mountain was set in motion. By the charter the president of the board acted as superintendent and was paid (the only paid member of the board), but if extensions or enlargements were made, it must be decided by the Common Council.

Begun in 1868 the system needed extension in 1880 and again in 1893. At this time the reservoirs had a storage capacity of 180,000,000. It was determined to build works so great that the water question would be settled for many years. A reservoir, called the Wigwam Dam in the Litchfield hills ten miles away, in a territory eighteen miles square was built, covering an area of 105 acres, which when complete would have a storage capacity of 600,000,000. The growth of the city caused the dam to be built to its full height in 1901-2, with a capacity of 730,000,000. Even this was not enough, and a great reservoir project was undertaken, involving a "seven-mile tunnel under mountain and lake."

The water works have been not only self-supporting, but a source of revenue. It is largely due to the efforts of Dr. P. G. Rockwell, elected mayor in 1866, that Waterbury got its first system of water works.

Hill's "History of New Haven County" (1918) says of Meriden, "the city has its own very adequate water supply system, whose construction was commenced in 1867. An excellent gravity supply of water is secured from sources in the Hanging Hills, and to meet the great factory needs there is a pumping station across the border of Berlin. Meriden now gets its water from four large reservoirs, so situated as to grade, that they sufficiently supply fire, factory and residence needs for all altitudes in the city."

Of Wallingford the same writer says, "There is a municipal water supply plant, constructed in 1882, which conducts water by gravity,

mainly from Pistapaugh Pond, four and one half miles east of the borough, and Lane's Pond, the two together having a capacity of nearly 600,000,000 gallons. There is also an auxiliary pumping station of a million gallons' capacity."

The Seymour Water Company, organized 1898, and the Naugatuck Water Company, organized 1887, were formed by private citizens, as was the Birmingham Company, one of whose organizers, and president was Col. William B. Wooster, of Civil War as well as legal fame. The Birmingham charter was obtained in 1859 "with laborious efforts." The reservoir was located on Sentinel Hill, at a cost of \$26,000, the original outlay before long increased to \$60,000. Before the construction of this system, the people were poorly supplied with water thrown into a small reservoir from a force pump in the old grist mill.

The Naugatuck water supply was in use in 1889. Pape in his account says it is obtained from six different reservoirs, with a total storage capacity of 630,000,000 gallons.

Several towns are included in the New Haven Water Company, as has been described in the account of that company.

When water was brought into the city of New Haven in 1861, a system of sewers became necessary. The Council with questionable local patriotism ordered that no contract should be made with any person not a citizen of New Haven, and that, so far as possible only New Haven persons should be employed in the work. This sewer system was built by the city, and fifty dollars was charged whenever it was opened to make a connection with any adjoining property. There was at the time no law authorizing the city to assess adjoining property holders any part of the cost, and a plan was worked out by which the city paid half the cost and the rest was paid by land owners according to the number of feet in front of their property. The City Engineer reported to the city in 1888 that main sewers were built so that nearly the entire city had available outlets. In order to make one of these sewers, the course of West River was straightened from Whalley Avenue to the old Milford Turnpike, and the West River bridge was moved. This system of sewers also provided drainage, as at Commerce Street, which was laid out where once was the bed of West Creek. Drainage was necessary because of little springs which had fed the stream. The report that main sewers were available for the entire city did not mean that all the streets were connected in 1888, on the contrary it was said that "less than 40% of our streets are sewered," and the mayor asked whether in view of the "appreciation of good sewerage shown by our citizens in the constantly increasing demand for sewers, should not attention now be given to the construction of the smaller laterals on thickly built streets, the return from which, both from a sanitary and financial standpoint, being greater than from the large and expensive main outlets?"

Before the introduction of the water system into the city of Waterbury by the City Water Works, there had been little need felt for sewers,

for the varying and uneven surface of the city and the numerous rapid streams were sufficient for the needs of the small population. The first sewer was built in 1853 from the southeast corner of the Green. It was to have been paid for by private subscriptions from property owners about Exchange Place, the estimated cost to be either paid or secured to be paid before the borough would authorize the beginning of the work. Before it was done Waterbury was made a city, and the cost of the sewer having exceeded the expected amount, the city paid the small balance. In spite of repeated requests for action, nothing more was done by the Common Council of the city until 1877, when it petitioned the General Assembly "for authority to issue bonds of the city to an amount not exceeding \$100,000 for sewerage purposes." This was granted, with the same provision that had been made over the introduction of water, that it meet with the approval of the voters of the city. They rejected it by a vote of 964 to 304, and nothing was done for four years. An act was then passed providing for a Board of Sewer Commissioners and authorizing the issue of bonds. The work was completed at the end of 1883. The charter of the city had to be amended to provide for sewer assessments, and at the same time provision was made for a city engineer instead of a street surveyor. Complaints soon began to come from people living along the banks of the Naugatuck River, and there was litigation with a manufacturing company for sewage pollution of the river, which was decided against the city. A sewage disposal plant became necessary. Work on this plant was begun in 1903 with the acquisition of land, and the making of maps and surveys.

The efforts of certain individuals should be noticed in connection with these public works. Anderson's History thus sums up what was done for Waterbury by Nelson J. Welton. "He was appointed surveyor for New Haven County in 1850; was street surveyor for the city of Waterbury for thirty-two years, and was engineer in charge of the construction of the city water works and of the city's system of sewerage. He has been president of the water board, with the exception of two years, since 1867." Another citizen who worked for these improvements was S. W. Kellogg who was city attorney from 1866 to 1869 and again from 1877 to 1883. During the first term he procured the first legislation for supplying the city with water, and during the second he drew up a bill for the establishment of a sewerage system for the city and procured its passage by the legislature.

"Meriden's sewer system," says Hill, "is in its charter a model for larger cities. * * * no large water course was at hand to give the cheap and easy means which many cities so negligently adopt for the disposal of their sewage. To be sure, when it commenced its sewer system in 1892 its problem was a comparatively simple one."

The authors of the Health Survey of New Haven (1917) said, "Sewerage offers the one wholly satisfactory solution of the difficulties of the individual householder; but it creates a new municipal problem, that of

sewage disposal, one of the largest and most pressing civic problems which New Haven must face in the immediate future."

Householders found it too convenient in some cases, and the City Surveyor of New Haven was obliged to remind the public that "Drains are not intended to carry ashes, broken bottles and crockery, old clothing, shoes, etc., but such things are often found in the sewers."

Still another aspect of the problem is suggested by the following statement. "Jury of Superior Court disagreed, two for plaintiff and one for the defendant, in the case of *Mehitable Peck vs City of New Haven*. An important case, involving the right of the city to build sewers." (1859).

Other activities of similar nature such as care of streets came to be undertaken by public authorities. Levermore says that in New Haven a number of private citizens had pavements in front of their houses, (and one feels fairly certain of who these persons were), but when a Superintendent of Sidewalks was appointed in 1834, with orders to see that sidewalks were properly leveled and paved by the property owners, there was much opposition. As in the case of protection from fire, some attention had been paid to this at an early time. It will be recalled that men had been asked to clear the pale-sides near their houses for the benefit of the night watch. But when the Council ordered sidewalks in the principal streets in 1818, a city meeting vetoed it in short order—three days later.

Anderson relates the first small efforts of Waterbury in the same matter. In May 1832, perhaps an early example of spring clean-up week, the sum of five dollars was voted to repair the sidewalk in a certain locality, and ten dollars to repair a certain stretch of street "should there be that amount in the treasury." Six years later a tax was laid to raise money to improve the streets and appropriations were made for particular places. In 1846 "it was ordained that certain sidewalks should 'be and remain as public sidewalks for public convenience, to be supported and kept in repair at the expense of individuals and owners of lands adjoining them'."

It was necessary everywhere to continue passing regulations for many years in the effort to keep rubbish and animals from the streets, for people had the most expansive ideas as to the use that could be made of streets in other ways than merely as a path for going somewhere. Waterbury in 1825 appointed street inspectors, and passed a by-law that the street must not be encumbered with any "stones, trees, timber, wood, rubbish, cart, carriage, sled, shingles," or any obstructions. It is said that little attention was paid to this ruling. At the same time began a long series of enactments to restrain animals from going at large in the streets, with various exceptions at different times allowing it between certain dates if the animals were marked and the description of the marks lodged with the clerk; or during certain hours on payment of a small sum. Finally in 1852 it was forbidden under any circumstances,

and the authorities announced their determination to clear the streets and issued the warning, "Therefore let all govern themselves accordingly."

Similar measures were necessary everywhere, though the practice in New Haven at least of throwing garbage into the streets made it desirable to allow the pigs, as they did until late into the century, in the streets, to act in their capacity of the first garbage collectors. Probably the scheme worked the other way round, the pigs were there and the extra tid-bits were thrown them. The first restraint of these animals was because of the damage they did to property.

Streets were named systematically in New Haven when it became a city, and in Waterbury in 1857. Paving was undertaken later. Manasseh Cutler in 1787 said New Haven streets would probably never be paved "as it must be attended with great expense." A New Haven invention helped this situation. The Blake stone crusher was invented when Eli Whitney Blake in 1852 had the task of paving one of the streets in New Haven, Whalley Avenue, with only hand labor to break up stones. It took two days' labor to produce one cubic yard of road material, and this coarser than was desirable. He spent seven years on the invention, which was patented in 1858. The Civil War delayed its use, but it has been one of the principal agencies in creating and developing good roads in the last half century or so. As his name suggests, the inventor of this important machine was nephew of Eli Whitney, whose inventions in another field had brought tremendous changes.

Before this time streets were either paved with Belgian blocks, as was done on Chapel, State and Grand streets in New Haven in 1857, or were dusty in summer and muddy after rains, both in the roads and on the sidewalks, or rather paths, Anderson tells of an old gentleman walking near the Central Square in Waterbury who took off his shoes and stockings, because the streets were so muddy, and by this method they would be dry to put on when he had waded through. "Do not look at the sidewalks," one person said in 1881, after describing Waterbury in glowing terms, "they will not bear inspection." Indeed there were no sidewalks worthy of the name. After the Civil War improvements were begun in that city. The first concrete walks were laid in 1869, and street paving was started several years later, first with blocks, and (1893) with broken stone. Improvements of Meriden's streets began about the same time.

Of course there were objectors like the one in New Haven who said, "A special town meeting. A vote passed to purchase the County House and Jail property, for public purposes, for \$25,000; also a law authorizing the town to compel landowners to pave one-fourth of the carriage roads. The one a waste of money, the other a grant of arbitrary power." This was in 1856. But closer inspection revealed shadows in the picture. Chauncey Jerome coming to New Haven in 1812 said, "I remember seeing the loads of wood and chips for family use lying in front of the houses." With no sewers the streets were at times practically impassable, and

the presence of animals in them was even desirable to act as scavengers. The introduction of water and a lighting system and the construction of sewers have been mentioned. Animals too were kept from roaming at large in the streets, and the work of paving the streets was undertaken with vigor. Mayor Lewis, in his first message (1870) said, "the subject of the greatest and most vital importance to our city is that of streets and highways. No part of our city affairs has, in my opinion, been so shamefully neglected as this. With ninety miles of roads we have less than four miles paved or macadamized, and less than the same number sewerred, and, * * * so far as my observation goes, our city has been the worst governed, in this respect, of any city of equal population in the entire country * * * in consequence of the opposition of many, the total lack of feeling in others, and the indifference of not a few to any and all public improvements." The streets were almost impassable at certain seasons of the year, with water standing for days in the shaded streets, making them exceedingly damp. At the end of his administration (1877) there were 12 $\frac{1}{4}$ miles of paved streets, many streets had been widened and straightened, "mere stones" had been set at street corners to define the lines of the streets, and maps of the city made showing all these things and everything pertaining to the physical equipment of the city, such as fire hydrants, gas mains, buildings.

There had always been what might be called city planning in many New Haven County towns. In settling them lands were assigned each planter on which he must build such a house as was prescribed by the committee in charge of the plantation, violation of the rules bringing penalties; fences had to be, not what the individual considered sufficient, but of regulated height and strength, and fence viewers were appointed to see that this was done; central squares were set aside. Later as we have seen attempts were made by private individuals at beautifying the towns. Trees were set out and greens cleared up. Later still organizations were formed for this purpose, which under various forms and with varying aims, have worked in the same general direction. There were Village Improvement Societies, the Civic Federation in New Haven, which, among other things, pressed such matters as care of trees, elimination of mosquitoes, Clean City Week.

Finally in New Haven a City Planning Commission was formed, as a result of a city improvement campaign. The city charter was amended in 1913 to create such a commission, and expert advisers were obtained, F. L. Olmstead, Cass Gilbert and F. L. Ford. While this project was given the slogan "City Beautiful," to its misfortune, said the secretary of the Commission, Mr. G. D. Seymour in his "Valedictory," it was really the plan for a "City Practical." It was, he says, "based * * * upon fundamental, social and economic conditions, transportation, traffic, sanitary engineering, street and building lines, parks, recreation grounds, etc." The city should have "a rational and orderly street development in new sections," and plans complementary to and coordinated with those for the

expansion of the University. The objects of the Commission were not the dreams of a dreamer, as they were accused of being, but took up practical matters such as the Railroad, the Harbor, Street, Trees, Poles and Wires, Advertising Signs, the Sewerage Problem, Parks and Playgrounds, Rural Parks and Reservations, and Parkways. Conservatives were reminded by Mr. Seymour that New Haven has "the oldest organized City Plan on the American continent, going back to 1638, when the city was laid out by John Brockett, surveyor, under the direction of Gov. Theophilus Eaton. And I still hope that it may, in time, have a modern plan worthy of that great tradition."

Care for appearance of a city today includes the establishment of a department of trees, or if it is not done in this way, it is the interest of private individuals or organizations. One of the earliest efforts in this direction in New Haven was the planting of the Pierpont elms. The parsonage for the young minister James Pierpont was furnished by the people, one man bringing the gift of two elm saplings, which he planted before the house door. One of these elms (on Elm Street by the way), is said to have lived until 1840, "the tallest and most venerable of all the trees in the city of elms and ever the first to be tinged with green at the return of spring." These trees are shown as "trees planted in 1686" on an early map of New Haven. Dr. Bacon says, "Under their shade, some forty years afterwards, Jonathan Edwards—then soon to take rank in the intellectual world with Locke and Leibnitz—spoke words of mingled love and piety in the ear of Sarah Pierpont. Under their shade when some sixty summers had passed over them, Whitefield stood on a platform and lifted up that voice the tones of which lingered so long in thousands of hearts." The platform was built for Whitefield by another James Pierpont, a "New Light."

Steiner says that Guilford people early felt the advantage of shaded highways, voting in 1735 that no trees should be cut, without permission of the selectmen, which were "suitable for shades" or stood near any house or barn. Thirty years later a similar order was issued with regard to trees marked by the selectmen with a G, "provided they are not Buttonwood, or placed so as to incommode any persons in their private Property. And it is desired that sd. Trees may be So Set out, as to Straiten the Path, where it may be with conveniency."

The work of James Hillhouse and David Austin in New Haven is familiar. The tradition is that Mr. Hillhouse got many of his elms from Meriden, where he had a 600 acre farm. He bought this in 1790 and evidently did lumbering, for there was a sawmill on the farm. When the poplars planted by Eli Whitney on Whitney Avenue died, they were replaced with elms by a second Eli Whitney; and in 1803 the corporation of Yale College voted that "trees shall be set out next spring on both sides of the college buildings, in such order as shall best conduce to convenience and beauty."

In Wallingford Jared Potter Whittelsey, who had been away from his

native town for twenty years in business, returned in 1832, and spent the rest of his life in "improving and beautifying the streets * * * by setting out shade trees, opening walks and highly improving his own grounds." The sons of Jared Whittelsey and some others formed an "Ornamental Tree Society" which lasted for a while, to set out trees in the village. The tree planting was done in Woodbridge and East Haven and in Guilford the "inhabitants planted the elms about 1827 and the other shade trees which now so suitably embellish the Green." Special trees have of course been set out in other places, as in Seymour in 1901, a tree planted by the minister, with ceremony, in a triangle in the highway. Systematic tree planting began in Cheshire 1850, under the influence of the minister. Of Waterbury, Anderson says, "I find a record on the books of J. M. L. & W. H. Scovill of payments for 108 trees for the Green that year (1842) * * * a few were planted the following year, and quite a number in 1848. * * * I find a record of the payments for grading, fencing, trees, etc., of which J. M. L. & W. H. Scovill paid \$563.32, and the remainder was contributed by sundry persons in smaller sums."

The name "Elm City" was first given New Haven by a writer, Louisa Caroline Huggins (born 1799) called the "belle of New Haven." Though many of the famous elms have disappeared and in many streets telephone poles are far more conspicuous than live trees, yet the city cares for its trees. A city Bureau of Trees plants, inspects and treats the trees of the city; a nursery at Springside grows and cares for trees, nearly 20,000 in number, from which the first trees were used for street planting in 1928 when 42 trees were set out in the streets. It is expected that the number will increase until the nursery can supply 75% of those needed every year, that is 400 to 500. Nearly 600 trees were planted at one time recently in carrying out the plan to beautify the streets leading to and from the state roads. The Bureau has also made a census of trees in the city, showing 23,129 of 54 varieties.

New Haven has had no Charter Oak, but there have been some famous individual trees besides the Pierpont and Franklin Elms. One was the Nathan Beers Elm on Grove Street, named for the Revolutionary hero, who lived near by; another favorite tree was the Bakewell elm on the Green, especially admired by the English artist, Robert Bakewell, who was employed in illustrating the scientific works of Professor Silliman. There were two oaks, the Fellowes, on the Green, imported from England, and the Herrick oak on the campus, marking the site of the birthplace of E. C. Herrick, treasurer of the college and son of Claudius Herrick, who kept a famous school for girls. In the town of Waterbury, or rather on the boundaries of several towns, was the useful veteran, the clump of chestnut trees growing from one root, called the Three Brothers or Three Sisters.

A recommendation of the New Haven Medical Association in 1866 as to the best means of preventing an epidemic of cholera gives a hint as

to conditions in the city. It recommended a general cleaning up of the city and "Resolved, That in our belief, the public health would be promoted by judicious thinning out of our shade trees, so that the sun can oftener gain access to the earth to dry up the moisture and dissipate the vapors which collect near the surface."



NEW GREEN



(Courtesy of R. C. Chamberlain, New Haven)

NEW HAVEN GREEN

From an old print, showing gates on Temple Street at Elm Street

CHAPTER III

PARKS AND PLAYGROUNDS

The modern city has for part of its equipment a system of parks and playgrounds, the former a development of the nineteenth century and the latter of the twentieth. The growth of this movement may be seen in New Haven County. From the beginning, many, if not most, of the towns of this county had an open space in the center, called variously the green or market place, "meeting house acre," or parade ground for the train bands. New Haven, the oldest town, was deliberately and carefully laid out around a large common; Branford, Guilford and Milford, the three other original towns, have such open places. Many of the daughter towns followed suit, while some greens grew up almost by chance. Waterbury's Centre Square originally undefined and undeveloped, was the "town spot," from which various highways radiated. In one or two instances, in the later towns, the greens were due to the generosity of private citizens. The will of the Rev. James Pierpont (1714) had the following: "Item—I hereby give eight or ten acres of sequestered land in New Haven, and about so much half division land bought of Miss Rozewell and Mr. Atwater nigh Wallingford bridge, provided those neighbors will set their meeting-house there and make their training and burying places there." This gave North Haven a green, now sometimes called Pierpont Park. The green in Oxford was started by John Chatfield and enlarged later from the proprietors' land. The meeting-house was on the upper part, and the lower part was laid out for a public common and military parade ground. The green in Wolcott was made up of several gifts and of land bought at different times by the town. These examples might be multiplied.

Sizes and shapes of the greens vary as much as their origins. That in Branford is irregular, long and narrow, about thirty rods wide at the east end, coming to an apex at the west end. Guilford's Green, which is not quite square, contains nearly twelve acres; Madison's about four; North Haven's eight; and New Haven's a little more than sixteen. Waterbury's Centre Square is now about 148 by 686 feet.

It was a natural thing for the colonists to leave such open places in their settlements, and the commercial aims of New Haven demanded a market place. Though for a time these aims were not fulfilled, and the Green, surrounded by private dwellings, became instead the centre of a

quiet country town and saw no markets of the kind intended, yet now, in different fashion it is fulfilling Governor Eaton's dreams of a central square surrounded with shops and warehouses, the centre of a busy commercial and civic life. The possession of such an open space was natural also from the English inheritance of the first settlers, accustomed to village commons in the homes they had left.

There was no design of anything like parks or pleasure grounds in the modern sense, and in fact these early greens were not attractive places for many years. Often nothing was done except to clear them of trees and rectify the bounds, and they served a miscellaneous lot of uses which did not improve their appearance. As all the people were of one faith, the central common was of course the location of the house for religious worship. Other less noble and quite work-a-day things connected with the common life and necessities of the town gravitated there as well. Consequently besides the schools, churches and burying grounds, there were found in varying combinations, and located without any particular system as the need arose, stocks, pillories, whipping posts, sign posts, prisons, watch houses, Sabba-day houses, town pumps, Liberty poles, hayscales, tanneries, even pig pens, tradition says. One early and fortunately temporary decoration of the New Haven Green brings to mind the English custom of exposing in public places the heads of persons who had been put to death. In 1639 an Indian was executed and the head was "pittched upon a pole in the market place."

Schoolhouses seemed as fittingly placed there as meeting-houses, but not in modern eyes a burying ground. New Haven, however, was not alone in this use of the central square, also a custom inherited from England. Guilford, Madison, North Haven, West Haven had the same custom, while Milford's dead were buried in Mr. Prudden's garden (until 1675), not the sole example of this use of the minister's land. These commons were long used, even the burial part, as pastures for cattle and pigs, while geese roamed about at will. East Haven set out part of its green "for the first minister that shall settle with us, and they are to leave the spring clear, for a watering place for the cattle." Later the first minister, Jacob Hemingway, a youth who bargained thriftily at his settlement, desiring among other things "some consideration with respect to wood," petitioned "for a part of the green west to the spring where the burying place is." This was refused, and the town was led to vote "That the Green shall not be disposed of except it be for some public use, that it may be beneficial to the whole of the Proprietors." The Green was given to the town by the proprietors in 1797.

These open spaces, at first sometimes appropriated somewhat casually, were later allowed in many cases to decrease in area by neglect to prevent encroachments of one sort and another. As the greens were unfenced it was in fact hard to tell where they ended. The encroachments were often legitimate and done with the consent of the authorities. New Haven Green, besides the first church, to mention only one kind of build-

ing located on it, had two other churches later, Trinity and the North Church, at one time a fourth, the Methodist, and gave permission to the Baptists to build a fifth. Its appearance and value as a green, to the community today, can be imagined, if all the city's hundred or so churches, or even one representative of each denomination, were located on its surface.

Many of these greens in early days were in part at least low and swampy ground, for settlement in the neighborhood of such land had no terrors for our ancestors. That is the description of the green in Waterbury, Madison, West Haven, Milford, as well as New Haven. On the latter's green the Indians gathered alders for their arrows, and iris blossomed there as late as 1821. It was necessary to have a foot-bridge at the southeast corner in order to cross to the mill highway (Church Street). Towards the northeast corner were two causeways over the marsh, one for Mr. Davenport's private walk from his home to the meeting-house, and the other where Governor Eaton would enter. On the Waterbury Green in the early part of the nineteenth century it is said that boys could sail their boats in the hollows after a storm or skate in winter.

The greens were left in this state, with the various utilitarian additions for many years. Until a comparatively late date they are described as covered with bogs, hillocks, rocks, depressions and pond holes where stagnant water stood. Weeds and alder bushes were the principal vegetation. Cows, swine and geese used them for parade and pasture ground. Such unfenced, uncared for commons were covered with a net work of paths and cart tracks where people found it convenient to cross. As late as turnpike days the stage coaches from New Haven to Litchfield crossed the Greens diagonally, in Waterbury and New Haven. There was naturally some discontent when the roads were closed.

As the consciousness of their value to the communities grew, measures were taken to save the greens by sequestering them for public use. The action of East Haven has been noticed. Madison in 1826 sequestered the green for a "publick square and parade ground and for other public purposes, for all citizens of this society and others, to use and improve and enjoy." The ownership of the green is interesting as furnishing in some cases the only property remaining to the representatives of the original "proprietors," and as furnishing the only reason for keeping that body alive.

In some cases the commons received no care until after the Civil War, and in occasional instances even later, but in general the process of cleaning them up was begun early in the nineteenth century. Not much public money was to be spent, and it was one of the places where "patriotic gentlemen" were encouraged to volunteer their services and contribute their money. The possibility that women might do this was an idea that came after the development of women's clubs. Interesting in this connection is the formation of Village Improvement Societies and organizations of that sort, as the United Workers for Public Improvement organized in Guilford in 1874.

To put up fences seemed one of the immediate necessities. If there were cemeteries they were enclosed first and later the whole square. By 1775 there was a plain board fence painted red around the burying ground in New Haven, but it was allowed to get into a most neglected state. Lambert says that a rough stone fence was put up around the Milford burying ground, completed in 1756. Otherwise it was entirely neglected. Beginning in New Haven in 1800 the greens were gradually fenced with white railings, often paid for by private subscription, and later with iron fence paid for by tax. Milford Green was fenced 1854, Woodbridge 1865. The New Haven Green left open one road across it, Temple Street, which had iron gates kept shut part of the time. Rocks were removed and the ground leveled. Perhaps modern landscape gardening would have left some irregularities, but the level stretches of smooth grass with "an air of neatness and still retirement" form a more suitable surrounding for the white churches near by. There is an agreeable and satisfying logic in the method taken by Waterbury to level the green. Fourth of July, 1825, was celebrated by blasting out the rocks, with later "carting bees" to take them away and fill in the holes with sand.

The earliest example of care for trees on the greens is perhaps the order in Guilford in 1646 forbidding any one to cut down trees in front of the meeting-house. The year before New Haven had issued an opposite order, "that the market-place be forthwith cleared, and the wood carried to the watch-house, and there piled for the use and succor of the watch in cold weather." At about the time the commons were fenced and leveled tree-planting was begun, though Jared Eliot in 1760 mentions the "recent" planting of trees around the New Haven Green. Pleasant customs of tree planting on special occasions, have been formed in some of the towns, such as that followed in East Haven for a time at least. Trees have been presented by governors, congressmen, county commissioners, and prominent individuals, such as Paul Bartlett, the sculptor. Particularly interesting was an oak sent by President Roosevelt to mark the site of Lafayette's camp, planted on Arbor Day, 1908. In Woodbridge, Rev. S. B. Marvin on the Sunday preceding the first election after he came (1865) asked each man to plant a tree on the church green before casting his ballot. Some ninety trees were brought, and today there is a lively little grove near the church. New Haven had its famous elm on the corner of the Green, set out the day of Franklin's death, brought from Hamden Plains on the back of Jerry Allen, eccentric poet and pedagogue, and those set out by David Austin and James Hillhouse mostly from 1787-1796, with boys and girls helping by watering. In 1839, 150 maples and elms were set out by order of the Common Council. Wallingford about 1840 had an Ornamental Tree Society for systematic planting. Waterbury set out trees on the green in 1842, some in 1843, and a number in 1848 paid for by subscription.

The removal of cemeteries was desirable but presented a more difficult problem than that of removing natural encumbrances or old buildings. On the other hand was the consideration set forth in the lines, more truthful than poetic, by J. G. Percival:



LOOKING UP THE GREEN, GUILFORD



LOOKING DOWN THE GREEN, GUILFORD

"The burying yard—which since 'tis past its prime
To slow decay we without shame abandon,
For not a fence the sacred spot encloses,
Beneath whose turf, our fathers' dust reposes."

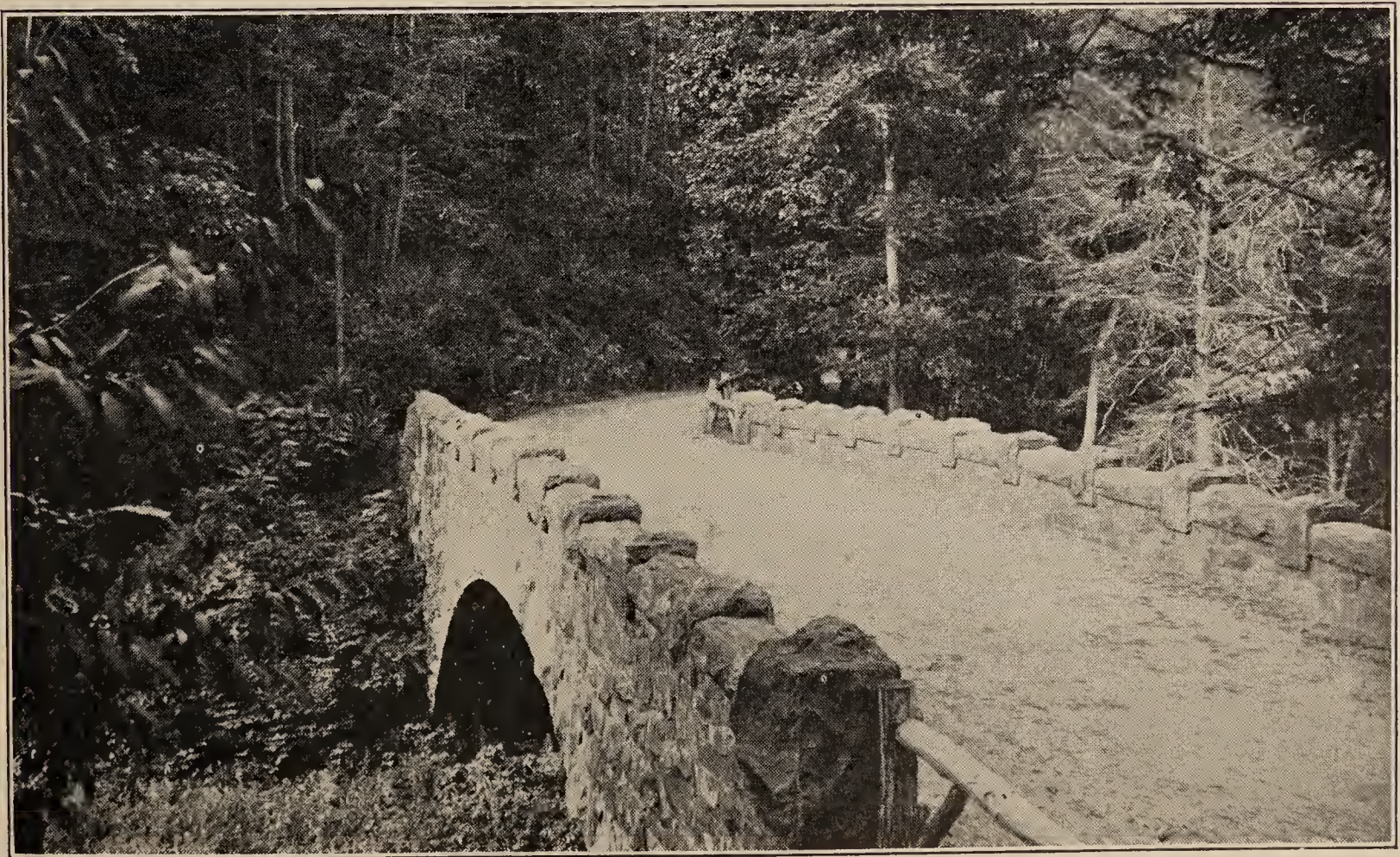
The cemeteries are described as over-run with bushes and briars, left open to cattle, and worse than neglected. President Dwight said of the New Haven burial ground on the green, that, situated "in the current of daily intercourse, it is rendered too familiar to the eye to have any beneficial effect on the heart." Of the Guilford Green he said that it, "like that in New Haven, is deformed by a burying ground; and to add to the deformity, is unenclosed. The graves are therefore trampled upon, and the monuments injured, both by men and cattle." Objections were overcome, and, as was said in the message of the mayor of Waterbury in 1891 when its first cemetery was moved to make Library Park, the ground was made into a "permanent blessing to the living, rather than a disgrace to the memory of the dead."

The story of the removal of the old burying ground in New Haven is worth repeating. As early as 1659 Governor Newman had first mentioned the desirability of doing this, but no action was taken over the suggestion. In 1796 James Hillhouse bought six acres of land on what was then the outskirts of the city, later adding first four and then eight more acres, for a new cemetery. Thirty-two persons were associated with him in the enterprise, at least to the extent of buying family lots, for this original idea was to be used in the cemetery. An old quit-claim deed (1833) has recently been discovered and recorded for one of these burial plots. The price was said to be \$5.50. These persons were incorporated as "The Proprietors of the New Burying Ground in New Haven." The first person was buried there in 1797. The old cemetery on the Green gradually fell into disuse, the last burial there being in 1812. In 1820 it was decided to remove the stones from the green. The city bought three acres from Mr. Hillhouse, "at a most enormous price," said the disapproving rector of Trinity Church, of the \$280 an acre paid. Part of it the city sold to Yale College, part it kept for strangers, part for persons of color, and part for use of the city. In 1821 began the process of removal of the stones from the green. A service was held, when Abraham Bishop made an address "replete with eloquent and impressive sentiments." The transfer was made with appropriate dignity, individuals having first been given the opportunity to do this for friends. More than 800 stones were moved, the oldest dated 1673. There had probably been many more burials there, and it is said that some stones had been used for buildings, even by the college, and one by a baker, as was shown by the marks on his bread. One stone was left, the Dixwell stone, and later a monument was put up there. About 1840 the new cemetery was enclosed with the present fence and wall, the cornerstone of the gateway laid in 1845. The city paid half the cost.



(Courtesy of New Haven Chamber of Commerce)

TROWBRIDGE DRIVE, EAST ROCK
PARK, NEW HAVEN



(Photograph by E. G. Wooster, New Haven)

TROWBRIDGE BRIDGE, EAST ROCK PARK

From the fact that it was laid out in a new manner, and from the distinguished individuals buried there it became one of the sights visitors must see. Lafayette went there on his brief stay to visit the graves of some Revolutionary soldiers; President Monroe was taken there. It is indeed filled with the graves of great men. "Obliterate the deeds of those who lie there—Whitney, Morse, Goodyear—with those of many others of distinguished merit and fame, and the progress of the entire world would be set back several decades."

Burials were made on the West Haven Green until about 1860; in North Haven the last one on the green was in 1882, but the new cemetery had been laid out many years before and the one on the green was neglected until 1881. The description of an old burying ground in Naugatuck might well apply to many, "grown over with a sort of detestable shrubbery, indicating total neglect on the part of the town and also of the descendants of those who sleep there. I have almost wondered why 'Father Time' whose scythe is always busy, would not have regard enough for the first harvest he had gathered there to cut the brush."

One modern form of monument, however, is found on many of the greens, those set up to the memory of soldiers of the Civil War and of the World War. Of the soldiers monuments, the one in North Branford, dedicated April, 1866, was the first in the United States. New Haven did not place its monument to the soldiers of the Civil War on the Green, but on East Rock. At the time of the dedication the city entertained illustrious guests—Generals Sherman and Sheridan, besides its own General Terry. The monument to the memory of the soldiers of the World War, however, is on the Green.

One English inheritance was not kept up, and indeed never really took root here, for people were too busy, that is, the formation of deer parks. Before 1750 there were one or two in the county. The General Court approved of them and passed measures for their protection, by laying fines for hunting or injuring deer within their bounds or for throwing down fences. One of these was the Nichols Park, started by James Nichols of Waterbury, who began buying land for it in 1742. He owned from the top of West Side Hill to the extreme north of Gaylord's Hill, besides some other land. But he did not keep it long, and began selling it in 1756. A Col. John Read also had a small deer park of ten or fifteen acres, probably about the same time. Jacob Wooster had a large park, consisting of 100 acres south of Quaker's Farm, enclosed about the middle of the eighteenth century. On one side was an overhanging rock, from which hunted deer would sometimes leap into the enclosure, to the disgust and chagrin of the hunters who could not follow it. Neither could they hunt a deer which escaped from the park. Jobamah Gunn, later a Tory implicated in the kidnapping of Chauncey Judd, and a man who wished to own large tracts of land, had such a park. There is tradition of another in the western part of the town of Waterbury, belonging to John Nichols, Yale 1773, and a set of young men who established a deer park and club house.



(Photograph by E. G. Wooster, New Haven)
IN THE SHADOW OF WEST ROCK



(Photograph by E. G. Wooster, New Haven)
ON WEST RIVER MEADOWS, EDGEWOOD PARK

In "Sachem's Wood" the poet Hillhouse said, referring to the change of name of his house on the outskirts of New Haven,—

"So farewell Highwood!—Highwood *Park*
O'ersteps the democratic mark."

Cities now own other tracts of land, parks in the real sense of the word, not greens or market places. Ideas as to the acquisition and use of public park lands by a community have developed. The first notion, even of the Greens, that they were for utilitarian purposes primarily has given way to changing ideas and conditions in other directions,—realization of the value of recreation and the spread of democracy. A statement of the mayor of New Haven in 1888 the 250th year of the life of the community, is worth quoting to show this. "Public parks, park avenues, and squares are, or should be, so located and maintained as to contribute equally to the pleasure and health of all classes of the community; to the laborer, workman and mechanic, as well as to the more favored residents of our city. New Haven Green was so admirably located by the founders of New Haven that it is enjoyed in summer by the poor as well as by the rich, the sick and the well alike."

Today, besides the definite and conscious use of public lands as places for public enjoyment, is the realization that in this way also they have a commercial value to the community, like a supply of pure water. Parks are mentioned in Chamber of Commerce pamphlets as assets, like manufacturing sites and harbor facilities. An utterance of another public official shows this side of the question. "Public pleasure grounds are destined speedily to become an important factor in the growth and prosperity of New Haven; their adornment should keep pace with its other municipal additions."

After the movement for neatness and decency of appearance and treatment had cleaned up the greens and commons, and fenced them off from animals and teams, there was a middle period before the present idea of their use developed. It was a period of education as to the appearance of these places such as is needed today by advertisers and automobile picnickers in the use of the roadsides. Though still used for certain public occasions, such as the reception of distinguished visitors, training the militia, exhibition of the musical achievements of school children, agricultural fairs, and Fourth of July celebrations, children and youth who came just to play were likely to be ordered off. Thus East Haven in 1876 voted "That every person who shall be found upon the public Green playing any game of Ball, shall be fined not less than ten dollars nor more than twenty-five for each offence. It shall be the duty of the acting Grand Juror to prosecute any violation of the above By-Law which may come to his notice." In 1858 because of trouble from college football games on the Green, a by-law was passed prohibiting all athletic games in the streets and squares of the city of New Haven.

There was a period in which the grass was considered in the light of a hay crop, the sale of which would help pay for the care of the enclosure



(Courtesy of New Haven Chamber of Commerce)

WINTER SCENE, NEW HAVEN



(Courtesy of New Haven Chamber of Commerce)

WINTER SCENE, EDGEWOOD PARK, NEW HAVEN

and relieve the pocketbooks of "patriotic gentlemen." In New Haven a rule in Mr. Lovell's Lancasterian school, held in the basement of a church on the Green, forbade the boys to play on the lower Green in recess, because the grass was sold by the town to pay part of the expense of the fence and to keep it in repair. Another source of revenue was from the pasturage there of horses and cattle, those from the poor-house as late as 1830. This pasturage was sold annually in May, on the State House steps to the highest bidder. It was said that the money to pay for a stone drain built along the green in Waterbury in 1830 came from charging \$1 each per season for pasturing cows on the green and adjacent streets. The regulations here remind one of our present day dog licenses, for the cows must be registered with the town clerk and wear a strap with the owner's name. In Guilford from 1853 to 1873 the grass was given to four citizens in return for re-fencing and caring for the green. After that time it was regularly sold at public auction until 1893. In East Haven in 1889 it was voted "That the hay from the Green be sold, and the benefit arising therefrom be expended for fertilizer for the Green."

About 1850 a further idea was forming in the public mind, that these open, orderly spaces, planted with trees, should be places where the community might find beauty and quiet out-of-doors. As population became concentrated in cities, the value of such resting and breathing places became more apparent. In the '80s a still further advance was made, to the idea of public playgrounds for children. The plan has extended until at present it includes all ages and classes, with municipal golf courses, tennis courts, and bathing beaches provided for adults. Certain definite areas are acquired and set aside for sports. It is even said that there should be such places within a quarter of a mile of every city child.

Obviously these two aims,—peaceful enjoyment of beautiful surroundings and participation in sports—are contradictory in practice, though based on the same fundamental principle of public pleasure and enjoyment. During the first years of this century has come about an adjustment of the two aims, and both needs are recognized as necessary to the public in the same degree as hospitals and orphan asylums. The modern idea of prevention rather than cure as the goal is given a new application, typified by the fact that today a green might conceivably be decorated with a band stand and a child's swing, but not with a burying ground or a pillory. The extent of the change is shown in reports of Park Commissioners, Recreation Boards, etc. The president of the New Haven Park Board on retiring after many years of service summed up present ideas, "What are parks useful for and what should they teach? Fresh air recreation and health; beauty and the spirit of order; real democracy where everything is for the use of all."

New Haven County is especially fortunate in the variety of its physical surface, for it embraces seaside as well as river and mountain areas, giving different forms of pleasure. Professor Brewer said, "there is almost every variety of feature, except glaciers and perpetual snow, which



VIEWS OF HUBBARD PARK, MERIDEN

a topographer is ever called upon to portray, and all within five miles of City Hall."

As the systems are worked out now, public lands of towns might be divided into groups, though of course any one piece of land might include all uses. There are first, the greens and city squares, including parkways in the middle of broad streets; these are used more or less, where their size and location permits, for all purposes, as would be natural from their geographical and historical position. Next are parks, properly so called, laid out with drives, walks, seats, fountains, flower beds and shrubbery. Here might be included rose gardens and bird sanctuaries. Finally are the recreation grounds, devoted exclusively to sports, with ball fields, bathing beaches, and children's playgrounds.

What are the achievements of New Haven County in equipment of this sort?

First is the acquisition of more than one green, as the population of the city spreads. The city of New Haven bought Wooster Square (4.66 acres) or the Lower or New Green, as it is sometimes called, in 1825 for \$6,000 from Abraham Bishop. This was the first land bought by the city since its purchase from the Indians. Wooster Square was then pasture land, where once a ploughing match was held, and like the Green was enclosed first with a wooden fence and later with iron railings. Individuals have planted trees and the Italian population of the city put up a statue of Columbus. York Square (1.02 acres) in another part of the city, now done away with, or reduced to a centre parkway, in the interests of traffic, illustrated to a certain degree another English idea. It was formed like many squares in London, Russell Square for instance, by several gentlemen who built homes around it, but they did not follow the English fashion further and keep it locked. Trowbridge and Jocelyn Squares are interesting for a different reason. They were opened up by Mr. Jocelyn in connection with land speculation, and real estate operations, to popularize the sections, in 1835-6. Trowbridge Square was originally called Spireworth for a peculiar kind of grass growing there.

New Haven now has more than fifty acres in more than a dozen of these city squares, ranging from little areas of a few feet, perhaps a triangle where streets come together, to the sixteen acres of the central Green. Location within the city limits gives these fifty acres an assessed value (1928) of \$11,697,284.

New Haven has also eighteen parks, over 1,600 acres in extent. The largest and most famous are the two mountain parks, East and West Rocks, of 446.14 and 286.55 acres respectively, and each with a small companion, Pine and Mill Rocks. East Rock Park is the oldest of these, having been established in 1880 by charter from the Legislature. Eight parks were established in 1890,—Beaver, Clinton, Edgewood, Fort Wooster, Nathan Hale, Quinnipiac, Waterside, Bay View, and West Rock in 1891. The newest is Bishop Woods, given in 1928. War Memorial Park will be an enlargement of Edgewood Park.



(Photograph by E. G. Wooster, New Haven)

WHITNEY VALLEY FROM EAST ROCK



(Courtesy of New Haven Chamber of Commerce)

MUNICIPAL BATHING BEACH, LIGHTHOUSE POINT, NEW HAVEN

The story of the gradual acquisition of these parks and their development, by gift and purchase, is interesting, 209 acres in East Rock Park for instance, having been bought from 125 different parties, in purchases of varying sizes. Much was given,—20 acres by Yale, 50 by Mr. John W. Bishop, 17 from five other donors. Then, too, many parks have historical associations,—Lighthouse Point, with an old lighthouse 90 feet high, built in 1740, and the park the scene of a fight with the British in 1779; West Rock with Judges Cave; Nathan Hale Park, the old Fort Hale of the two wars with England, and site of earlier Black Rock fort; Fort Wooster on Beacon Hill with similar associations; Edgewood, the first public ground in the western part of the city. East Rock, too, has its romantic story of a hermit who lived there in a cabin several years, his only companions a few sheep and goats. He occasionally peddled roots and herbs in the city, brought in a little cart drawn by a goat. His story was buried with him in 1823, but it is of course tradition that he retired to this solitude suffering “the pangs of despised love.” The plan for the development of East Rock Park was made by Donald G. Mitchell (Ik Marvel) and the names of drives perpetuate the memory of their donors.

Besides its city squares, Centre Square, Union Square, Library Park and small areas at the junction of streets, Waterbury has several parks, the total amount of land in these various parks and squares a little over 260 acres, the smallest one-tenth of an acre and the largest seventy acres, eighteen and a half in the city area. The Park Department has estimated that this is one acre to every 413 persons. The largest parks are the memorials, Fulton, Hamilton, Chase and Goss. Proprietors Common, partly a gift, named in memory of the first settlers might be added to this list. These parks too have their historic spots, a Civil War Recruiting Station was in Fulton Park, and an old mill pond in Hamilton Park.

Meriden has several public parks, all acquired since 1883. City Park, near the centre was not an old green or common, but a square formed later. Brookside Park was a gift to the city, with Harbor Brook flowing through it; Bradley Park; Hubbard Park, given by Walter Hubbard and including the Hanging Hills, with wonderful scenery, a favorite haunt of the poet Percival. Other towns have had gifts of land for parks,—Seymour with East Side Park from Carlos French, Milford with land from Clark Wilcox, for instance.

The development of systems of public parks and squares, whose resources and adornment have of course only been touched on, necessitated provision in the city governments for their care. Charters have been amended to form Park Departments, functioning with Fire, Police and other departments of the city governments.

To these parks should be added the State Parks in the county,—Hammonasset, Sleeping Giant Park, Wharton Brook, West Peak and part of Mattatuck Forest, with many hundreds of acres of mountain and sea shore for the public to enjoy.

But more has been done than to buy the land and lay it out with walks and drives. Careful provision is made for its enjoyment in all kinds of



(Courtesy of Waterbury Chamber of Commerce)

ROCK GARDEN, FULTON PARK, WATERBURY



(Courtesy of New Haven Chamber of Commerce)

PARDEE ROSE GARDENS, NEW HAVEN

ways,—gardens of various kinds, green houses, zoos. One of the most recent movements is the establishment of a Recreation Commission as part of the city government, carrying out programs as definite as those of any department of the city. New Haven has such a commission, with a supervisor of playgrounds, and thirteen of the parks have recreational facilities. There are 21 baseball diamonds, 14 tennis courts, a city golf course of 140 acres, 17 football fields, 15 soccer fields, 3 for field hockey, 3 running tracks, 3 bathing beaches, and a large collection of apparatus such as swings. The Recreation Commission offers a great variety of activities. Besides those indicated by the facilities mentioned there are community singing, Block dances, dramatics and pageantry, picnic equipment, handicraft. As a recent (1929) report stated, "When fully organized a total of 28 different activities will be offered to the public during the year."

New Haven is not alone in this. Waterbury has 9 supervised playgrounds, 8 baseball fields, 15 tennis courts, 2 football fields, 1 soccer field, 2 hockey rinks, 2 swimming pools, 3 skating rinks, 3 recreation houses, 2 dance floors, 10 quoit courts, a running track and gymnasium.

The work that is being done throughout the county is only indicated by this account, but it will show, to use the words of a recent report, that "We have passed the experimental stage of development. The work is no longer new to the city and has become an indispensable part of our city life." The other phase of the movement is touched on also in the same report. "The municipal playground * * * serves people of all ages, it is open at all times, it requires no group affiliation as a condition to admittance, it specializes in the leisure time problem and does not regard it as a side issue."

This is the point reached in the development of equipment and organization from the town commons, and the provision in the earliest days that "the souldiers have a good pair of hilts to play at cudgels with, that they exercise themselves in playing at backsword, that they learne how to handle their weapons for the defence of themselves and the offenc of their enemies; and that, in time of their vacancy, they doe exercise themselves in running, wrastling, leaping and the like manly exercises." For the encouragement of the soldiers in their military exercises there was offered a "prise of not more than five shillings value for shooting at a marke, three times in a yeare."

An entire change not only in the philosophy of life, but in conditions of living, is implied in another statement from the same report of the Recreation Commission, "Dependency often necessitates early discontinuance of schooling, thus depriving the boy and girl of the play inheritance of childhood. The prevalence of dependency in a neighborhood usually indicates the need of playgrounds and for the provision of evening as well as day time activities."

It might be added that it has been necessary to educate the public as to the proper use of this equipment. The first meeting-houses were

sometimes built with wood taken from the public green, and it was natural perhaps to have the idea that public land was a convenient source for winter firewood, sand, gravel, or free cow pasture. A later manifestation of this idea is that it is a free source of floral decorations.

Once more John Davenport's aims are brought to mind, and the "free" school for the breeding up of hopeful youth to be of uses in church and state. Is not the following quotation from a report of 1928 his thought in modern dress? "The general aim of this department is to promote and supervise play activities which are beneficial for the development of future citizens. The specific aims of this department are the development of physical, moral and social qualities necessary for worthy citizenship.

* * * This department is not limited by age, sex, race, creed, locality or by special interest."



CHAPTER IV

PROTECTION OF HEALTH—PHYSICIANS

Gradual education of the public in ways of community living led to the development in the 19th century of a Board of Health as part of the organization of public duties. It is "increasingly difficult to say where the line should be drawn in health work between public and private health." The idea of such a body as a permanent institution was not conceived of by people in colonial times. The first measures in regard to public health were definite action on specific matters, such as smallpox. The earliest and for a time the only health legislation in this region were measures to prevent the spread of this disease from place to place. Laws were passed as early as 1666 regulating landing from suspected vessels which came into the harbor, and visits from "pedlars, hawkers, and petty chapmen." Some of the measures against the latter are interesting for several reasons. July, 1721 the following regulation was made by the colony legislature. "Whereas there is great danger that the smallpox may be brought into the colony by pedlars in their packs and fardels, who oftentimes carry from house to house and tender for sale such goods as may convey the infection," assistants and justices were empowered to seize the packs. In spite of this it was found that "evil minded persons had carried goods from town to town, and had vended them in many places of this colony to the great hazard of his Majesty's good subjects." The Legislature proceeded therefore to lay a fine of £10 for such peddling, one half to go to the county and the other half to the person who should prosecute to effect. The cases were to be tried in the county court and the law to be in force for three years.

However there were other ways of spreading the disease. When a terrible epidemic broke out in Cheshire in 1732, people were curious to see what the sick looked like and stood at the doors and windows until they were forbidden. It might be added that after this epidemic the General Assembly paid out £50 from the treasury for the relief of sundry families which were "greatly distressed with the smallpox." The deacons with the advice of the minister were to administer it.

In the 18th century when people were buried on the Green in New Haven, the burials of persons who died of smallpox took place at midnight, the corpse wrapped in tarred sail cloth, those in charge of such things preceding and following the corpse with lighted lanterns to warn all to keep away. President Stiles said however that when "the amicable and

ingenious Miss Lucy Green (daughter of the printer Thomas Green) died of smallpox (inoculation) in 1785, there was a numerous funeral of those who had had the disease."

Unfortunate, though not fatal results, of the disease are referred to, with pious resignation by a rival, in the "Progress of Dulness":

"Poor Coelia ventured to the place;
The smallpox quite has spoiled her face;
A sad affair, we all confest;
But Providence knows what is best."

Later the practice of inoculation began with the use of a smallpox virus. This process had to be regulated by law since the disease could be spread by persons being inoculated. Permission therefore had to be obtained to establish one of the pock-houses or hospitals as they were called. Thus in Waterbury soon after 1780 the town gave permission for all males over ten years of age, during a period of 48 days, to undergo inoculation. The same permission was given all persons on the east and west sides of the great "Continental Road." This was the road over which the armies passed so often during the Revolution, and the people near it were consequently particularly exposed to diseases. It may be said, by the way, that this much dreaded disease is said to have "more effectually retarded the entering into the service (Revolutionary) than any other prospect of danger or fear of the enemy." This particular inoculation "drive" in Waterbury was put under the charge of a committee, of which Rev. Mark Leavenworth who had preached the need of reform in medical matters was made a member.

Many similar examples might be given but a few will suffice. In 1793 three physicians in Derby petitioned the town meeting for this purpose. The latter appointed a committee to make the rules under which the hospital should be conducted, and to inspect it. Four years later liberty was granted twenty-six persons in the same town to be inoculated, if they had it done at a certain place and time. They and the physicians must give bonds, and the procedure was to be under the oversight of the selectmen. The next year (1798) three physicians were given the same privilege.

Milford in 1800 passed the following vote, given in Lambert. "Voted that the privilege of setting up the 'Inoculation for the smallpox' and building a house for that purpose be and is granted to David B. Ingersoll, of Milford, and his heirs and assigns, under the control and direction of the Civil Authority and Selectmen of said town, he to provide bed and bedding, and to admit into said house all persons infected for a reasonable reward, and is to have three shillings for every person admitted to inoculation; the person to have choice of physicians." Such permissions were given physicians in Waterbury in 1778, 1782, 1784 and 1803; in Derby in 1793, 1797; in Meriden about the same time. An "enoculation" hospital was refused in Hamden in 1788. The keeping of these houses was a considerable source of income to some physicians, according to Dr.

Welch. Joel Root, whose name appeared frequently in business affairs in New Haven wrote: "Neither my wife nor any of the children had been secured against the smallpox which prevailed at that time (1801). It was thought best that they should be, before removing to New Haven, as they would there be more exposed to take that disease. Accordingly in the spring of 1800, I put my wife and seven daughters under the care of Dr. Bronson of Middlebury, New Haven County, who carried them all, by the aid of Providence, safely through the disease. This was done against the remonstrance of all my friends, and the hand of Providence was doubtless in it, as it proved a very timely escape from their all having the disease the natural way, as the smallpox broke out in our immediate neighborhood. In the fall of that year our family were all exposed, as the disease was communicated at a small party held at our house on the evening of Thanksgiving Day, by a young girl who had just come out of the Pest house without having been thoroughly cleansed. So we beheld the special Providence and mercy of God to us in this event."

S. G. Goodrich (Peter Parley) tells of one occasion on which his father's house was converted into a hospital for this purpose, when his uncle and aunt added their children to the dozen or so shut in to be inoculated. The lane on which the house stood was fenced off and a flag put up with the words, "Small Pox."

Vaccination was introduced soon after 1800. One of the first to experiment with it was Dr. Insign Hough of Meriden, who with another physician induced two men to try it.

There were epidemics like the Great Sickness in Waterbury in 1712, and again in 1749; epidemics of typhoid fever, diminishing as sewers were built; and much consumption. In 1794 an epidemic of yellow fever, in New Haven, led to much discussion and regulations. Noah Webster thought the epidemic had a local origin and wrote a pamphlet on the subject, in which he laid it to damaged fish thrown from the shore into the harbor, and to the bad state of many wells. This pamphlet gives a startling picture of some conditions permitted in the city. Every kind of thing he said was thrown into the creek that ran along Union Street,—dead cats and dogs, decayed vegetables, so that at one time people in the neighborhood had to keep their windows shut. In fact sanitary conditions throughout the city seem to have been quite Elizabethan.

The result of the epidemic was that the selectmen appointed a committee to examine the places where there were sick persons and clean them up. "So far as the author [C. E. A. Winslow] is aware this is not only the first record of a sanitary survey in Connecticut but also the first recognition in the state of general sanitation as a factor in the control of epidemic disease." As a result of this experience an act was passed in 1795 empowering selectmen of towns at the time of disease to make specific regulations for the protection of public health. In 1805 an act was passed that the civil authority and the selectmen were to be a Board of Health. Their powers were broad on paper, but they were unwieldy bodies.

In New Haven a Board of Health was organized in 1806, composed of sixty members. It met twice a year and appointed a Health Committee, of which Noah Webster and Isaac Tomlinson were members, but little was done. A health officer was appointed. This was the arrangement until a Board of Health was organized as a branch of the city government in 1872, New Haven apparently one of the first cities to have such a department. Two of its members were on the State Board of Health, Professor Brewer and Dr. Lindsley, and the work of these men and of Dr. J. H. Townsend was noteworthy. For many years the Board complained that it was not given proper financial support to enable it to carry out its work of prevention and inspection. The city, said an official comment on its activities in 1879, was "the first in the state to organize a local Board of Health under special charter, as a department of the municipal government. This department is as yet new, and laboring under all the disadvantages which beset a new thing, but its results are seen in carefully compared vital statistics, in a low death rate, and in our diminution of contagious and epidemic diseases."

A report of the Board itself in 1888, New Haven's anniversary year, said, "The public health has come to be a controlling factor in the growth and prosperity of a place. * * * A serious epidemic is a great calamity, but a temporary one. A bad reputation for healthfulness is a permanent bar to prosperous growth. * * * There are many ways in which the public health of a city is related to its welfare. * * * The time has come when the health officer should devote his whole time to his office, as much as the Chief of Police, or the City Engineer. * * * It has come to be so fully recognized that dirty streets and filthy surroundings depress the moral tone of a city, or of a district in a city, that it has passed into a proverb that 'Cleanliness is next to godliness.'" "We have laws," said another report, "to see that the butcher's scales are correct, but practically no means of seeing that the meat he weighs is wholesome."

The first city charter of Waterbury constituted the Common Council a Board of Health, with authority to appoint a committee having such powers as they thought proper. Such a committee was accordingly appointed, and 1856 passed a by-law for removing unhealthful nuisances and cleaning streets and buildings. The charter of 1871 made no provision for health officers, but said in general that the Common Council should have power to take measures for the health of the city and to prevent and abate nuisances. (The *town* of Waterbury had a Board of Health, which took some action at the time of a smallpox scare in 1873). Smallpox scares in 1873, 1882, and 1885 led to the creation of a city Board of Health, with authority to appoint a health officer and a sanitary inspector.

In 1893 the Legislature created a group of county health officers, (who must be lawyers). They were appointed by the judges of the Superior Court, primarily to act as prosecuting officers, but were also in turn to appoint local health officers. The activities of a modern Board of Health

cover a wide range,—milk and food inspection, with condemnation of unsuitable food; medical work in schools, with school doctors, nurses and dentists; bacteriological work; sanitary inspection; preventive work, as in tuberculosis. “The new public health” said a speaker before the Connecticut State Medical Society, “will not only point out what should be done for the individual, but will insist that whatever is needed *is* done. In other words, the new public health will more and more mean socialized medicine. Its keynote will be greater medical efficiency—the constant application of preventive measures on the part of all the medical profession, rather than the application of preventive measures in the mass by a limited number of doctors, called health officials.

“This means radical changes in the entire field of medicine. It means a medical revolution.”

A few figures from the last report of the New Haven Board of Health will give an idea of the extent of the work of a modern public health organization. The figures are simply those from one phase of the work of the Board, that done in the schools. “The two school physicians made nearly 12,000 medical examinations for school children as a result of which over 4,000 defects were pointed out. Over 4,000 children were given protection from Diphtheria by inoculations of toxin-antitoxin. * * * The four dentists worked in the lower grades of every school in the city during the year. They filled nearly 19,000 teeth and extracted over 11,000 as well as doing a large number of prophylactic treatments. The five dental hygienists cleaned the teeth of nearly 12,000 pupils. * * * These (school) Nurses assisted the School Physician with the physical examinations * * * and sent letters home to notify 4,000 parents of physical defects found. When no response came from letters sent home the Nurses visited the parents to explain and urge corrections. The result was that 8,350 visits were made to homes and 891 children had diseased tonsils and adenoids removed. Six hundred and eighteen children were examined by eye specialist either at the dispensary or in their private offices and 511 of these were fitted to glasses to correct defective vision.” It is said that New Haven has been a pioneer in the development of medical inspection of schools.

New Haven County is supplied with eight hospitals,—three in New Haven; one in Meriden; two in Waterbury; one in Derby; and one in Milford. 1,675 patients can be treated at once in these hospitals, and 43,312 were cared for in 1928. For tuberculous patients there is the William Wirt Winchester Hospital, and the camp for tuberculous children; the Gaylord Farm sanatorium in Wallingford, both hospitals started by private gifts; the Meriden State Tuberculous Sanatorium (Undercliff).

“New England,” said President Dwight, “is the healthiest country in the United States; and probably inferior in this respect to few in the world;” This might seem a discouraging field for members of the medical profession, but in another place he gave a respectable list of the principal diseases. These were “the Dysentery; the Typhus, Bilious, Remit-

tent, and Scarlet Fevers; the Pleurisy, the Peripneumony; the Croup, or Angina Trachealis; the Cholera Infantum; the Chronic Rheumatism; and the Pulmonary Consumption. The Gout is rare, and the Stone almost unknown." Dr. Welch says that in the eighteenth century at least 224 graduates of Yale College practised medicine.

Whatever conditions were at the time of President Dwight, it would seem that in the earliest days living in cellars and huts and often in close proximity to swamps, would have caused great need for doctors. The arrival of the colonists in New Haven in the spring instead of at the beginning of winter, as at Plymouth, prevented any great loss of life at the outset, as in some of the other colonies. The unfortunate effect of conditions on the health of the Wigglesworth family is mentioned in another connection.

In spite of the completeness of their equipment in most respects, the first settlers came unprovided with a physician, just as they had come without a military leader. The latter, in the person of Capt. Nathaniel Turner, was more easily obtained than the former. Several men are mentioned in the early days as doctors, but none of them was both permanent and satisfactory. The doctor was at first in New Haven a quasi-town official.

Nicholas Augur, a surgeon and physician in New Haven was mentioned rather inauspiciously in 1644 as being fined 5s for participation in a drunken and disorderly meeting, and more suitably at another time as freed from "watching" because of his profession as a medical man. His appearance in the town records otherwise was in connection with his complaints that he was not paid for his professional services. In 1650 he wanted pay for having given physicke to Mr. Malbon's servant, and to a man bitten by a rattlesnake. Seven years later he even threatened to leave because people did not pay him. The next year there was a "great sickness" and again he complained of failure of his patients to pay their bills. The Court sympathetically agreed that it was "an act of unrighteousness." His "physicke" was now used up and, through lack of money, he was unable to renew the supply. His career was ended by a ship wreck in 1676 on a "dismal, doleful, rocky island," where he died in a few weeks. The supply of drugs which he had managed in some way to replenish, was sold by his sister to the town of Guilford, and delivered to Joseph Eliot for the town's use. The drugs were more fortunate financially than Mr. Augur, for the town voted unanimously to pay for them by a rate. Perhaps this town ownership explains a vote passed three or four years later, "John Chittenden and Joseph Dudley were chosen and appointed to get some poyson of Mr. Eliot and take his directions of it for the poysoning of the Woalfes."

The name of a Mr. Thomas Pell appeared occasionally in the New Haven records as a physician. He had been a surgeon in the Pequot War (1637), and was freed from watching in New Haven because of his profession. One of the occasions on which his name occurs in the records

as a medical man is his testimony in a case of damages as to whether an ox that had been used by another than its owner died from overwork or from natural causes. But, whatever his qualifications, he left soon after 1660.

A Dutch merchant, William Westerhouse, who had come to New Haven to live and had married the widow of Captain Turner, had probably a similar amount of medical skill. He was further made welcome in the town because of his knowledge of medicine. This was perhaps not very large, and his usefulness must have been hampered by the fact that he needed an interpreter. It was sufficient however to give him what we might call benefit of medicine, that is, he was freed from watching.

A very famous man, John Winthrop, Jr., also came to New Haven to live for two or three years after 1655, in connection with his interest in the Iron Work in East Haven. Many hoped he would stay, for among his attainments was the possession of considerable medical skill. He had a "sovereign remedy for the ague" which had been sent him from London by none other than Sir Kenelm Digby, and a favorite combination of his own called "rubila." John Davenport regarded this with great favor, but even he could not always get his friends to take a second dose. Mrs. Davenport had a supply of this which she gave out to sick people in Winthrop's absence. The extent of Winthrop's fame is shown by the case of a woman who came to New Haven from Westchester to get him to treat her lame child. She hired a house, which for a stranger was contrary to town regulations, and was allowed to stay only because two men obligingly and sympathetically furnished security for her. The connection of such a man as Winthrop with the practice of medicine was of great value in giving dignity to a profession, which was followed by men like Nicholas Augur, or as one of several occupations.

After Mr. Pell left an attempt was made by the town authorities to get another doctor than Mr. Augur. A Frenchman, Mr. Chais, was induced to settle in New Haven. He had the prestige of having studied in Holland and England, and of having received a certificate from a foreign university. Various inducements were offered, including a furnished house, £10 in money, some provisions, and later £25 for "things necessary to his calling." His charges and demands were so high, even after he had been officially labored with by the authorities to reduce them, that the people were soon willing to let him go.

There were several midwives who received favors such as abatement of taxes, and one or two men with a smattering at least of knowledge. One of these, Mr. Besthup, passing through town on his way to the Dutch, was induced to become a temporary inhabitant. Another, John Brockett, acted as "chirurgion" in King Philip's War, when he was appointed to go to New London to take care of and assist in dressing the wounded men, for which he was given sixteen shillings a week. The Court was not impressed with his medical equipment enough to free him from watching and warding, when he "propounded" it, as it had done Mr. Pell and Mr. Augur.

After Mr. Augur was shipwrecked in 1676, New Haven was without any physician until 1688. The town then invited a Dr. Richard Williams, a "licensed" physician from Hartford, that is one who had been examined and approved by the General Court. Nothing much is known of him, except his refusal because of his profession to act as constable, and the attempts of the town to get him to pay the usual fine for such refusal.

Dependence was placed on doctors from some of the other towns, whose practice included the surrounding country, and in fact until about 1800 some of the most famous physicians lived in the smaller towns. One of the most important in the early days was that stormy and choleric character, Dr. Bryan Rossiter, who came to Guilford from Windsor in 1651. He bought the estate of one of Guilford's leading inhabitants, Mr. Samuel Desborough, and was admitted as a planter. He had probably received his medical education in England, and soon had a very large practice which extended all over the colony. He performed the first autopsy ever made in Connecticut, under conditions which illustrate the times. He was called on to hold a post mortem examination to see whether a child died because it was bewitched, and made the decision that its condition was supernatural. He too was freed from watching as a "phytitian in practice," but his claims for other exemptions on this ground got him into trouble when he refused to pay rates for himself and his horse. He was arrested and tried, but the case became involved with his political conflicts with Governor Leete. There may have been professional reasons also, as Governor Leete asked Governor Winthrop for some of his "phisick."

Other men whose practice extended into New Haven County were Dr. Lord, who was licensed in Connecticut in 1652; and Gershom Bulkeley at a little later period. Dr. James Hurlburt (Berlin) born 1717, had nearly all the practice in the surrounding twenty miles, but considered the provision of a "square bottle of rum" a preliminary necessity to be attended to by the family of the patient.

Dr. Isaac Hall (1714-1781) of Meriden had a wide practice outside his own town. Unlike some physicians of the time, he was described on his tombstone as having "departed this Life in the Faith and Hope of the Gospel." Dr. Hall was born in the village of Wallingford, but by 1758 owned land in Meriden in Dog's Misery. His account book contained records of the bleeding of patients and of "burning a cancer." The inventory of his estate included "Books on Physicke £18-2-0, and Medicines and bottles £20-0-7," an advance on another early doctor's equipment of one "bone-set book, 2s." Dr. Hall charged one shilling for a visit in Meriden. Fees for visits outside included travel to the patient and varied according to the distance.

Inducements to settle in a town were sometimes offered doctors, just as to other useful and necessary citizens,—millers, schoolmasters, and ministers. This has been seen in New Haven in the case of the French doctor, but less generous terms were given Dr. Williams, his successor, who received only £8 for his house rent for five years. But he probably had no foreign degree.

In 1661 Dr. Daniel Porter of Farmington, surgeon-general of the colony, was paid his yearly salary out of the public treasury, and was given 100 acres of land, which he took up in Wallingford. In 1696 some of the inhabitants of Derby agreed to give Josiah Baldwin, physician, a home-
stead of three or four acres; in 1714 in order to encourage Dr. Ephraim Warner to return to Waterbury the town, after a "Great sickness" when twenty-one people of the small settlement died, voted to "grant him the use of the school land for three years," and later ten acres of land in the "sequester" if he would stay four years. He was made captain of the train band in 1722.

Physicians however were rated like every one else, and they were not necessarily, as professional men, given the first seats in the meeting-house. Waterbury put "Dr. Warner into the second pew," and the town of Derby voted "Doct. Durand and Mr. John Davis in the third of these seats and their wives in the same order." Dr. Durand came to Derby in 1685. Bradley's MS. History says that he was Derby's first physician, and that he remained there until he died forty years later. He lived in Edward Wooster's house awhile, and then in Brownie Castle on Derby Hill (built 1686, probably the oldest house in town). The sons of doctors had no special rank in college. All this indicates that the practitioners of medicine had not gained a high position as professional men.

Among other local doctors was Jasper Gunn who practiced in Milford very early. He came from Hartford after 1657, and was also a school-teacher. Dr. John Fisk was licensed there in 1695, and Dr. Nathaniel Wade in New Haven at the same time. The latter was husband of one of Davenport's granddaughters and was vouched for by five clergymen, of whom James Pierpont was one. Peter Talman, a physician, was admitted planter in Guilford in 1683-84. Mr. John Hulls was in Derby in 1668 and in Wallingford in 1687. His son Benjamin and his grandson Jeremiah were also doctors. In fact it was a family of doctors, and later some of its members were noted tin peddlers. General Andrew Hull (as the name came to be spelled after much vacillation) belonged to this family.

The first physician to live in Meriden was Dr. Ebenezer Cooper, but nothing much is known of him. Soon after 1720 he bought a farm and before 1740 had built a house. He engaged in other land transactions, but when he died in 1742 his estate was insolvent and his widow was given permission to sell some land. The inventory contained among other things "sundry bottles; phials and apothecary things; a lignum-vitae mortar & pestle: I pr small scales, box and weights: 3 sieves: 3 Lances and glasses." The name of the second Meriden physician, Dr. William Hough, appears on the records in connection with the Golden Parlour Mine on his farm more frequently than in connection with his profession.

New Haven County had a few distinguished examples of those men, both ministers and doctors, who represented one stage in the history of

medicine. Their work is given a good description in the epitaph of a native of Wallingford, Benjamin Doolittle, Yale 1716, physician and surgeon as well as pastor, who practiced both professions in Massachusetts.

“Blessed with good intellectual parts
Well skilled in two important arts,
Nobly he filled the double station
Both of preacher and physician.
To cure Man’s sicknesses and sins,
He took unwearied care and pains;
And strove to make his patient whole
Throughout, in body and in soul.”

James Pierpont in New Haven was spoken of as “a great blessing as a physician,” and Mr. Eells of Branford practiced to a certain extent. Rev. Joseph Eliot of Guilford was another distinguished example, though somewhat overshadowed by his more famous son. In 1684 there was a great sickness in the town, and he was summoned home from Hartford where he was making a visit.

Jared Eliot, the son, born in Guilford in 1685 was the most famous of the clerical physicians in this region, and the first graduate of Yale College to practice medicine. He was eminent in both professions. After he was graduated from Yale, 1706, he taught the school in Guilford for a year, and though he lived in Killingworth after that, the successor as minister to Abraham Pierson, first rector of Yale College, he may be included in this account, because of his birth in Guilford, his connection with Yale, the extent of his practice, and his work in training physicians. He was very versatile, possessing skill also as a botanist, chemist, and scientific agriculturalist. He owned several large farms in different parts of the colony, and left an estate valued at upwards of £1,800. In agricultural matters he devised various ways of draining swamps; introduced chicory; the white mulberry and the silk worm into Connecticut; and was apparently the first to use an agricultural machine, a seed and fertilizer drill. He wrote an “Essay on Field Husbandry in New England” published separately in six numbers 1748-1759, and collected in 1760. This was on scientific agriculture, with accounts of his experiments on his Guilford farm and it had great influence on farming in America.

He received the unprecedented honor of unanimous election to the Royal Society in 1756, the first citizen of the colonies to become a member of that society. He also received a gold medal from the London Society of Arts (1762) for his work, “The Art of Making Very Good if not the Best Iron from Black Sea Sand.” He was widely consulted as a physician, frequently visiting every county of Connecticut, and often called to Boston and Newport. In medicine he was especially interested in dropsy, and skilful in its treatment. For this he compounded a medicine with a long Latin name of 58 letters, having as principal constituents myrrh, gentian and ground glass, to be given it was reported “until there would

be felt in the stomach a severe pungent pain and an universal shock, something like an electric stroke."

He was the first graduate of Yale to become a Trustee, and was one of the two men who induced Bishop Berkeley to give benefactions to Yale. He himself left a legacy of £10, which began the Library Fund. An Old Light in religious beliefs, he opposed the plan of a separate college church. Benjamin Franklin praised his stories "told with so much propriety and humor," and his pastor said that perhaps no man in his day slept so little or did so much. It is said that for forty years "he never omitted preaching either at home or abroad, on the Lord's day." In 1763 the funeral sermon preached by Rev. Thomas Ruggles, Jr., was printed, "The Death of Great, Good, and Useful Men Lamented." It is interesting that his son-in-law was also a physician, and followed in his footsteps in other respects by inventing a plow for which he received a medal from England.

Warham Mather was another of these men with more than one profession. He came to New Haven about 1705. In fact he fitted into three professions, for he was a preacher, had studied medicine, and also was justice of the peace and of the quorum, and judge of the county court. He sent continually by Capt. Francis Browne for medicine. He came to New Haven because his wife was one of Davenport's granddaughters, and he lived in Davenport's house.

A later example of men who were trained in both professions was Dr. Aeneas Munson (1734-1826) belonging to a family that had been identified with New Haven since 1640. He studied divinity and was licensed to preach but for various reasons was not fitted for that profession, and turned to the study of medicine. He was of the class of 1753 at Yale and served in the French war. Benjamin Trumbull in his diary speaks of "Sir Eneas Munson's" preaching in college Hall during his Freshman year. He began to practice in 1760, but got his degree of M. D. from the Medical Society in 1794.

Early physicians engaged in many occupations other than the ministry. Nicholas Augur carried on an extensive trade with Boston; Thomas Pell was an attorney and tradesman; Jasper Gunn mended pots and kettles, dealt in iron ware, and was miller, school-teacher and attorney; John Brockett and Dr. Bryan Rossiter were surveyors. Josiah Baldwin of Derby beat the drum for the town meetings; Dr. Hull was a great builder, and put up the parsonage and the mill, two or three buildings for himself and his sons, and was on the building committee for the meeting-house, and probably chief director. Dr. Ephraim Warner bought and sold land, and held many offices, selectman, school committeeman, town collector and deputy to the General Court. Dr. Daniel Porter 2d was a land surveyor, and also held many offices.

The Porter family had as remarkable a list of doctors among its members as the Hulls or Hull family, or some families of ministers, such as the Robbins family. There were twelve doctors in the Porter family in six generations, beginning with Daniel Porter the first who was licensed by

the General Court in 1654, and ending with Daniel the fifth who died in 1845. Most of them lived in Waterbury. There was a Gould family in Branford which had a representative in the profession for four generations. Dr. Insign Hough (1746-1813) and his successor Dr. Isaac Hough were famous as tavern keepers, a most respectable occupation. Stephen Munson, born in New Haven 1730, was College Butler at Yale 1782-1785, practiced medicine in North Haven for ten years, kept a tavern there, and was deputy sheriff and jailer. Joseph Darling, Yale 1777, who studied medicine and was a member of the Connecticut Medical Society in 1792 kept a grocery store which was later changed to drugs. He built a grand house, which was put up by Ithiel Town at a cost of \$10,000. Dr. Jared Potter of Wallingford sold "Rum, brandy, coffee, tea, pepper, indigo, nails, etc.," and "American manufactured steel."

Until the formation of the Yale Medical School all the training most students received was from neighboring physicians, for though there were schools they were too far away in the existing conditions for most students. Thus Dr. Daniel Porter was "advised to instruct some person in his art." His own "knowledge appears to have been empirical rather than scientific," said Dr. Bronson.

One of the best known as a teacher was Dr. Jared Potter. He was born in East Haven, began his classical studies with Rev. Philemon Robbins of Branford, and was graduated from Yale in 1756. His parents intended to have him become a physician and therefore he studied medicine with a physician of Milford and with Jared Eliot. He began practicing in East Haven, but with the outbreak of the war of the Revolution moved to Wallingford as a less exposed place, and had better luck than Ebenezer Dayton who moved to Bethany for the same reason. Unlike his teacher, Jared Eliot, he was not only not a minister, but was a skeptic, and gave such notions to his pupils. In politics he was a Jeffersonian and against slavery. One of the most famous of his pupils was the Hartford wit, Dr. Lemuel Hopkins.

Dr. Potter was a surgeon in the First Regiment in 1775, and again in 1776 in the Fifth Battalion in Wadsworth's Brigade. He had a farm, which he stocked with mulberry trees, having got the seeds from Benjamin Franklin, with whom he corresponded on the subject. Like John Winthrop and Jared Eliot he had a favorite remedy, with a shorter and plainer name, "Potter's Powder," which was popular for over sixty years. To the uninitiated it sounds less deadly than the others, for it was composed of charcoal, camphor, chalk and ammonia. He was instrumental in forming both the County and Connecticut Medical Societies.

After men had studied as best they could they began to practice in much the same way that ministers began to preach before the days of the societies which examined and licensed them. "Some practiced with a certificate from their teachers, after a variable period of apprenticeship, others were licensed by the Colonial Court, while still others plied the

healing art of their own volition, for there were no requirements then for practice." Perhaps the reason for petitioning the General Court for license to practice was to enable them to take legal measures to collect their fees. A physician did not need to wait for legislative permission before he began to practice. In 1717 Dr. Benjamin Hull petitioned the Court: "Ye petishion of Benjamin Hull of Wallingford showeth yt your petitioner having for some time practiced phisick" requested the Assembly to grant him permission to practice in Wallingford. "Before 1810," says Dr. Welch, "the great majority of the graduates of the College who practised medicine were without a medical degree."

The training given by physicians was not always thorough or satisfactory, and in only a few cases could be supplemented by training elsewhere. Dr. Daniel Bontecou, (Yale 1733) was about the only one from this county to go abroad for study in the early days. The means of instruction was characterized by Dr. Knight as "for the most part inconsiderable," and Dr. Aeneas Munson said no one ought to enter the profession with so little knowledge as he had, or could obtain when he was a student. In 1772 Rev. Mark Leavenworth of Waterbury, whose son by the way became a physician, took the opportunity as preacher of an Election sermon in Hartford to call the attention of the authorities to the need of reform in this profession. The title of the sermon was "Charity illustrated and recommended to all Orders of Men." Conditions he said were such that people went to doctors often "as an ox to the slaughter and a bird to the snare of the fowler, not knowing that it is for our life. It is an affair * * * of so much consequence that in many countries it has commanded the attention of the civil state * * * Will not charity to the people call for some inquiries in this respectable body, whether the art of healing may not, at least gradually be put on some more respectable footing?"

By this time the medical profession was beginning to develop and become numerous enough to take steps itself toward improving conditions and raising the standard. One of its first acts was to form an organization, of sixty-one members, the New Haven County Medical Society, with various objects one of course, to "establish the practice of medicine in this city on a respectable footing," another "for strengthening and brightening the chains of friendship", and another to observe accurately and candidly the weather and the disorders it is productive of, the method of treatment, and the results. This was not the earliest effort of the kind in the state, nor was the first suggestion for a school made at this time. Shortly before he became president of Yale, Ezra Stiles who occasionally delivered a lecture on medicine, drew up a plan for a university in which lectures were to be given in medicine and law. His interest in medical matters is shown by the fact that he attended two autopsies. In 1784 five New Haven physicians called a meeting at the Coffee House to form this county medical society, and to combine with similar societies to obtain from the legislature an act of incorporation which should more effectually

regulate the practice of medicine. This society, by the way, during the few years of its existence, issued a pamphlet of "Cases and Observations," the first publication of any medical society in this country. There were thirteen original members, later increased to sixty-one, and the society was intended merely to pave the way for a state organization, which should include all qualified physicians. In 1792 accordingly it gave way to the Connecticut Medical Society.

Much discussion took place over the formation of the state society, and fear was felt that seems strange today, that the regulation concerning granting of degrees might create a private monopoly. Yale seniors debated the question "Whether it be safe to grant the proposed charter?" The charter which was granted the Society gave it the power to examine and license physicians and to give degrees. It accordingly made rules concerning medical education. In 1793 the society for the first time exercised its right to grant degrees and gave that of M. D. to Leverett Hubbard. He had been graduated from Yale in 1744 and commissioned surgeon to an expedition against Crown Point in 1756. For many years he was the recognized head of the profession in the city and county. He studied medicine with his father, and a brother studied also, probably with him, but died in war at an early age.

The Connecticut Medical Society is made up of county societies as members, or "Component Associations." Its House of Delegates is in two parts, the Council of one from each county, biennially elected by the county associations, five a quorum; and the House, in which a county is entitled to one delegate for every thirty-five members, or any part of that number. The society meets annually. Membership in this and in the American Medical Association is only through membership in the County Associations, to which "all reputable and legally registered physicians, except those who practice or claim to practice or lend support to any exclusive or irregular system of medicine, shall be entitled to membership." County Associations are judges of the qualifications of members, and aim to include every qualified physician. Their objects are to better "the scientific, moral and material condition of every physician in the county." Each county association has its own officers and organization, and holds meetings during the year. The New Haven body in 1929 had 473 members, from twenty-one towns. The first president of the state association was Leverett Hubbard, vice president Aeneas Munson, secretary Jared Potter, treasurer John Osborn.

When the formation of a Medical School connected with Yale College was undertaken, (the sixth medical school in the United States) the college united with this existing organization in a unique arrangement. In 1810 the two made joint application to the State Legislature to establish the medical institution of Yale College, the two to coöperate in its management. This was a necessary relation, since the medical society had the power not only to examine and license candidates, but also to confer degrees. The arrangement was thus described by President Dwight: "The

Students will be required to study two years; and will be examined by a Committee of eight, four of them Professors, the other four chosen by the Medical Convention. When they have heard one course of Lectures, and have been approved at this examination, they will receive a license to practice Physic and Surgery. But, to receive the degree of M. D. they must have heard two courses of Lectures. A course will be completed each year."

In managing the school the society and the college were represented, as has been said, by an equal number of members on the examining board, but the president of the society must be a member with a casting vote in case of a tie. The society also had the right to nominate professors, and to appoint one or two students from each county who should receive free instruction. This relationship which was always harmonious, lasted until 1884, when it was dissolved by mutual consent.

Licenses to practice could be given by the society after a shorter period of study than was required for the granting of degrees by the college. At first many were issued, but the custom gradually disappeared, and the last one was given in 1877. Thus Dr. Tully, a member of the Faculty of the Medical School, was licensed to practice by the Connecticut Medical Society in 1810, and was given the degree of M. D. by Yale College in 1816 *causa honoris*. Reform in this matter was continued by the Medical Practice Act of 1893, which provided that doctors could practice in Connecticut only on examination and approval by one of three special examining boards,—regular, homeopathic and eclectic. The medical society stopped giving degrees when the medical school was formed, though, until 1871, degrees were frequently given on its recommendation.

One of the first students in the new Medical School was Jared Potter Kirtland, grandson of Jared Potter, and son of Bilious Kirtland. The latter was a doctor, and had a pupil rejoicing in the equally appropriate name Liverius Carrington, but he did not like medicine and became a merchant. Jared Potter Kirtland had been studying with some of the New Haven doctors, and was the first person to sign the matriculation book kept by Dr. Jonathan Knight. Like his grandfather, and like Jared Eliot, he was interested in the study of botany and mineralogy, and with some others studied these subjects after he had finished his medical course. Dr. Kirtland ultimately went to Durham, and always did much in the cultivation of fruits and flowers. Later still he went to Trumbull County, Ohio, and there also devoted much time to his farm, garden and orchard. Kirtland Hall (Yale), given by his niece, is named for him.

One of the first teachers in the new Medical School was Dr. Aeneas Munson, Professor of Materia Medica and Botany, very old at the time, an octogenarian, but still so active and so distinguished that he was appointed as an "ornamental addition" to the faculty. He was a practicing physician for seventy years, and was particularly interested in Botany especially in trying to find out what different plants were good for. His "adjunct professor" and pupil, Dr. Eli Ives, carried on this study in a

more scientific manner, and had a valuable imported botanical library. When he became connected with the Medical College he started a "physic" garden and greenhouse which were intended to be part of the teaching equipment. He also had a farm on Gravel Hill Road (Prospect Hill) and paid much attention to new varieties of fruit, especially grapes. He raised from seed raspberries, strawberries, (among them the Ives seedling), and many pears. Five varieties of pears were named for him. He was first vice president of the Horticultural and Pomological Societies, the latter, formed in 1844. The Ives family was one with many distinguished physicians, New Haven having a Dr. Ives for four generations, more than a century. Dr. Levi Ives, the first of the name began to practice in 1773, founded the Medical Society, and was one of the editors of the "Cases and Observations" published by the Society. He served in the Revolution, became a Jeffersonian, and in political contests was subject of ribald verses.

Dr. Melines Leavenworth of the Waterbury family of that name, pupil of Dr. Ives, who was graduated from the Yale Medical School in 1817, devoted himself exclusively to the study of Botany. He was selected by the faculty of Yale to go on an expedition to the South, with James Gates Percival to collect specimens of herbs and indigenous plants for the botanical garden of the Medical School. He remained there and practiced in Alabama and Georgia for several years. He returned to Waterbury in 1842. In the Civil War he was assistant surgeon in the 12th Regiment Connecticut Volunteers, and died in service in 1862. Another pupil of Dr. Ives used only vegetable remedies and himself became a vegetarian. Dr. Ives however used also the most vigorous remedies in his own practice.

The new Medical School had students the first year, and within a few years the numbers had grown to ninety-three. In 1901 the number of physicians who had received their "liberal or professional education" at Yale College was 2,300, according to Dr. Welch. At first an attempt was made to have the students live in rooms belonging to the school, eat at its commons in the basement of the building, be subject to rules of conduct with penalties attached, and attend prayers morning and evening. This system, probably unique in the history of Medical Schools, was given up in 1824. It is interesting to see preparations being made in 1930 for a similar plan in the Law School, a stone's throw from the old Medical School, though of course without the rules of conduct and prayers.

The distinguished Dr. Jonathan Knight, the leading surgeon of Connecticut became an early teacher, and was noted as a very finished lecturer. Somewhat later was Dr. Henry Bronson, bearer of a name familiar in New Haven County from early days, and doing much work in the field of local and medical history. Dr. Nathan Smith was perhaps the most distinguished member of the faculty. Dr. W. H. Welch in an address on The Relation of Yale to Medicine called him "a star of the first magnitude in the medical firmament," and says of him, "Nathan Smith shed undying glory upon the Yale Medical School. Famous in his day and generation, he is still more famous today, for he was far ahead of his

times, and his reputation, unlike that of so many medical worthies of the past, has steadily increased, as the medical profession has slowly caught up with him we now see that he did more for the general advancement of medical and surgical practice than any of his predecessors in this country. * * * He was the first to perform a number of important surgical operations, and in this branch, not less than in medicine, he was an innovator and reformer." The Medical School has his portrait painted by S. F. B. Morse.

The interest many physicians of the county have taken in botany has been mentioned. Dr. Welch speaks of this as a local peculiarity. "There developed early in Connecticut that special interest in the indigenous materia medica, which, transmitted in direct succession from Jared Eliot through Benjamin Gale, (his son-in-law), Jared Potter, and Eneas Munson, became a distinguishing characteristic of Eli Ives and William Tully, the professors of materia medica and therapeutics in the Yale Medical Institution in its early years. This contributed to a less violent system of treatment of diseases than was customary in those days. Even in early colonial days a mild treatment of fevers prevailed in New Haven according to Hubbard. * * * These tendencies, for they were only such, did not find, however, their full expression until the appearance of Nathan Smith's work on Typhous (typhoid) Fever in the next century."

Judging the work of the Yale Medical School by the number of its graduates who became teachers, it would seem to have been very successful. There had been at the time Dr. Welch gave his address (1901), over one hundred graduates who had become professors in medical colleges, especially in New York City, and at least thirty who had been presidents of their State Medical Societies.

A meeting of the Medical Society in 1826 started the effort to establish a permanent hospital in New Haven for general purposes, the oldest institution of the kind in the state. A committee was appointed to solicit subscriptions for such an institution. A charter was obtained from the state. All but one of the incorporators were physicians and members of the Medical Society, four of whom were also on the faculty of the Medical School. All but one of the Board of Directors likewise were members of the society. The site was bought in 1830. Some of the original tract was sold, so the final cost of the land was less than \$500. It took four years to raise the money for the building, with only four subscriptions of \$500. The first building was completed in 1832, built in the prevailing style of Greek architecture. There were few patients at first, ten or fifteen, and the managers were glad to rent rooms for various purposes, one tenant being the poet Percival. After a few years all the space was needed for the original purpose. In 1872 a dispensary was opened, for the sick and needy of New Haven and vicinity, and very soon a Training School for nurses. The use of the hospital in the Civil War has been described. Within the last few years it has been joined to the Yale Medical School.

An interesting chapter in medical history of this vicinity is the treatment given homeopathic physicians. Besides a private, unofficial and

social opposition, the State Medical Society caused a law to be passed stating that the services of such physicians were not legal, and hence fees could not be legally collected. It is surprising that the first practitioner in New Haven, Dr. Charles B. Skiff, came at the invitation of the rector of Trinity Church, Dr. Croswell. The first one in Waterbury was Dr. W. W. Rodman who came in 1844. These physicians gradually increased in numbers and proved the value of their theories by their success. The chance to do this in New Haven came in connection with an epidemic.

Dr. Welch pays a tribute to the work of Noah Webster in a field not usually associated with the name of the lexicographer. "The graduate of Yale, however, whose published contributions in the eighteenth century are of the greatest permanent value to medicine, was not a physician, but was that useful and versatile man, Noah Webster, of the Class of 1778. Noah Webster is the first epidemiologist which this country has produced. In 1796 he published 'A collection of papers on the subject of bilious fevers, prevalent in the United States for a few years past,' and in 1799 appeared in two volumes a work, well known to all students of epidemiology, entitled, 'A brief history of epidemic and pestilential diseases,' which is of unusual interest, and on account of its records and observations of epidemic diseases in this country has an enduring value. There are scattered papers by him on various medical subjects."

Dr. Welch also speaks of the interest taken by the first President Dwight in medical matters. "One of the letters in his 'Travels in New England and New York' contains an argument, really remarkable in the light of our present knowledge, in support of his conclusion that malaria is caused by minute living organisms."

Many of the town histories give lists of physicians, some account of their lives, and considerable information as to medical matters.

CHAPTER V

PROTECTION OF THE UNFORTUNATE

New Haven County, like other sections, has seen a great change brought about during the 19th century in the field which for convenience may be called philanthropy, though members of what has become a new profession, that of social work, (recognized as a profession by the Census of 1930), would doubtless object to the term. In fact, however, the expression "new profession" indicates very well the character of this change. Just as official Fire and Police Departments were formed during that century to take the place of voluntary organizations in protecting the lives and property of citizens, so institutions and Departments of Charities and Corrections were developed to deal with some of the most pressing evils of society. So many societies grew up that it became necessary for towns to form some kind of Associated, United or Organized Charities, to co-ordinate and direct their efforts, and later, on the financial side, to establish Community Chests.

It is possible at any period to find appeals for help on the score of poverty and misfortune, and complaints of evils that should be remedied or punished. Many references may be found in Connecticut colonial laws of the 17th century to drunkenness, horse branding, excessive apparel and various forms of immorality. Life in the early days was marked by certain conditions which of themselves tended to bring about general degeneration rather than improvement of society,—the necessity for perpetual work in developing a new country, great privations and difficulties, limited social opportunities, want of general education,—in short what has been called the "Indianizing" of the people. Simeon E. Baldwin in his history of the Colonial Period quoted Cotton Mather for 1698 thus, "We have too far degenerated into Indian vices. The vices of the Indians are these: They are very lying wretches, and they are very lazy wretches: and they are out of measure indulgent to their children; there is no family government among them. We have shamefully Indianized in all these abominable things."

There seem also to have been periods of special decline. After King Philip's War the authorities were troubled about horse racing and tavern tippling; the Great Awakening was followed by a reaction; and there was a lowering of morals after the Revolution, due to the effects of political agitation, war, universal insolvency and failure to fulfil com-

mercial obligations. Religious revivals occurred at various times in the early 19th century, which brought many into the church. But the great change was the development of a new spirit and social feeling that found expression in practical service for others as well as in the effort to save one's own soul and perpetuate a particular form of belief.

The special point of view to be considered here is the part played in this work by the county, its organization and officials. Protection against fire and by police we have seen develop as local matters except in unusual cases, such as the invasion of Charles Island or the trolley strike in Waterbury, when county forces were called on. The county plays a more important part in the care of certain dependent and delinquent persons, and for others the colony and state tried to get county institutions established.

The 19th century saw developed also a world point of view of help for humanity. Work in both Home Missions and Sunday Schools and in Foreign Missions in this country as known today are growths of the same century. In the early years many societies were formed for such objects, such as the Home Missionary Society, the Foreign Mission Society, the American Bible and Tract Societies. Connecticut itself, it may be remarked, was a field for home missionary work, in the "destitute churches," destitute sometimes because they had neglected to get a new minister when a vacancy occurred, the "waste places" of Lyman Beecher's famous sermon. Several New Haven County churches received help in the early part of the century.

The same men who formed these societies worked also for temperance, a field where every one admitted reform was needed, opinions of course differing as to how far it should go. Modern work for temperance is a development of this century, though trouble from this cause had existed from the beginning as shown by the case of the physician Nicholas Augur in New Haven. Cotton Mather wrote, "Drinking houses have been a most undoing stumbling-block of iniquity in the midst of us;" and again in 1710 concerning Connecticut, "The Consequences of the Affected Bottel, in this Colony, as well as in ours, are beyond all imagination." Measures were passed continually against tippling and tavern haunting. The Revolution left its bad effects in this matter on the soldiers, and tales are not wanting of bibulous ministers, and drinks for women. Professor Dexter says that originally the college building of Yale had bins in the cellar corresponding to the rooms above, (but subject to a separate rental); Thorpe in his North Haven Annals speaks of the large amount of wine used at communions in comparison to modern usages. The Rev. Leonard Bacon told his people later that "When I attended for the first time (about 1825) a meeting of the Associated Pastors of the district, the sideboard of good father Swift, at whose house we met, was decorated with decanters containing distilled spirits, and of more than one kind." The first report of the Connecticut Temperance Society, (organized 1829), said that every twenty-fifth family in the state was engaged in supplying the rest with intoxicating drinks, and that there were nearly 7,000 common drunkards.

The Rev. Ebenezer Porter of Washington (Connecticut) began preaching on the subject in 1806, roused by finding a dead man in the snow with a bottle of spirits by his side. The Rev. Nathaniel Hewit of Fairfield County was thought by some at first to be a madman when he preached on the subject in New Haven. Lyman Beecher worked for temperance, and the great revivalist, Asahel Nettleton held a new belief,—that one who remained a “moderate drinker” was not converted. Organizations too took action. In 1812 the New Haven West Association voted “that in all future meetings of this Association ardent spirits form no part of the entertainment.” They were soon banished from ordination and all clerical dinners. The Connecticut Temperance Society was formed in 1829, the Connecticut Sons of Temperance in 1844, and other temperance societies of various kinds worked for the same object. To their efficiency in reducing intemperance and the resulting crimes, the New Haven police once at least paid tribute in the annual report of the department. Sentiments concerning temperance were even carved on the tombstone of one young man in Meriden, in 1846. “We will drink no wine; for, Jonadah, the son of Rechah our Father, commanded us saying Ye shall drink no wine.” The application of the quotation is not quite clear.

State institutions have been established for the care of drunkards. Among the incorporators of the Connecticut Invalid Home (1868) were Leonard Bacon and Noah Porter of New Haven County. In 1874 a Connecticut Reformatory Home, later called the Asylum at Walnut Hill, was opened, to which drunkards might be admitted on application or be committed by the Probate Court. In 1928 the State established a department at the Norwich Hospital, called the State Farm for Inebriates.

Though the problem of the poor was ever present, no great necessity appeared, or occasion for much public action or organization in the early settlements. Care of the poor was part of the duty of deacons in the churches, and such cases as arose in small homogeneous communities, where every one was known, did not heed the elaborate machinery which is necessary now, for the investigation of cases for instance. The civil authorities made regulations to keep undesirable persons and those who might become public charges out of the settlements, and to insure the care by individuals or families of their own dependents. Thus the law of 1715 providing for the care of idiots stated that relatives who were able should “relieve such poor persons in such manner as the county court in that county where such sufficient persons dwell, shall assess,” with provision for fines if they failed to give such support.

Laws made primarily to limit settlements to persons of particular standing or beliefs who would be welcomed as settlers, concerning the entertainment of strangers, the admission of new inhabitants, requirement of certificates of travel,—all these helped prevent the presence of paupers in the towns. Oversight of the treatment of dependents is shown in various ways, in provisions that children of persons who re-married should have their rights guarded, that apprentices should have a certain

amount of education, that selling of liquor to Indians should be restricted, that worn-out slaves could not be freed in old age and left without support. Conservators were appointed to look out for incompetent persons.

The general principle of care for the poor was that each town should maintain its own. Appeals might be made to the Colony Assembly on particular occasions, for relief from colony taxes, for permission to circulate "briefs," that is, public appeals for charitable contributions. The colony provided for those cases that particularly belonged to it, as we have seen done for sick and infirm soldiers and their widows after King Philip's War. Soldiers who had been wounded were to have "cure and diet on the country account; and half pay" until cured. William Jones of New Haven wrote to Governor Leete in 1676 that a certain man "was killed at ye swamp fight; died in debt more than his estate. 'Twere a work of mersy to consider ye poore wid: and fatherless children." The Colony Court granted "the widow of Captain Seely (another case) about thirty-three shillings due from her for her country rate last yeare, and her rate this yeare."

So too, if a person had a particular misfortune, such as "some losse by fire," great sickness, or affliction in his family, he might on request, as a special favor, be excused from paying his colony tax. In 1689 the Court freed "Josiah Whitmore from all publicke charge for his head in consideration of his lameness and disability of body." Such exemption might be for one year, in case of a special misfortune, such as fire; or longer, as in the case of John Cook of Cheshire, mentioned in Beach's History. Since "his sons are by the Providence of God, all cripples, (he) prays to be relieved for the future from paying publick taxes." The request was granted. Steiner gives examples of similar action in Guilford of excusing persons from town rates. "At one time seven widows were excused from paying their arrears," and in 1670 it was voted that "Deacon Jno. Fowler's minister's rate be paid by the town."

Towns helped their poor directly. In 1645 the husband of an insane woman in New Haven was unable to pay all the expenses of her care, and was aided by the town. "Old Bunnill" and "Goodwife Bunnill" appeared in the Town Records as objects of help, the former receiving a weekly allowance, and the latter entered as "some charge to the town." Persons must however really belong to the town in order to receive help. Steiner gives the case in Guilford in this early period of a man who asked help because his daughter "was not wrighte in her minde," but who was refused assistance. The authorities "did not see themselves engaged, either to him or to his, and, therefore, did expect that she should be Returned to the place from whence she came." These people had come into Guilford in spite of being denied admittance, and later the town voted "as a Prevention: That, whosoever did any longer entertain either of them, should give sufficient securitye, that they should be no damage to the Towne."

The first colony law concerning poor relief (1673) simply directed that each town should care for its own poor, but certain regulations passed

in connection with other matters were an indirect help in finding money for this object. In 1674 for instance, the law laying fines on persons who allowed their cattle to stay in the pounds beyond a certain time, provided that the fines should go to the selectmen for the use of the poor of the town. In 1703 and again in 1706 it was directed that half the fines laid for tippling should be used for the same purpose. The town would also have help if a pauper from another town became sick with a disease which made it undesirable to move him for fear of spreading the disease. The charge for this could be made against the colony, or against the town to which he belonged. In the latter case judgment was passed by the County Court.

Towns took measures against having to support the poor of another town. The method is of interest in a history of a county. Anderson gives a case in Waterbury in 1741 when two men were appointed "to represent the town at the County Court in 'an action there depending concerning Joseph Gennings becast upon us by Farmington.'" The case was evidently lost, because soon Joseph was bound out to a Waterbury man for five years. In 1764 a woman was warned out of town as a "transient" person, the word, it is suggested implying loss of character as well as of abode, and having a meaning somewhat like the later word "tramp." Levermore gives a case of similar difficulty in New Haven in 1776. "On complaint that the town of Wallingford were a-going to send Rhoda Wolcott into this place as one of the poor of the town, Voted, that Mr. Thos. Mansfield go to Wallingford, serch out the truth of the matter and make report." This question of settlement and consequent responsibility, has been defined by state laws, though immediate relief should be given any one no matter where the ultimate responsibility lies.

Disputes with other towns over this question, and such unpleasant occurrences perhaps formed one reason for conferences of agents of Waterbury, Watertown and Middlebury early in the 19th century to consider building a workhouse for their joint use. The proposal was made, but never carried out. The colony tried to get the counties to establish county institutions, but in vain. Such suggestions were made by the State as late as 1874, when a commission reported that some adjoining states cared for paupers by a county system both more cheaply and efficiently than Connecticut was doing by town action.

The selectmen were the officials who had charge of the poor. The method employed was to distribute the poor about the town and pay for their board. Usually they were sent to one family, the one which put in the lowest bid. Thus New Haven in 1763 advertised a "Vendue---where those persons which are maintained by the Town will be set up, and those persons who will keep them at the cheapest rate may have them. Also a number of children will be bound out until they are either 14 or 21 years of age, if any persons appear to take them." Some cases are given in Thorpe's North Haven Annals of persons boarding themselves at town expense.

The towns were not satisfied with this system, and from time to time discussed plans for almshouses. Guilford in 1699 proposed to build such

a house on the Green, but nothing more was heard of the plan. In 1813 it finally got an almshouse, but when the town of Madison was set off and town property was divided, Madison got the almshouse and Guilford went back to the old system of boarding out the poor until 1849. The first record concerning poor relief in Cheshire was the vote that the "Selectmen are to procure some convenient house where the Town poor shall be supported, and shall provide some person or persons who shall take charge of them." But like other towns Cheshire boarded out the poor for years, until it finally bought a farm for the purpose. New Haven built an almshouse in 1791, after thirty years of occasional agitation. In 1850 the town became so dissatisfied with conditions and methods in the almshouse where criminals and insane were kept, as well as paupers that it voted to build a new house for the "Virtuous Poor." Again in 1886 a town meeting voted \$100,000 for new almshouse buildings at Springside Farm, "a great and needed improvement," said a business paper. The Superintendent of the Almshouse had said several years before "that the present building is totally inadequate to accomodate the insane, the sick, the old and infirm, and the unfortunates, who by force of circumstances, are compelled to find a home within its walls."

These local almshouses are under inspection by the State Board of Charities created in 1873, renamed in 1921 the Department of Public Welfare. From 1879 to 1883 the State laid down certain conditions on the system of letting out the care of the poor by contract, designed to insure proper treatment. The common arrangement even in towns having almshouses was to make a contract with the keeper. Some towns had only private almshouses, whose owners were paid a lump sum for the care of the paupers. Such contracts were forbidden after January 1, 1887.

A system of "out-door relief" has been developed for certain classes of poor,—widows with dependent children who cannot support them in their own homes without help. Application for help is made to the executive officer of the community, passed on by the County Commissioners, and finally approved by the State Agent. The authorities of the state, the county and the locality each pay one third of the amount expended.

As in the case of other departments of activity Boards of Charity as part of the governing bodies of municipalities have been created to take care of these matters. Thus in Waterbury the authority of selectmen over the poor was placed in a newly created Board of Charities in 1903. These Boards have charge of the almshouses and the Outside Poor, and other forms of relief work.

Besides care of the poor by public authority, many institutions are maintained by private charity. There are for example the Southmayd Home in Waterbury, opened in 1898, the Curtis Home in Meriden, given and endowed by Lemuel J. Curtis in 1884. The act of incorporation says, "The general object and business of said incorporation shall be to provide a home, employment and instruction for aged and indigent women, and for orphan and other destitute children, with the ultimate purpose of



(Courtesy of Waterbury Chamber of Commerce)

WATERBURY CLUB, WATERBURY



(Courtesy of Waterbury Chamber of Commerce)

Y. M. C. A., WATERBURY

procuring them permanent situations and of fitting them to maintain themselves." New Haven has the Home for the Friendless, for women, supported by public contributions. Many churches provide homes for old persons; and groups, such as maintain the Jewish Home for the Aged in New Haven. Since 1917 such homes must make annual reports to the State Board of Public Welfare, and secure permits.

Procedure concerning poor who have no place of settlement was determined by a law of 1907. If such persons are helped by a town, or committed by them to an institution, such as a hospital, notice should be given the proper authorities of the State within a given period of time, and the town will be reimbursed quarterly. Arrangements are made also whereby the poor of a town who need special care, either because of sickness or affliction, such as insanity, are sent to the State institutions provided for the care of such cases, or to private institutions where the State pays for their care.

The state makes appropriations to hospitals. Thus for example in 1854 an annual appropriation was made to the General Hospital Society of Connecticut for its hospital at New Haven, to be expended for charity patients from the different towns as they applied. The law of 1911 provided that representatives and senators of a county may make appropriations of specific sums to the public hospital of the county. Special institutions for those having tuberculosis have been established,—the first at Meriden in January, 1910, where there was already a privately conducted sanatorium. This, called Undercliff, is now for children under fifteen years of age. Adults go to the institutions at Hartford, Norwich and Shelton. Other hospitals for such patients are the Gaylord Farm Sanatorium at Wallingford and the William Wirt Winchester Hospital in New Haven.

It was necessary from the beginning, even in a colony whose design was religion to provide for criminals as well as for the "Virtuous Poor," and after a time to discriminate carefully between paupers and "Idle persons, vagabonds, and sturdy beggars." Provision was made in 1713 that county jails might be used as houses of correction for the latter; and in 1725 that a person prosecuted before the county court might be disposed of in service to any one to pay for the lawful charge of prosecution. Levermore says the first case of guardianship in New Haven was in 1746, when the selectmen "took Susannah Nesbit, an Idle Person, with her estate and Credits into our care." The selectmen in Derby in 1762 had charge of an idle person's estate. These officials were empowered to take charge of the estate of persons "already reduced to want, or that are likely to be reduced by idleness or bad husbandry unto want," including the right to dispose of them to service and to sell their land if necessary, (under restrictions), but any one who was aggrieved at their decisions had the right of appeal to the next county court.

Connecticut made various attempts during this period to get a colony workhouse, and beginning in 1750, to have such institutions established in the various counties.

In 1837 counties could require all convicted prisoners to work, the work to be done under the charge of deputy jailers. Soon after 1840 newly created officials, the county commissioners, were given charge of the jails. Laws were passed from time to time to insure proper care of prisoners. It is surprising to find that from 1812 until 1837 the jailer might be a tavern-keeper and even sell liquor to the prisoners. He was obliged to give up this business entirely in 1845. An investigation of the county jails made in 1865 reported that three of them were good, one of the three being the New Haven County jail. Later opinions on this point have already been presented.

In early days insane persons were left to the care of their families, and often were allowed at large until they had done some injury or even killed some one. Rooms are sometimes found in old houses where insane persons were kept chained. Mr. Capen (whose account of Connecticut Institutions in Osborne's History has been used to a great extent in the preparation of this chapter), gives an example which shows conditions. "The General Assembly of 1756 had to order Wallingford to care for an insane woman, without a settlement in Connecticut, who was permitted to wander about without clothing." By a provision of 1727 insane persons who were unfit to be at large, and who either had no friends to care for them, or whose friends did not do so, were to be put in the workhouse. Besides the example already given the case of David Robinson shows the hazards to life allowed from such persons. The treatment of his case will be given in detail (from the Colonial Records), as showing the use of County officials in this matter, and the conditions of the New Haven County jail.

In 1712 it was reported to the Council of the Colony that David Robinson had been for some time much "distracted," and that he "grows outrageous and cannot be suffered to go at large." Three men, one from Durham, his home, then in the county, and two from Milford, were appointed to place him under the care of a physician and to see that his estate was properly administered. A few months later the Council found that he was once more going about with dangerous weapons threatening people. The sheriff of New Haven County was ordered to take him to the keeper of the Hartford County jail, who was to put him to such work, discipline and "physick" as it was hoped would bring about his cure. Five years later however his name appeared similarly in the records again, when the council ordered him to be confined in the Fairfield jail, "there being no sufficient gaol at this time in the said county of New Haven, for securing the said person." There is no indication that Fairfield authorities considered that he was "becast" upon them. He was released soon and went home, and again it was reported that he "goes around armed, and behaves himself in an outrageous manner to the great terrour and disturbance of his Majesty's good subjects." His friends were ordered to take care of him or he would be sent to the jail, but before this was done (the order having to be repeated) he had dangerously wounded and tried

to murder the minister and his brother. He was then put in jail in irons to wait the next meeting of the General Assembly in Hartford. He was kept in the Fairfield jail, but three years later "had so far gained the favor and respects of divers people in that place as that he is released from his close confinement and has the liberty of the town, and his rude and disorderly behavior proves very offensive to the good people of the town." This process of being ordered to jail and being let out or escaping was repeated several times. At one time his children wanted to give bonds for his good behavior, and the minister whom he had wounded gave his consent, but the Council to which they applied would not change the order of the Assembly, and the records left him in jail.

In 1793 insane persons were to be confined by order of the selectmen of towns, instead of being allowed to wander about, but the only place for them was the jail. Even this was closed to them in 1797, and unless they were actual criminals no particular provision was made for them for many years. The Hartford Retreat, a private institution under State supervision, was opened to paying inmates in 1821, and in 1830 to a few poor patients for short periods for a small fee. Later, 1842, the State contracted with the Retreat to care for indigent insane, and also helped the towns care for such patients, but it was found that many were still in almshouses, and still more without care. A state institution was opened at Middletown in 1866, and to this were also sent the criminal insane, to a special department. An insane ward for men was opened at Wethersfield in 1898, the women remaining at Middletown. Another asylum was opened in Norwich in 1904, and a law of 1915 requires medical examination every six months of almshouses and other institutions not maintained by county or state. Care for the blind, deaf and idiots has had a similar history.

The care of indigent children is now undertaken separately from other poor, the State Board of Public Welfare having two divisions, one for oversight of the care of children. As to methods, what could not be brought about in the case of adult poor,—the establishment of county homes,—has been done for children. Uncared for or neglected children, (between the ages of four and eighteen), may be committed to county temporary homes, and there must be one in every county. Mary Selina Foote in the book compiled by her for the Connecticut Child Welfare Association, entitled "The Child and the Law in Connecticut," says, "Even a brief glance into the past must convince the most skeptical that there has been a real and healthy change in public opinion with respect to childhood, a keener public consciousness of responsibility towards the child, more humane leniency when calling him to account for his unlawful acts."

In New Haven Colony provision was made in various ways for the care of children,—requirements as to their education, and regulations concerning their treatment in case of the divorce of parents, or re-marriage of a surviving parent. In 1673 Connecticut law provided for children who were living in undesirable home conditions, taking them

from their families if necessary and putting them where they might be better cared for and brought up than in their own homes. A few years later (1702) such action was compulsory, the children to be bound out until they came of age, twenty-one years for boys and eighteen for girls. This method was followed for years, with the change in 1850 that they might be bound out to a society, and in 1864 with provision for adoption by some family.

In 1883 laws were passed requiring visits and reports on homes where children were boarded, selectmen or their representatives to make such visits at least once a month. In 1911 a license was required from those having more than a specified number of children to board. When the Department of Child Welfare was organized, the care of these things was taken over by the Bureau of Child Welfare.

The law of 1883 also provided for the opening, before a certain date, of county temporary homes for children (from four to eighteen), and that after that time children should not be kept in almshouses. The evils of such a place for children are obvious. The State also helps pay for these homes, and bears half the expense of the care for very young children, in order to keep them from the almshouses, except in certain specified conditions.

Most of the children in the county home are placed there by court order. The state pays a sum for their board, the parents must contribute what they can, the towns pay for some, and any amount not thus provided for is paid by the county from a county tax. The homes are designed for healthy, normal children, and are intended to be merely temporary, until the children are placed either in private families, or sent to some institution suited to the individual case. When a child is sent to the Home a report of its physical and mental condition accompanies it. Children in the homes must be examined by a physician every six months, the county paying the expense. Those who are insane or feeble minded are not admitted, but are sent to Mansfield; those with tuberculosis and who are delinquent to the institutions established for such cases.

These homes are under the management of a Board, composed of the county commissioners, a member of the Department of Public Welfare, and of the State Board of Health. The Commissioner of Child Welfare of the Bureau of Child Welfare must correct abuses. This board is guardian of children committed to the home until they have reached the age of eighteen. Children may be discharged by change of the court order sending them there, by transfer to other institutions better suited to the individual case, by adoption, or placement in a family or orphan asylum, by end of the contract with the town authorities which may have placed them in the home as poor children (not under court order) and by reaching the age limit. The county homes have proved to be not so temporary as was expected, as it is harder to find permanent homes than was anticipated. The New Haven County Home can accommodate nearly three hundred. Provisions are made for their education, religious instruction and employment.

Delinquent children are sent to other institutions and separate juvenile courts "have exclusive original jurisdiction over all proceedings affecting dependent, uncared for, neglected, and delinquent children within their territory. Their territorial limits are the same as those of the town, police, or other courts with which they are associated. The jurisdiction of the Juvenile Courts does not extend, however, to matters of guardianship, adoption, or property rights within the control of the probate court." Formerly delinquent children had to be sent to the jails, for there was no other place. In 1851 the Reform School Act provided for separate institutions for juvenile delinquents, and "substituted the principle of reform for that of punishment." Land was bought and a school opened in 1854 at Meriden for boys, a pioneer reform school of the United States. At first it was really a prison, and the boys were kept under lock and key. The cottage system was begun in 1881, and the boys are out on parole after a time. They work and go to school. The administration of the school is in the hands of a board of twelve trustees, one from each county in the state and four from the vicinity of the institution, appointed by the Legislature for four years.

An Industrial School for girls was opened at Middletown in 1870, and taken over by the state in 1921, for delinquents under sixteen. For older persons there is at Cheshire the Connecticut Reformatory for Men (up to the age of twenty-five) opened 1913, and for women a State Farm at East Lyme, opened 1917.

There are also private institutions for the care of children, under supervision and license by the state. This is a form of charity which would make an early appeal. When Colonel Humphreys had children from New York almshouses and other towns working in his factory at Humphreysville, he had a school and Sunday School for them, and it is said that in a case of discipline there was choice as to whether it should be turned over to the civil authorities or be tried by a court organized on the premises.

There was a children's home in Mount Carmel, in the house built for a private school, and later the residence of James Ives. Besides the Home for the Aged in Meriden, the Curtis gift included a Children's building. New Haven has three orphan asylums, a Jewish Home for Children, St. Francis and the New Haven Orphan Asylum, to use the name by which it was known for many years. Besides these homes where children live, and serving a different purpose, are many Day Nurseries for the care of young children whose mothers must work during the day.

Since the New Haven institution now serves the county as well as the city, an account of its history and aims will be given. The New Haven Orphan Asylum is now called the Children's Community Centre, and, says a recent account issued by it giving its history and aims, "from an emergency need, it has become a strong factor in the Community and County Life of New Haven.



CONNECTICUT SCHOOL FOR BOYS, MERIDEN

"In 1833 three children were suddenly left orphans, and it so happened that there was no place to care for them. In order to meet this emergency, the New Haven Orphan Asylum came to life in a small cottage on Grove Street near Church Street. A year's rent amounted to \$80 and the matron's salary was \$75. Through the far-sighted vision of the women who founded this institution, a most liberal charter was secured which, with two minor amendments, enables the Board of Managers after ninety-seven years to deal adequately with present day problems of child welfare.

"Twenty-two years later Mr. James Brewster built the Home at 610 Elm Street, the City of New Haven having given the land. During these years the Asylum depended for its receipts on Donation Day held annually, the City's Annual Appropriation of \$2,500, and private contributions. It was not until 1861 that the Asylum was adopted by the community at large as an institution to be valued, cherished and liberally supported, this feeling being aroused by the efforts made in behalf of soldiers' children. At the close of the war in 1865, Mr. Ezra Read, realizing the precariousness of the Asylum's finances, raised \$35,000, the income to be used for running expenses. This was placed in the hands of a self-perpetuating Board of Trustees, entirely independent of Asylum management, and was the beginning of the present Endowment Fund which now covers less than one-third of the operating costs.

"In recent years many changes have taken place in the methods of child caring agencies. It has become an increasingly recognized fact that an institution should provide temporary care and laboratory facilities for the study of its children's needs and then, after making adjustments, replace the child either in its own home, a relative's home, or a foster home. For seventy years the buildings on Elm Street served their purpose, but due to the fact that they were built for custodial care, they became inadequate for this modern type of service. An intensive building campaign was held in 1916 during which \$250,000 was raised. In 1922 the property at 610 Elm Street was sold for \$100,000. These funds with accumulated interest, special gifts and bequests created a building fund with which were erected the present buildings on the seventeen acres of land given for this purpose. In 1925 the New Haven Orphan Asylum moved into its new home and at that time became the Children's Community Centre of the New Haven Orphan Asylum.

"Among the interesting changes which took place at that time is one which gave to the Centre the privilege of serving New Haven County as well as the City of New Haven. It took over the work of the Connecticut Children's Aid Society in this county, and so stands ready to serve on a twenty-four hour schedule any child within this area who is in need of care. The Mount Carmel Children's Home Association and the Babies' Emergency Home of New Haven were also merged with this organization. There is no restriction as to race, creed or color. The Centre is prepared to meet almost any emergency involving the care of children of all ages.

Not only are those children received who have one or both parents dead, but many come because their parents are in jail, in hospitals or sanatoriums, or have run away and left them.

"During their *temporary stay* in the institution the children live in separate buildings according to the individual need. One building houses older boys needing temporary care. Another accommodates twenty-four boys and girls of school age needing a longer period of institutional care, and here they live in a home atmosphere, until the right foster home is found. The Babies' Building gives temporary and emergency care to forty children under five years of age, and the Convalescent Cottage provides modified hospital care for twenty-four children. It cares for the orthopedic, cardiac and other convalescent children who are well enough to leave the hospital but not well enough to return to the poor type of home from which they come. During the year 1929, more than 600 children were cared for at the Centre and in carefully selected foster homes. A supervisory visit is made once a month, oftener when necessary. Infants are visited weekly, a physician and a graduate nurse alternating in this service.

"There are four sources of income—income from endowment, payment for services rendered (representing board paid by relatives, other organizations, and town public funds), the New Haven Community Chest, and a similar fund raised in New Haven County. The extent of the service which may be rendered in New Haven and to the children of New Haven County is limited only by funds available."

As in the case of Orphan Asylums and Day Nurseries for younger children, private institutions in towns provide care for older boys and girls. Such a one is the Waterbury Industrial School founded in 1863-4 to prevent indiscriminate giving to girls begging from house to house. Private subscriptions and contributions from Protestant churches supported it. In 1872 it was chartered and a building fund was started. A bequest of \$10,000 from Elisha Leavenworth, and the proceeds of a large fair enabled the society to put up a building, which was opened in 1891. The character of the instruction is indicated by the name of the school.

The Waterbury Boys Club, was started later (1889), by John C. Collins, the fourth such institution in the state. Intended to keep boys off the street, it grew to include dormitory and restaurant.

The Young Women's Friendly League, organized 1889, was changed in 1908 to the Waterbury Institute of Craft and Industry. This also received a gift from Mr. Leavenworth, to help get a building, and later received further bequests from him. These are but samples of institutions such as may be found in other towns of the county. Mention should be made of the Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Associations, which work for older boys and girls and young men and women. It happens that the oldest Y. M. C. A. in Connecticut was in this county, in Waterbury, the fourth in New England. The first building in New England devoted exclusively to Y. M. C. A. purposes is the one in Meriden,

put up in 1877. The New Haven Association, organized in 1866 received a great impetus from Moody and Sankey meetings held in 1878. The aims set forth by the Association are those of the new spirit in welfare work, "The Y. M. C. A. is constructive rather than reconstructive. It deals with conservation rather than reclamation. Its purpose is formation rather than reformation." New Haven has now undertaken a pioneer movement in placing side by side the buildings of the Y. M. C. A. and the Y. W. C. A., with combined use of certain things,—the heating plant, cafeteria, auditorium and things of that sort.

SECTION XII—INTELLECTUAL LIFE IN NEW HAVEN COUNTY

CHAPTER I

CONTRIBUTIONS TO LITERATURE

"Connecticut is not Athens," said Governor Trumbull to the son who "had an inclination for limning," though it must be said that in its enthusiasm for Greek architecture early in the nineteenth century, Connecticut did its best to look like Athens; and "In poetry," said Hollister later, "she may well claim to be the Athens of America."

New Haven's literary history, like its very existence, begins with John Davenport. He left a considerable list of manuscript and published works, having first appeared in print in 1627. Moreover it will be remembered that he met, as he said, a "very great loss of some manuscript, by a wrack at sea," lost in the Great Shippe on its way to a publisher in London. One at least was re-written.

The subjects of Davenport's works are what would be expected,—*"A Discourse about Civil Government in a New Plantation whose Design is Religion," "A Profession of Faith," "A Catechisme containing the Chief Heads of Christian Religion"* among others. *"The Saint's Anchor-Hold"* is particularly interesting, as it is made up of sermons said to have been preached to influence the members of his New Haven congregation to harbor the Regicides. Another composition of great interest to New Haven County and attributed to Davenport is *"New Haven's Case Stated,"* setting forth the reasons why the colony should not be obliged to give up its independence and be joined to Connecticut,—really its epitaph. A few letters also remain, some of them to John Winthrop, giving a pleasant picture of the friendship between the two families.

The literary garden of New Haven was a barren place for a long time, and one would like to water it with some of the picturesque seventeenth century titles,—*"New England's Tears for Old England's Fears;"* or lay claim to long-bearded Ezekiel Cheever's *"Essay on Scriptural Prophecy Fulfilled;"* or *"The Day of Doom,"* and *"Meat out of The Eater"* of Cheever's pupil, Michael Wigglesworth. But they will have to be given up, as the one had shaken the dust of New Haven from his feet, and the other, when he left New Haven to study at Harvard, "far from my parents & acquaintances, and among strangers," remained to become a Massachusetts pastor. One of Wigglesworth's principal recollections of New

Haven was that as a small boy he was drenched with water as he lay in bed in the cellar on the banks of the creek, so that he "fell sick upon it," and that God was pleased "about this time to visit my father with Lameness, which grew upon him more and more to his dying Day, though he liv'd under it 13 years."

It is a long leap to the next group of writers, a leap over obstacles caused by the excitement over the union of the two colonies, the series of intercolonial wars (though there are some interesting letters written from camp by Col. Nathan Whiting of New Haven to his wife), the Great Awakening; and so to the Revolution and a group of young writers, who exercised their talents on questions of the day. They were called the "Hartford Wits," and no doubt today would be known as members of the "intelligentsia."

The bare facts of the life of the eccentric Lemuel Hopkins give New Haven County some claim on him, and remind one in a small way of the lines on the monument of Elihu Yale at Wrexham, "born in America, in Europe bred, in Africa traveled, in Asia wed." For Lemuel Hopkins was born in Waterbury, studied in Wallingford, and practiced medicine in Litchfield and Hartford. There is a better claim on John Trumbull (1750-1831), son of the pastor of the parish of Westbury in the town of Waterbury, who was also member of the Yale corporation. Trumbull while a tutor in Yale published, in order to "explode the quackeries of learning," "The Progress of Dulness, or the Rare Adventures of Tom Brainless," "very proper," said the advertisement, "to be kept in all families." This poem was directed against the prevailing systems of education, which consisted of "the mere knowledge of ancient languages, of the abstruser parts of mathematics and the dark researches of metaphysics." He lived in New Haven a second time, while he was treasurer of the college (1776-1782), though part of the time he withdrew to his native town as a safer place during the war. During this period he produced "McFingal," designed as a political article, a tract for the times. It was divided into four episodes, the town meeting, both morning and afternoon, the Liberty Pole, the Vision, and had for the chief object of his wit a Tory Squire, who received a tar and feather coat before the poem was finished. This presents quite a different idea of the times than one would gather from the works of his friend, the elegant Humphreys. Here is the account of the proceedings after the tar-and-feathering.

"With like devotion all the choir
Paraded round our feathered 'Squire;
In front the martial music comes;
Of horns and fiddles, fifes and drums,
With jingling sound of carriage bells,
And treble creak of rusted wheels;
Behind, the crowd, in lengthen'd row,
With grave procession, clos'd the show;
And at fit periods every throat

Combin'd in universal shout,
And hail'd great liberty in chorus,
Or bawl'd, confusion to the tories.
Not louder storm the welkin braves,
From clamors of conflicting waves;
Less dire in Lybian wilds the noise,
When rav'ning lions lift their voice;
Or triumphs at town-meetings made,
On passing votes to reg'late trade.
Thus having borne them round the town,
Last at the pole they set them down,
And tow'rd the tavern take their way,
To end in mirth the festal day."

Timothy Dwight, another of the group, in his work "struck out boldly for the epic field," but New Haven lays no claim to "Greenfield Hill" or the "Conquest of Canaan," and is satisfied with the better product of his gifts,—the hymn, "I love thy kingdom, Lord," and the song written at West Point in 1777, while he was chaplain in the army, "Columbia, Columbia, to glory arise." Dwight's poetic work is not included in Everest's *Poets of Connecticut*, though, said Mr. Everest, it was "with profound regret that we waved a parting hand to the venerable name of Timothy Dwight." As an author Dwight will be remembered not only by this hymn, but by his book of *Travels*. His system of theology once so famous, and so effective among the students of Yale, has joined the epics in almost undisturbed oblivion. Speaking of matters of poetry, it is said that his first named caused Byron great amusement. What would Byron have thought of the pupil of Timothy Dwight's, Lyman Beecher, who "often said in after years, that he wished he could have seen Byron, and presented to his mind his views of religious truth. He thought if Byron 'could have talked with Taylor and me, it might have got him out of his troubles.' "

In 1797 the General Association of Congregational Ministers in Connecticut asked Dr. Dwight to revise Watt's *Imitation of the Psalms*, which shows their opinion of his talents. When they came to examine his work, they were satisfied, and his psalter displaced one prepared by Joel Barlow a few years earlier.

Though chronologically they do not belong here, it may be well to mention other famous hymns written locally,—Leonard Bacon's "The Sabbath morn was bright and calm," "Hail tranquil hour of closing day," "O God beneath thy guiding hand," and "Wake the song of jubilee"; C. W. Everest's "Take up thy cross;" and S. Dryden Phelps' "Saviour, Thy dying love thou gavest me." The choristers of the two churches on the Green published singing books, Daniel Read of the North Church and Alling Brown of Center Church.

David Humphreys (1752-1818), another of this group who belongs completely to New Haven County, was quite the elegant man of the

world, "grandly handsome," like all the members of his family. The description of him given by Mrs. Ann Stephens is worth quoting as that of one "who kept up in his appearance and habits all the traditions that have come down to us from the Revolution. I remember him, at first dimly, in a blue coat with large gold—or what appeared to be gold—buttons, a buff vest and laced ruffles around his wrists and in his bosom. His complexion was soft and blooming like that of a child, and his gray hair, swept back from the forehead, was gathered in a queue behind and tied with a black or red ribbon. His white and plump hands I recollect well." S. C. Goodrich says that his florid complexion showed "a little more appreciation of Sherry than was orthodox in Connecticut."

His father was the minister of the church in Derby, his mother "Lady" Humphreys, and he was sent to Yale, where it will be remembered, he stood up for the rights of Freshmen. He was known in college as "one of the young bards." During the Revolution he was, at different times, on the staffs of Putnam, Greene, and Washington. One can imagine the enjoyment Washington would take in the handsome young officer, and after the war Humphreys lived at different times at Mount Vernon. He was secretary of the Legation with Jefferson in Europe in 1784, elected to the Legislature of Connecticut in 1786, ambassador to Lisbon and to Madrid. On his return to America in 1802 he lived in "lettered ease" as gentleman-manufacturer, with a rich wife whom he had married abroad, having led "a white flock across the western main; famed like the bark that bore the Argonaut."

Humphreys was poet as well as soldier of the Revolution, and wrote an "Elegy on the Burning of Fairfield," said to have been composed at the time; an "Address to the Armies of the United States of America," translated into French; "The Happiness of America" and the "Love of Country," in which he paid tribute to the heroes of the Revolution, mentioning them by name, with appropriate remarks. Among them were Wooster and Arnold, of whom he said,—

"Like the large oak that many a Winter stood,
The tallest glory of its native wood,
Wooster was seen to stand—and like that oak
I saw him fall beneath that stroke * * *
There quick-eyed Arnold, not a traitor then,
Vain, on his courser, soared midst mightiest men."

Humphreys gave an idealized picture of the war, which would never lead one to think the army was ever ragged, barefoot, or without uniforms, hanging over the bridge in the idle curiosity that so greatly distressed Washington. In "The Veteran's Tale" he proceeded in this strain—

"Then meets the steadfast eye the splendid charms
Of prancing steeds, of plumed troops and arms:
Reflected sunbeams, dazzling, gild afar
The pride, the pomp, the circumstance of war."



(Courtesy of H. M. Bradley, Jr., Derby)

HUMPHREYS HOUSE, ELM STREET, ANSONIA
Built about 1694. General Humphreys born there July 10, 1752

"Wherever Colonel Humphreys was, he appears to have been regarded as an authority in matters of etiquette and ceremony. His sense of propriety and decorum was as marked in his relations with his community of operatives in Humphreysville as in state functions. 'The old soldier usually came in state when he visited his native town, and his presence there was always followed by more or less commotion.' "

With his friends he wrote papers called the "Anarchiad," designed to show the feebleness of the Confederation, and to influence public opinion in favor of the adoption of the Constitution of the United States. The best passages were written by Hopkins, but Humphreys conceived the idea, from something of the sort he had seen in England, and the papers were first published in the *New Haven Gazette* in 1786-7. The significance of the name is obvious, and the papers both prose and verse, purported to be extracts from a poem discovered in the ruins of an ancient Italian fortification. A few lines will show its character.

"For see, proud Faction waves her flaming brand,
And discord riots o'er the ungrateful land.

* * *

Yet what the hope? the dreams of Congress fade,
The federal union sinks in endless shade * * *
Each requisition wafts in fleeting air,
And not one state regards the powerless prayer.

* * *

Ere death invades, and night's deep curtain falls,
Through ruined realms the voice of Union calls,
Loud as the trump of heaven through darkness roars,
When gyral gusts entomb Caribbean towers,
When nature trembles through the deeps convulsed,
And ocean foams from craggy cliffs repulsed,
On you she calls! attend the warning cry,
'Ye live united, or divided die.' "

"In his business enterprises," Mrs. Stephens says, "Colonel Humphreys did not forget the literary propensities that had mated him with Trumbull and Barlow in Yale College. He wrote a great deal for the benefit and amusement of the operatives, [many of them apprenticed boys brought from the New York almshouse and from other towns] and the Christmas holidays were frequently celebrated with private theatricals where an original play of which he was the author, would be performed by the most talented work people, and he more than once took a prominent part in them.

"As the best people of the neighborhood and other towns were invited to form an audience, these plays became a favorite amusement. In fact Colonel Humphreys omitted nothing that could rouse the ambition or promote intellectual improvement among the operatives although he did it after a grand military fashion."

Humphreys died in the same courtly fashion in which he had lived. "He had seemed in good health an hour before his last breath was drawn. He was staying at a hotel in New Haven, and, with the usual courtesy that distinguished all his actions, handed a lady friend to her carriage, stood, hat in hand, until she drove off, when he returned to the room from which he had led her, lay down on the sofa and died."

Humphreys, who wrote with facility and haste, claimed for himself in literature "nothing beyond the negative merit of not having written anything unfavorable to the interests of freedom, humanity and virtue." In the poem on the Happiness of America he gave a pleasant but conventional picture of a winter evening,—

"Nor then, unjoyous, Winter's rigors come,
But find them happy and content with home;
Their gran'ries filled—the task of culture past—
Warm at their fire, they hear the howling blast,
With patt'ring rain and snow, or driving sleet,
Rave idly loud, and at their window beat:
Safe from its rage, regardless of its roar,
In vain the tempest rattles at the door;
The tame brute sheltered, and the feathered brood
From them, more provident, demand their food.
'Tis then the time from hoarding cribs to feed
The ox laborious, and the noble steed:
'Tis then the time to tend the bleating fold,
To strew with litter, and to fence from cold."

In prose Humphreys wrote a biography of Israel Putnam, and several orations and miscellaneous compositions. His portrait was painted by Stuart.

When the members of this talented group were gone, it was asked,

* * * "Shall Yale renew the fire
Poetic, with resplendent lustre beaming
From Humphreys, Barlow, Dwight? Shall it expire
When Trumbull's setting sun shall cease its gleaming?"

Peter Parley said of Humphreys, "He was in truth a splendid mixture of the old Continental soldier, and the powdered and pomatumed diplomat." Collections of his works were published in New York in 1790 and 1804.

James Abraham Hillhouse, a little later (1789-1841), was another of whom it was said,—

"The angel Muses on his cradle smiled,
And Poesy acknowledged him her child."

Son of the famous "Sachem," he was graduated from Yale (1808), was in business in New York, visited Europe, and by 1825 took up his residence at Sachem's Wood, "occupied with elegant pursuits of a man

of taste and fortune," but as he said in the poem *Sachem's Wood* "A Yankee-Whig—and gentleman should be a plain republican." Donald G. Mitchell remembered him as a prim little man.

He did not devote his Muse to contemporary matters, but chose subjects in the grand manner, a "Vision of Judgment," designed to represent the fearful events of the day of retribution; "Percy's Masque," the scene of which is laid in England in the time of Henry the Fourth; "Hadad," a dramatic poem, of the time of King David in Jerusalem; "Demetria," a tragedy of Italian love, jealousy and revenge; and the "Hermit of Warkworth," a Northumberland ballad. "Percy's Masque" was admired on both sides of the Atlantic, and "Hadad" is said to be the first real American poetic drama.

In "Sachem's Wood," the "rhymes he wove" on re-naming his home, occur these lines, descriptive of New Haven,—

"Now, from this bench, the gazer sees
Towers and white steeples o'er the trees,
Mansions that peep from leafy bowers,
And villas blooming close by ours;
Hears the grave clocks, and classic bell,
Hours for the mind and body tell;
Or starts, and questions, as the gong
Bids urchins not disport too long.
A blended murmur minds the ear
That an embosom'd city near.
See! how its guardian Giants tower,
Changing their aspects with the hour."

The "guardian giants" to which he refers are, of course, East and West Rocks, which he called respectively *Sassacus* and *Regicide*, names which were not adopted.

Hollister called Hillhouse "classical and stately. He wrought his poetical composition to a degree of polish which until his day had never been attained by the western muse. His conceptions are of that large order, belonging only to men of high genius, and his imagination has a breadth and sweep of wing that remind the reader of *Paradise Lost*." Enthusiasm for a youthful republic took many forms!

However, "Just a century ago," says Stanley Williams, " 'Nat' Willis, then a Yale undergraduate, was worshipping Hillhouse as his poetic ideal. * * * Willis declared his acquaintance with Hillhouse was 'the opening of a new heaven of imagination.' * * * There is something in all this praise," concluded Mr. Williams, after reading "Hadad," or re-reading it in the light of these enthusiasms.

Willis, by the way, New Haven would like to claim, at least in part, for he began writing poetry while he was at Yale. But in an "embellished edition" of these "Scriptural Poems," which, says the Preface, "have been found, by the many tests of comparative popularity, to be



(Courtesy of R. C. Chamberlain, New Haven)

JOHN W. BARBER

those which are most wanted," the author apologizes thus, "The author has suffered * * * by a reputation too early acquired. Many of the poems which follow would have been very different, could the popularity of the thought embodied in them have been foreseen, and time and pains given to make the vehicle more worthy of its freight. Mending them has been thought of; but the mending of well-known poetry with new verses, shows as ill as new pieces of mahogany in old furniture." All of which is a subject in itself for a "poem upon a subject sacred or reflective." New Haven and Yale will claim the Life of Willis by Professor Henry A. Beers.

Guilford produced a famous poet, Fitz Greene Halleck (1790-1867). Not only the first eighteen but the last twenty-one years of his life were spent in Guilford, though after his return he wrote little. The sidewalks of New York seemed the Vale of Tempe to his muse. He was son of the village tailor, and his mother at one time taught in one of the schools. He was the favorite pupil of Samuel Johnson, Jr., the dictionary-making teacher of Guilford, who gave him a copy of Campbell's Pleasures of Hope. Halleck who was a quiet boy, and his father, were great readers and are said to have devoured all the 600 books in the village library. At the age of fifteen he began helping in the village store, and three years later went to New York and became a clerk in a banking house.

In New York he soon published his first poem, and with his friend, Joseph Rodman Drake, wrote a series of poems, the "Croakers" for a newspaper, satirizing the leading personages of the day. In 1820 he published a humorous, satirical poem, "Fanny," on the follies and fashions of the day, because of the subject, of short-lived interest. This long poem, of some 1,500 lines, was written in three weeks and was very popular at the time. A trip abroad in 1822 resulted in more poems, intended to be part of a series based on incidents of his travels, but the plan was never carried out. Like Mrs. Sigourney he visited the haunts of Burns, and like her brought home a flower, choosing a rose to her daisy, and again like her, wrote a poem on the visit—an excellent one, it should be said. On the return from this journey, "fresh from foreign travel, fashionably dressed and of fascinating address and graceful conversation" he paid a visit to the shabby fellow-poet Percival, in New Haven.

His employer failing in business, Halleck first devoted himself entirely to literature, and then entered the counting house of John Jacob Astor, where he remained until 1849, when Mr. Astor died. The last years of his life he spent in Guilford except for annual visits to New York, where he always considered himself at home, "and elsewhere a visitor." Mr. Astor gave him an annuity of \$200 a year, and later another member of the family added a gift of \$10,000. The companionship with his sister Maria has been compared to that between Lamb and his sister, happily without the tragic element.

Though "his harp hung neglected" after his return to Guilford, he had published a volume of verse in 1827, in 1836, in 1839, and in 1842 a new edition of the volume of 1839, "Fanny and Other Poems."

H. P. Robinson in Guilford Portraits gives a picture of his reminiscent old age in Guilford,—

“Many an hour we sat beside the green
While he related what old times might mean,
The stubbed stones that rose above the ground,
The church with cornices, low towered around,
The milkweed and the kindred kine and sheep
That in those days the Green could careless keep * * *”

One of his best known poems was “Marco Bozzaris,” with the stirring lines,

“Strike—till the last armed foe expires,
Strike—for your altars and your fires,
Strike—for the green graves of your sires,
God—and your native land!”

Other familiar poems are “Connecticut,” “Alnwick Castle,” “Redjacket,” and the lines on his friend Drake “half epitaph and half sigh,” beginning “Green be the turf above thee.”

When a monument was dedicated to him in Guilford soon after his death, it was the occasion for an oration by Bayard Taylor, a poem by George Hill, and one by Oliver Wendell Holmes. Some of his friends presented a statue of him to the city of New York (1877), the first American to be honored with a statue in a public place. This was the occasion of more eulogies by the great of the earth, Willian Cullen Bryant presiding at the exercises, President Hayes presenting the statue, and J. G. Whittier writing a poem. Lowell however in his Fable for Critics, said “Halleck’s better, I doubt not, than all he has written.”

The poet Brainerd had a special admiration for Halleck, and often said he should like to see him. S. G. Goodrich (Peter Parley) offered to introduce him, but he “seemed indeed to feel that there would be a kind of presumption in his being presented to the leading poet of the great metropolis.” One day the three happened to be in the same book store. Goodrich thought this the chance, but when Brainerd was told which was Halleck he “took a long and earnest gaze, then turned on his heel, and I could not find him for the rest of the day!”

Another said, “Dear Halleck, Nature’s favorite and mine,
Curst be the hand that plucks a hair of thine: * * *
Wilt thou be silent? Wake, O Halleck, wake!
Thine and thy country’s honor are at stake!
Wake, and redeem the pledge—thy vantage keep;
’Tis pity, one like thee so long should sleep!”

Five years younger than Halleck was “our own Percival,” as he was called by Yale men, the next poet to which the county can lay claim, and that in spite of the fact that neither his birth nor death occurred within its borders. He was born almost within the county, for Berlin is on our borders, but he died far away, in Wisconsin. James Gates Percival (1795-

1856) was graduated from Yale in 1815, received the degree of M. D. in 1820, and lived in New Haven for the most part for many years.

While still in college he began to write, and at his commencement, the students presented a play he had written, "Zamara, a Tragedy," as are so many youthful productions. In 1821 he published here a volume of poems, in 1822 a Phi Beta Kappa oration, the second part of a poem, "Prometheus," begun in 1821, and the first and second parts of "Clio," a miscellany of prose and verse.

For the next five years he was away from New Haven, for a time as assistant surgeon at West Point, and after he resigned in a huff, connected with the recruiting station in Boston. During this period he published more poems. In 1827 he returned to New Haven to help Noah Webster edit his Dictionary, giving assistance particularly in the scientific words, for he united "to the vivid imagination of the bard, the observing eye of the minute naturalist." In 1835 he was appointed to help make a mineralogical and geological survey of Connecticut; in 1853 he was engaged by a mining company to survey their land, and 1854 was made State Geologist of Wisconsin. He is said to have been a really good geologist, and was also a botanist of ability. This medical and scientific knowledge was only part of his great attainments, which included a knowledge of all European languages except Turkish, many dialects of India, and Gaelic, besides the more usual Latin, Greek and Hebrew. He was able to compose verses in these various languages, though an Ode in Danish presented to Ole Bull on the occasion of a visit to New Haven roused the sole, patronizing comment that there were only a few mistakes in it. He translated various works for the press.

With all this intellectual power in every direction, Percival was always poor and generally in debt and difficulty. He had a small patrimony, but no practical sense. Two brothers, an actor and an artist, were equally gifted and eccentric. There are of course anecdotes concerning this, and his peculiarities of manner and appearance and hermit-like method of living. S. G. Goodrich (Peter Parley) relates some of these anecdotes, as does James Kingsley Blake in an entertaining article in the papers of the New Haven Colony Historical Society. On one of these occasions he kept the poet Hillhouse and some friends up until two o'clock in the morning, delivering in his monotonous and almost inaudible voice a monologue on hickory trees. Thomas Robbins made one of his rare jokes, and said he went to a Phi Beta Kappa meeting and "Heard * * * Dr. Percival's inaudible poem." Mr. Goodrich once invited Percival and Cooper the novelist to dine with him. "Mr. Cooper was in person solid, robust, athletic—with something of self-assertion, bordering on egotism. * * * Percival, on the contrary, was tall and thin, his chest sunken, his limbs long and feeble, his hair silken and sandy, his complexion light and feminine, his eye large and spectral, his whole air startled, his attitude shy and shrinking, his voice abashed and whispering. Mr. Cooper ate like a man of excellent appetite and vigorous digestion: Percival scarce seemed

to know that he was at the table. * * * Yet these two men conversed pleasantly together. After a time Percival was drawn out, and the stores of his mind were poured forth as from a cornucopia. I could see Cooper's gray eye dilate with surprise and delight." A plan, however, made at this time for helping Percival came to nothing, because the poet, annoyed in his room by a "fiddling Frenchman," fled to New Haven without saying anything and entered into another contract there.

Percival was fond of music (playing on an accordeon, because he had no musical knowledge and no money to buy a better instrument). This brought him into the political campaign of 1840, when he organized the New Haven Sing-Song Club, which sang songs at political rallies. Percival wrote verses for this, one to the tune "The Campbells Are Coming" beginning

"Bold Tippecanoe has come out of the West
To deliver the land from a horrible pest;
A plague such as Freedom before never knew
Has fled at the touch of Old Tippecanoe."

He was soon called upon to write a hymn of mourning, which was sung at the memorial services for President Harrison held in Center Church.

From 1827 to 1853 Percival lived almost constantly in New Haven, at first on Chapel Street, later (1843) having rooms in the hospital until they were wanted for their original purpose. "Here he lived the life of a recluse, splitting his own wood behind the building, and taking his meals of crackers, herring and dried beef, in his own quarters. The furnishings of these were of the scantiest; a cot, mattress and blankets, but no sheets or pillow. The rooms were never swept. * * * Only a few chosen visitors were admitted; if any one else called, he talked to them in the entry, though it is said that when Longfellow visited him to pay his respects, Percival received him in the reception room of the Hospital."

At some time admirers built a little house for him to occupy on his return from Wisconsin. Here he had 10,000 books, which no one bought at the price the executor of his estate asked for them as a whole, and they were scattered. One of his favorite haunts was the Young Men's Institute. Thomas Robbins wrote in his diary: "Gave Dr. Percival and E. C. Herrick a number of old election sermons."

"The Coral Grove," "New England," "To the Eagle," "To Seneca Lake," "Address to the Sun," are names of the poems usually included in Anthologies, and of these the first named is the one best known. Many of his contemporaries eulogized him, but today he is practically unknown which means that he lacked the divinest spark.

Percival is being re-discovered, but will the modern estimate be like some of the past? "With the single exception of Shakespeare, Percival is the most profoundly philosophic poet who has ever written in the English language. * * * With the single exception of Byron, no one has touched the Spenserian verse with so masterly a hand. * * * His poems present a gallery of word paintings, which, for extent, variety and

richness of coloring, as well as truthfulness to nature, have never been surpassed by any native bard." This is an opinion of 1870.

S. G. Goodrich, the publisher, said that 1820-1830 was the period when our national literature was being founded, and among the writers who were bringing this about he named Hillhouse, Percival and Halleck. He, however, quoted one critic, perhaps scribbler would be a more suitable name, who wrote verses on a number of authors. Those on Halleck have been partly quoted. These are his remarks on Percival:

"One bard there is I almost fear to name,
More doubting whether to applaud or blame.
In P-rc-v-l's productions, wheat or chaff
Are mixed, like sailor's tippie, half and half;
But duly bolted through the critic's mill,
I find the better part is wholesome still."

A less well known poet, and one of smaller accomplishment, is William T. Bacon (1814-1881). Several towns in the county share in his life. He was born in Woodbury, attended Cheshire Academy, then Yale, where he was Valedictorian of his class, continuing in the Divinity School. He was pastor of a church in Trumbull, but had to give up preaching because of his health. He came to New Haven for several years, for he had married the daughter of Dr. Jonathan Knight. Afterwards he moved to Derby, where, as he had done in New Haven he worked on a newspaper. Soon after his graduation he published a volume of poems, which became very popular, and came to a third edition in three years. Late in life he printed privately for distribution among his class-mates a volume called "Dawn and Sunset." One of the minor poems in the collection was "East Rock in Autumn." He composed a hymn for the celebration of the 250th anniversary of the founding of New Haven.

At the time of Woodbury's Second Centennial (1859) he wrote a long poem called "Sires and Sons," which has more vigor and detail than such compositions usually possess, for most of them with slight changes of name, might apply to any town. The Argument shows its character:—"A band of Pioneers spy out the land—advent of the first Colony over Good Hill—Descent into the valley, their location, some facts about them, and why they came—Pass a hundred years, with some notices of descendants—Summary of the Puritan character"—But though well done, this will not be considered poetry, except in form, as the opening lines show,—

"Two hundred years ago, as records say,
Five sturdy settlers left old Stratford Bay,—
Wells, Harvey, Uffoot, Curtiss and John Minor,
The last, of this the grand designer,—
And turning to these northern solitudes,
Sought out a home, among the gloomy woods."

"Simplicity and grace, fine perception of natural beauty, deeply reflective moral and religious sentiment" are said to mark his work.

New Haven County has had its quota of minor poets, composers of the "song which floats in our papers and periodicals," some of whom never got beyond the Poet's Corner of the local newspaper, that nursery of local and fledgling poets. Abraham Bradley, "poet of pioneer life in Guilford" is an example. Some versifiers were like Isaac Bronson, who, at the close of his life, burned all his compositions, except some literally snatched from the flames by his daughter. He wrote, for instance, a hymn on the death of Washington, sung at a public meeting of the church.

Another Bronson, Tillotson, rector of St. John's, Waterbury, principal of the Cheshire Academy, editor of the *Churchman's Magazine*, published in it various short pieces of his own poetry. One "The Retrospect," describes the wild scenery of his youthful home in Naugatuck and "if it does not reach the highest standard of excellence," said Dr. Bronson, "it is superior to much that goes by the name of poetry." Still another Bronson his nephew, Amos Bronson Alcott, left his native Wolcott, first as a peddler in the South, and later in educational and literary work, and became so thoroughly identified with Concord that he will have to be yielded as a writer of New Haven County. An Autobiographical Poem however contains a description of his boyhood home, and one of the last poems he wrote was a sonnet to Wolcott Hill.

Guilford produced another poet, George Hill (1796-1871), a friend of Halleck. He left for college at the age of fifteen, and did not live in Guilford until over forty years later, in 1855. He was for a time in Asia Minor as consul, and while Professor of Mathematics in the United States Navy, was attached to the Mediterranean squadron, and travelled around that region. Consequently classic scenes inspired his Muse, and he published several volumes of verse. One poem "Love and Reason," treats the goddesses in quite the modern manner. Venus speaks,—

" 'I'm getting old; lud, how these fogs
And bleak winds of Olympus rack us!
Mars ogles less than he was wont,
And Vulcan spends his nights with Bacchus."

One poem, "The Elfin Steersman," is honored by Stedman by a place in his Anthology. Another, "Idlings with Nature," deals with Guilford scenery, for these poets however far they roam have affection for the scenes of their childhood.

Anderson has made a long list of local and occasional poets for Waterbury, and such a list might well be made for other places in the county, containing for instance names such as the lawyer of New Haven, Charles Ives, who wrote a book of travel, "The Isles of Summer," and a volume of verse, "Chips from the Workshop." Another is S. Dryden Phelps, with his "Songs for All Seasons."

There is also a large number of "tuneful women," such as Mrs. Ann Stephens, Martha Day, Lavinia Stoddard. Mrs. Stephens is perhaps

better known for her novels and work as editor than for her poetry, and she does not seem to have been able to surround herself with the glamour of her Hartford contemporary, Mrs. Sigourney. Perhaps she was less the clinging vine, or to change the figure to a favorite expression of Mrs. Sigourney's, was not a "timid waif," led along gently by a wealthy patron.

Like Humphreys Mrs. Stephens was born in Derby (1811), and in fact her family was associated with Humphreys, for her father, John Winterbotham, an Englishman, a cloth manufacturer from the vicinity of Manchester, was brought over by Humphreys to help establish his woolen factory, a matter about which Humphreys knew nothing. Winterbotham was junior partner in the firm, with entire charge of the manufacturing department. He left Humphreysville soon after the death of Humphreys. The daughter was married in 1831 and soon went to Portland, Maine, where her husband was a merchant. He also published a magazine which she edited for two years, and did other literary work. Her first poem "The Polish Boy," was published in this magazine. In 1837 the family moved to New York, as she was asked to undertake editorial work there, which she did most successfully. In the various magazines with which she was connected, *The Ladies Companion*, *Graham's Magazine*, *The Ladies World*, she published many poems. One, "The Old Apple Tree," is about her early home,—

"I am thinking of the homestead,
With its low and sloping roof,
And the maple boughs that shadowed it,
With a green and leafy woof;
I am thinking of the lilac trees.
That shook their purple plumes,
And, when the sash was open,
Shed fragrance through the room."

She, too, contributed to the Woodbury Festival by her presence and her pen, her name appearing on the programs three times as author of poetical compositions.

Martha Day (1813-1833), daughter of Jeremiah Day, president of Yale College, was a pupil in two of the famous schools in New Haven, Herrick's and the Young Ladies Institute. Her well known poem, "The Comet's Flight," was read at one of the examinations of the latter. Her accomplishments as a scholar were "beyond the usual attainments of her sex." A small volume of "Literary Remains" was published in New Haven in 1834.

Lavinia Stoddard is best known by the poem "The Soul's Defiance," whose nature is sufficiently indicated by its title. She was born in Guilford (1787) and died in Alabama in 1820. She left Guilford as a child, and with her husband established an Academy at Troy, N. Y.

New Haven had Elizabeth Jocelyn Cleaveland, daughter of a distinguished family, who wrote the famous verses, "No Sects in Heaven,"

and others, among them, one entitled "The Phantom Ship." Her ancestor, Nathaniel Turner, was lost on the Great Shippe. The poem, "No Sects in Heaven," had an interesting history. Appearing first in the *Berkshire Courier* it was copied in the *Congregationalist*, was reprinted anonymously in England, so often that it was thought to be the work of an English writer.

Derby had a female poet, Mrs. H. M. Cooke, who wrote under one of the alliterative names beloved of another generation,—Lottie Linwood, with a volume of verse called "Gold Thread," a writer "whose lyrical numbers were tuned to the music of love," as a local poet expressed it. Waterbury had "Jennie Juniper" besides other tuneful women, whom it seems ungracious not to mention. Meriden, of course, had Ella Wheeler Wilcox, but only by adoption, or rather, as a daughter-in-law. Estella J. Mills, born in Westville, but living most of her life in Ansonia, published many poems, in a volume called "Storm Swept." And so the list might be extended.

The first prose writing was practically all in the field of theology, shading into something only slightly more worldly. This of course was natural since the clergy had almost a monopoly of education. Memorial, Ordination and Election Day sermons, and those on special occasions led gently into the field of history. Thus the Rev. Samuel Hopkins, born in Waterbury 1693, graduated from Yale in 1718, then settled as minister in Massachusetts, wrote the first printed book produced by a Waterbury man. The subject was "Historical Memoirs," the full title employing 89 words, indicating that it was an account of the methods used to convert the "Housatunnuk" Indians, and allied topics. This was published in 1753. The nephew of this man, another Samuel Hopkins, founded the Hopkinsian school of theology, and was the hero of Mrs. Stowe's "Minister's Wooing."

The sermons of the Rev. Thomas Ruggles, Jr., have a certain historical interest, even if only in the title, such as one published in 1737, "The Usefulness and Expedience of Souldiers * * * preached to an Artillery Company * * * on the day of their first choosing Their Officers." He also preached funeral sermons for Samuel Russell and Jared Eliot, and left a manuscript History of Guilford. Many discourses were given on the characters of Washington and Governor Trumbull, and later centennial addresses either of the founding of a church or a town.

The Rev. Jared Eliot produced work of another kind, in his "Essays in Field husbandry," (about 1750), and the paper on Making Iron from Sea Sand; and Rev. Jonathan Todd wrote a Meteorological paper read by Franklin before the Royal Society in 1756. President Clap wrote Conjectures on the Nature and Motions of Meteors above the atmosphere, and the first book printed in New Haven was his code of laws for the college. He also rendered service to local history, by planning a History of Connecticut, but most of the outline he had prepared was carried off by the British in 1779. Besides his own efforts he induced ex-Gov. Roger

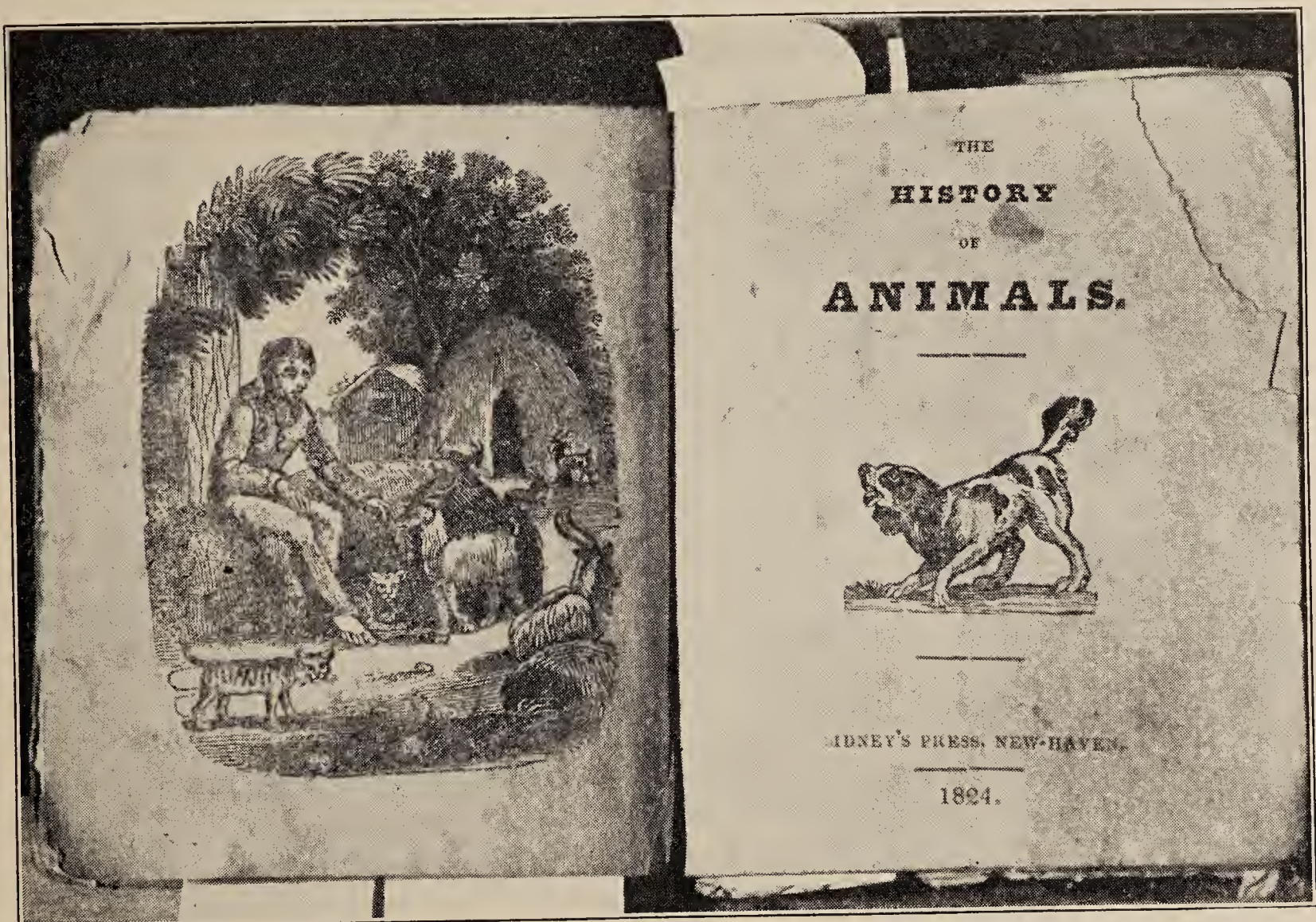
Wolcott to write a narrative of events in his life. President Clap wrote miscellaneous pamphlets for various occasions, on the history of Yale, on Singing by Rule. President Stiles wrote a History of the Regicides, though it is full of stories accepted uncritically.

Benjamin Trumbull of North Haven in 1773 published a Discourse delivered at the Freemen's meeting, New Haven, thus beginning a series of publications that covered a half century. On his monument it is stated that "He composed during his ministry nearly four thousand sermons and published essays on the inspiration of the Scriptures—a history of Connecticut—a history of United States and other works for which he was honored by his Alma Mater and esteemed by his countrymen as an able Divine and an accurate historian." The first volume of the History of Connecticut was published in 1797, and republished with the second in 1818. He was commissioned by the General Association of Connecticut to write the history of the United States, "taking into consideration the great duty and importance of having the interpositions of Providence in the events that have effected and attended the late American Revolution religiously improved not only by present but by future generations and that some suitable and concise history be prepared for that purpose." A committee was appointed to collect material and Mr. Trumbull was "to digest and write the whole and prepare it for the press." The History of Connecticut is largely concerned with the religious life of the colony. David Humphreys wrote a life of Israel Putnam, and Jedediah Morse a geography which might almost come under the head of History.

Timothy Dwight became President of Yale in 1795. In connection with his duties, he wrote a system of Theology in five volumes; but of wider and more lasting interest are the four volumes of vacation Travels. His time for several different summers, was spent in journeying throughout New England, and the account of these journeyings is a valuable book of reference. It is entertaining, partly for the somewhat grandiloquent manner in which it is written. He also prepared a statistical account of New Haven.

Ministers in several towns made a beginning at local history, Perkins for Meriden, Dodd for East Haven, Gillette and Baldwin for Branford, Marvin for Woodbridge. Laymen took up the work, Barber for Connecticut, R. D. Smyth for Guilford, Lambert for Milford, Leonard Bacon and later Atwater for New Haven, and F. B. Dexter for Yale, Bronson for Waterbury, to name only a few, for most towns have some record of the past. Later writers should take it up as Eversull has for one phase of the history of East Haven, Oviatt for Yale, G. S. Dickerman for Mt. Carmel, and Anderson for Waterbury.

Charles Wyllys Elliott of Guilford (1817-1883) wrote among miscellaneous books a "History of New England from 986 to 1776," published in 1857. Steiner quotes a criticism of it as a "curiosity shop of history" that concerns itself with "all that is monstrous and peculiar." He wrote



(Courtesy of the New Haven Colony Historical Society)

PRIMER PRINTED IN NEW HAVEN

also *The Book of American Interiors, Cottages and Cottage Life*, and others of no local interest. John S. C. Abbott, who lived in New Haven and Fair Haven as pastor of churches, wrote during that time a *History of the American Civil War*, and a series of American biographies.

There is of course a vast number of books that come under the general head of textbooks, some of them published by New Haven firms, as *Lovell's Readers* by Durrie and Peck, and many by Babcock and Company. Not all are textbooks strictly speaking, but the learned and scientific works produced by members of the Yale College Faculty since the days of President Dwight. The work of Noah Webster in producing textbooks has been mentioned. He also published a volume of *Papers on Political, Literary and Moral Subjects*, made up of Essays he had produced from time to time, for he was interested in a wide variety of subjects. There is a whole field of the literature of pamphlets, some of which have been mentioned in connection with the discussions leading to the formation of the Constitution of 1818. One for example published in New Haven in 1816 has for a title "As You Were! A Word of Advice to Straight-Haired Folks." The following quotation will show its general style: "We have long witnessed the triumph of democracy in the U. States. We have become habituated to see it occupy the seat once dignified by our beloved Washington. We see it in possession of wealth and honors, while we remain in indigence and obscurity, many of our early associates, 'whose fathers we would have disdained to have set with the dogs of our flocks' have risen to affluence and honor. The prostitution of every honorable principle, by which they have attained their unmerited elevation, is forgotten, and the base multitude bows before them with respect."

Scattered about unpublished or in local histories and historical publications are letters and diaries that are valuable and entertaining historical and literary material. Such are, for example, the diary of Joseph Atkins in Waterbury, the recollections of Thomas Painter in West Haven, of Joel Root supercargo of the ship *Huron*, the diary of the rector of Trinity Church, New Haven. One could wish for more books like Chauncey Jerome's "History of the American Clock Business" and account of his life.

Two lines of traditional development found expression in the career of a New Haven minister of the last part of the 19th century, Dr. Theodore Thornton Munger, preacher and author. The story of this "typical New England ministry" is told in the Biography by Benjamin W. Bacon.

The position of Dr. Munger as being "probably better than any other man of his generation in the line of descent of the New England Puritans," is made more striking because of certain particular circumstances. He studied theology under Nathaniel W. Taylor, who was graduated from Yale College while the first President Dwight was in office; who also studied theology under President Dwight, for whom he acted as amanu-

ensis; and later became Dwight Professor of Didactic Theology in Yale College. Though Dr. Munger revolted from his teaching, he said, "Taylor * * * exercises a positive power upon you. He is a genius in theology—an enthusiast, and he makes you feel. Somehow he plants a truth within a man and it becomes life and power. You will think for weeks on some thought or view that he throws out. In short he is a Teacher, and a true Teacher is rarer than a true Poet." To complete the inheritance, Dr. Munger was called in his turn to serve Yale as member of the Corporation.

The connection with the past was even closer from the fact that he was minister of a church that owed its beginning to an Old-New-Light quarrel of the period following the Great Awakening. Moreover, "When Dr. Munger came to New Haven a new storm centre had developed in New England theology, and the controversy was at its height." This was the "Andover controversy," specifically a debate over the choice of candidates for missionary appointment whose theological views were questioned. One of them happened to be a member of Dr. Munger's church. Back of this difficulty was the greater one raised by the new scientific and historical knowledge,—the theory of evolution and the application of principles of higher criticism to the study of the Bible,—which seemed to many to be threatening the foundations of religion.

Dr. Munger was in sympathy with the liberal party, but the greatest value of his support came, not from his intellectual conviction, but from its expression in "a style of rare literary felicity and a spirit of deep religious earnestness." His first great contribution was a volume of essays, "Freedom of Faith," published in 1883, in which he "made his readers feel that the 'new theology' was a progress in piety no less than in knowledge * * * no other so fully showed the deep religious significance of the newer thinking."

Dr. Munger published other volumes of essays, many articles and a life of Horace Bushnell that is considered a classic.

A contemporary essayist of different type was Donald G. Mitchell (Ik Marvel). Graduated at Yale in 1841, he took up the study of law, but soon turned to literature. Two books of Essays sentimental in character, "Reveries of a Bachelor, or a Book of the Heart" (1850) and "Dream Life, a Fable of the Seasons" (1851) became very popular. His own life, as some one has said, seemed dreams come true.

Partly for reasons of health he became interested in agriculture, and bought a farm of two or three hundred acres on the outskirts of New Haven in a fine situation, above the city where he looked out to see "a confused line of roofs, belfries, spires, towers, rise above the wood * * * and the purple hillside trending southward to a lake-like gleam of water, where a light-house shines upon a point." He wrote of life here in "My Farm at Edgewood," and "Wet Days at Edgewood," and the talks about planting, grafting fruits and berries, bring to mind Jared Eliot and his "Essays on Field Husbandry," Samuel Johnson the Guilford

pedagogue who grafted fruit trees, and the herb garden at the Medical School. But it was gentleman-farming with the real cultivating done in literary fields. "In that alcove of my library which immediately flanks the east windows is bestowed a motley array of farm-books: there are fat ones in yellow vellum; there are ponderous folios with stately dedications to some great man we never heard of; there are thin tractates in ambitious type, which promised, fifty years and more ago, to upset all the established methods of farming * * * I delight immensely in taking wet day talks with these old worthies."

Ik Marvel was also interested in landscape gardening and laid out East Rock Park. In "Bound Together" there is a delightful essay on Highways and Parks in which he says, "Take, for instance, the trail of a park road; it involves indeed, good engineering; but it involves more. There must be grace, there must be winningness in every line; there must be dalliance with the low declivities, there must be easy and scarce discoverable gain upon the altitudes which are surmounted only for the charms of outlook they offer." Old-fashioned New England towns, he says, with their green commons shaded by ponderous-limbed trees have "all the park elements which will suffice for years of growth; and which, if there be neatness and order, the most skilled of gardeners cannot touch without blundering into niceties that will weaken, instead of strengthening general effect."

Work of another kind is represented by "The Lorgnette" (1849), supposed to be the letters of an old man indulging "in a little harmless ridicule of the foibles of the day, without citing personal instance." There was also a novel, "Dr. Johns," but most famous of all was the "Reveries of a Bachelor." When the "Bachelor" himself had had eleven children and was a grandfather he could look at a large book case in his study filled with different editions of this book, published and translated into several languages, and ranging from those in paper backs at five cents each to expensive bindings. There were also books of travel, for he had lived abroad, and sketches on literary and historical subjects.

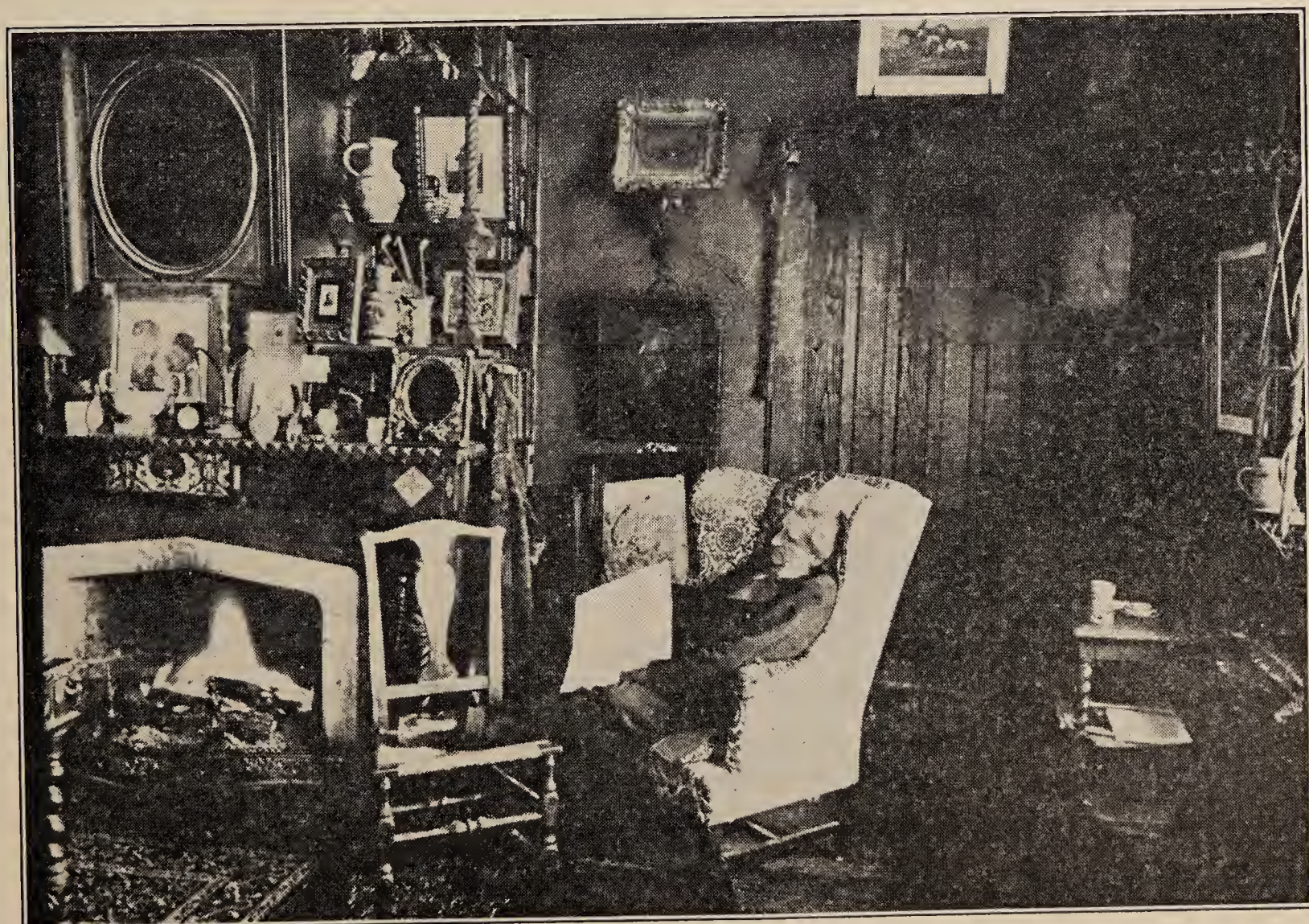
As a memorial the people of Westville bought the old Beecher mansion and collected for the town a library named for him. It is also a branch of the Public Library of New Haven, and the grounds have been made a park.

One whose name should be more than mentioned, for poetry, essays and story writing is Professor Henry A. Beers of Yale.

Perhaps one should not include in such dignified company the "Dunn Browne" letters of the Rev. Samuel Fiske, pastor of the church in Madison, newspaper and war correspondent, who was killed in the Civil War; or the books of another man from this region, who flourished in Boston for a time, "Adirondack Murray," one of whose interests is indicated by the nickname and the other by the title of one of his books, "The Perfect Horse." His other books were "Adventures in the Wilderness" and "Adirondack Tales." He had a life of adventure himself, first as a



RESIDENCE OF DONALD G. MITCHELL (IK MARVEL)



(Courtesy of E. G. Wooster, New Haven)

IK MARVEL IN HIS STUDY

popular preacher, then running a sawmill in Texas, a "Snow Shoe" restaurant in Montreal, studying finance in England, and finally ending his life in retirement in his native Guilford.

A lowly handmaid of history and literature should be mentioned, the Almanac. Donald G. Mitchell begins the essay on "Procession of the Months" in "Bound Together" thus,—“The book of all other books which makes us count our time, and change our dates, and reckon the seasons—I mean the Almanac—gives us flight into the country * * * The old almanac-makers did well in wedding their pages with ruralities,—flinging an arabesque of flowers over the tale of the spring and of the summer, and bordering their winter calendar with the wonderful snowy cornices which the winds fashion along the edges of the hills.”

Albert C. Bates in an article in the *Connecticut Quarterly* gives some facts concerning local almanacs which show their honorable sponsors. Robert Treat, grandson of the governor, Yale 1718, was author of an "Almanac of Celestial Motions" for the years 1723, 1725, 1727 and perhaps for those between. Roger Sherman published an almanac for several years; a College Almanack for 1760 and 1762 was printed in New Haven by a student at Yale College; a Poor Roger's American Country Almanack was also printed in New Haven in 1763, and an Astronomical Diary in 1773 and 1784; and one was printed in 1785 and 1786 by Meigs, Bowen and Dana under the name "Nathan Ben Solomon X. Y. Z." The elegant General Humphreys wrote an article for the first almanac of the Connecticut Agricultural Society, for he helped form the society and had an experimental farm. Waterbury had a diary published from 1785 to 1790 and from 1853 for several years, the "Waterbury and Naugatuck Valley Almanac," with a brief account of Waterbury history and institutions. Beginning in 1848 as The New England Agricultural and Horticultural Almanac, appearing in 1849 as The (dear) People's Almanac, with a picture of George Beckwith its author, and soon changing to Beckwith's Almanac is one that is full of information for New Haven,—chronicling local events, such as fires, robberies, accidents, deaths, and occasionally more cheerful happenings. The portrait of the author appeared on all the issues except the first, and, except for the first time, with the famous gray hat, though the picture changed two or three times as the author advanced in years.

Beckwith used the Almanac to express his views, for he was an ardent advocate of temperance, and for several years the almanac bore the caption "To do good and to make money." He was a Yankee Diogenes, a "cosmopolite," "phonographer" a mathematical genius who did surveying, in fact was appointed County Surveyor in 1865, and made the New Haven Directory from 1850 to 1866. His daughter, Mrs. Ewell wrote a number of stories and many poems, some appearing in the Almanac.

The following "Acknowledgment to Contributors" shows his characteristic. "For the pertinent and instructive poetry which introduces

each month, I am indebted to Miss Juliana J. Norton of New Haven. That I have deemed her effusions worthy of a place in my Annual is as flattering recognition of her merit as I can give, without the appearance of distasteful adulation.

"The articles upon temperance dated Guzzle Corner, are the satire of G. W. G., of Chester, whose faithful labors among those within his influence have done much to promote a healthy sentiment upon prohibitory law against intoxicating liquors. His biting irony shows up in the most ludicrous light the folly of letting devotion to party hinder for a moment the imitation of the example of Maine and other States, in outlawing the traffic in the Waters of Death. The articles first appeared in the *Maine Law Advocate*, an excellent temperance journal published weekly in New Haven."

The following entry, interesting for itself, especially because of a book recently written on Miss Turner by a Madison woman, is characteristic, except for its length, for the entries are usually very brief. April 30, 1859. "The *Palladium* having made some strictures upon the imprisonment of Miss Antoinette Turner, derogatory to Judge Seymour, a large bar meeting was held, and resolutions passed vindicating the motives of Judge Seymour, and pronouncing the *Palladium's* remarks libelous. [The editor of the *Palladium* has a right to comment on the decision, and his deductions are too logical to be met by the sophistry of legal erudition. The censure of a political journal, by a corps of lawyers, is a transaction nearly allied to an instance of 'Satan rebuking sin.' If Judge Seymour has proper self respect, he will value this officious intermeddling of the bar for his defence, as little as did Jefferson the imprisonment of Abram Bishop of New Haven, under the sedition law, for defaming *him* when President of the United States, See Acts 23:4.]"

Soon after 1800 the following question was given out as a subject for dispute at Yale College,—“Are novels beneficial?” The decision was for the negative. There is however a long list of novels by writers of New Haven County, but the list is marked by length rather than distinction. All that can be done in most cases is to give the names of the authors and their books, at least a partial list. It is given in alphabetical order, and speaks for itself.

Delia Bacon published in 1831 “Tales of the Puritans,” containing three stories,—The Regicides, The Fair Pilgrim, and Castine; in 1839 “The Bride of Fort Edward;” a Dramatic Story, Founded on an Incident of the Revolution. She also wrote a book entitled “Philosophy of the Plays of Shakespeare.”

John W. DeForest, Humphreysville, wrote a “History of the Indians of Connecticut,” books of travel,—Oriental Acquaintances, European Acquaintances,—also a number of articles reviews and short stories. He published a number of novels, some of them appearing as serials in leading magazines. Their names are,—“Witching Times,” “Sea Cliff,” “Miss Ravenel,” “Overland,” “Kate Beaumont,” “The Wetherel Affair,” “Honest

John Vane," "Justine Vane," "Playing the Mischief," "Alice the Missionary."

S. H. Elliot wrote *Memoirs of "Emily Perkins," "Parish Side," "Rolling Ridge"* and *Sequel*. Martha (Stone) Hubbell, daughter of a physician who went to Oxford from Guilford, married Rev. Stephen Hubbell, a Congregational minister, 1832, and while living in Oxford wrote "*Shady Side*" or *Life in a Country Parsonage, by a Pastor's Wife*. A sale of 40,000 copies is said to have had a greater influence in increasing the salaries of ministers throughout New England than anything else. She afterwards wrote other books, and was in great demand by publishers. (Orcutt, *History of Derby*). A letter of Dr. Munger's said, "I preached in Mt. Carmel, which is the first place mentioned in '*Shady Side*'. I think it is there called Salem. Good 'Deacon Ely' and the deacon who was the 'left hand cipher,' and other people mentioned in the book" were among my hearers. The American Sunday School Union published a book called "*The Sunny Side*," or *The Country Minister's Wife*, written by another minister's wife. Mrs. Cleaveland author of "*No Sects in Heaven*," and also mistress of a parsonage apparently referred to "*Shady Side*" in a poem called "*Trials*."

Anderson in the "*History of Waterbury*" gives a list of the works of Sarah J. Prichard, beginning with "*Martha's Hooks and Eyes*" (1860), "*Nat's Shoes*," "*Kate Morgan and her Soldiers*," "*Kenny Carle's Uniform*," "*The Old Stone Chimney*," "*Joe and Jim*," "*Marjie's Matches*," "*Hugh's Fire on the Mountain*," "*Faye Mar of Storm Cliff*," "*Rose Marbury*," "*What Shawney did to the Light House*," "*Aunt Saidee's Cow*," "*Mr. Axtell*," "*The Only Woman in Town*," and other tales of the Revolution published 1898 by the Waterbury Chapter of the Daughters of the Revolution. She also wrote many stories and articles in magazines and weeklies, and in another field was one of the authors of Anderson's "*History of Waterbury*." Other Waterbury writers of fiction mentioned by Anderson are, Arthur Reed Kimball, graduate of Hopkins Grammar School, and of Yale (1877), newspaper man, who wrote "*A Reporter's Romance*," and "*The Blue Ribbon*" the story of a temperance worker. Mrs. Nellie Lowe Wilmott, "*A Dash of Red Paint*;" Rev. Frederick R. Sanford, "*The Bursting of a Boom; a Semi-Tropical Love Story*;" Mary Elizabeth Jennings, "*Asa of Bethlehem and his Household*."

Martha Russell, born in North Branford 1817, wrote for various magazines, and published three books, "*Righted at Last; or Zerlina, the Autobiography of a New England Girl*," "*Sibyl; or Out of the Shadow into the Sun*," and "*Leaves from the Tree Igdrasil*." She did other writing.

Ann Stephens, already mentioned as a poet, wrote her first complete story in 1834, the year in which her first poem was composed. Both appeared in the magazine of which she was editor in Portland. The story was "*The Tradesman's Daughter*." Others were, "*Married in Haste*," "*The Old Homestead*," "*Wives and Widows*," "*A Noble Woman*," "*The*

Soldiers' Orphans," "Silent Struggles," "Worstin's Rest," "The Rejected Wife," "Bertha's Engagement," (whose opening scenes were laid in Seymour), "Fashion and Famine," "Bellehood in Bondage," "The Wife's Secret," "Ruby Gray's Strategy," "Doubly False," "Mabel's Mistake," "Lord Hope's Choice," "The Old Countess," "The Gold Brick," "Curse of Gold," "Palaces and Prisons," "Mary Derwent," "The Reigning Belle," "The Heiress," "Phound Frost's Experiences," and "The History of the War for the Union." (This list is taken from the "History of Derby," which also gives an account of her life).

The "Gold Brick" is said to describe many localities and some characters of Seymour, and the story of "Malvina Gray" was laid in that town.

Louisa Caroline (Huggins) Tuthill wrote three series of stories for juvenile readers, (the list is given in Atwater's "History of New Haven"). These books had a very large sale, some of them having reached the fortieth edition. She wrote a novel, "My Wife," a "History of Architecture," and other books, besides compiling Selections from DeQuincy, and Ruskin. She is said to have given the name, City of Elms, to New Haven.

Rev. Israel P. Warren, at one time pastor of the Mt. Carmel Church wrote "The Sisters," in which the Dickerman sisters who kept a school, figured. He also wrote "Chauncey Judd; or The Stolen Boy," based on an incident of the Dayton robbery in the Revolution.

Theodore Winthrop wrote "Cecil Dreeme," published in 1861, with a biographical sketch of the author by George William Curtis. Other books published after his death were "John Brent," and "The Canoe and the Saddle," both published in 1862.

Noah Webster, in a Collection of Essays and Fugitive Writings (1790), expressed the following opinion of novels, which is quoted in order to present him in another light than as author of spelling books and dictionaries, for he had wide interests. This particular opinion was doubtless shared by many of his contemporaries, but, as the preceding list shows, the dictum did not prevent his fellow citizens from continuing to write them. "With respect to novels, so much admired by the young, and so generally condemned by the old, what shall I say? Perhaps it may be said with truth, that some of them are useful, many of them pernicious, and most of them trifling. A hundred volumes of modern novels may be read, without acquiring a new idea. Some of them contain entertaining stories, and where the descriptions are drawn from nature, and from characters and events in themselves innocent, the perusal of them may be harmless.

"Were novels written with a view to exhibit only one side of human nature, to paint the social virtues, the world would condemn them as defective: but I should think them more perfect. Young people, especially females, should not see the vicious side of mankind. At best novels may be considered as the toys of youth; the rattle-boxes of sixteen. The mechanic gets his pence for his toys, and the novel writer for his books, and it would be happy for society if the latter were in all cases as innocent playthings as the former."

CHAPTER II

NEWSPAPERS

The oldest newspaper in the county, and indeed in the state, though not the oldest with a continuous publication to the present, for it lasted only a few years, is the *Connecticut Gazette*, a weekly paper published from 1755 to 1764. The establishment of this paper was not the result of local enterprise, for it was started by an outside company, James Parker & Company, really representing the two joint Deputy Postmaster-generals for the Colonies, Benjamin Franklin and James Hunter. New Haven seemed an important place for a post office and newspaper at this time, because of the war going on at the north.

The firm that undertook this enterprise was composed of James Parker, a printer and friend of Franklin's, and John Holt, brother-in-law of Hunter's. Parker did not come to New Haven, for this was one of two or three similar enterprises he had in hand. He remained in New York and sent his partner. Both Franklin and Parker had relatives they wished to help in this way. Hunter's brother-in-law, John Holt, who was the resident partner in New Haven, had failed in business; Franklin had a nephew, Benjamin Mecom, for whom he wished to find an opening. The nephew at the moment was employed elsewhere in a similar position. Another reason for the choice of this location was a correspondence Franklin had been carrying on with President Clap of Yale College, who wished some one to open a printing establishment in New Haven, and apparently promised a job to start on, for the first work printed by the firm was an edition of "The Laws of Yale College." President Clap was thus an early worker for a "bigger and better New Haven." Books were also sold at the printing office.

In order to help his nephew Franklin not only bought printing material from England, but also a lot in New Haven, on which it was apparently the intention to locate the post office and the printing business. Neither however was put on the lot, perhaps because when the men in charge got here it did not seem the best place for the business, and perhaps because while waiting for a building here the business became established elsewhere. This lot had an interesting history. After the Parker Company connection with New Haven ended the lot was sold, finally coming into the hands of the State's Attorney for the county in 1785, and to the county in 1791, with the jail that had been built on

it. A little more land adjoining was bought, and an almshouse and jailer's house built. In 1799 Yale College bought part of this land for \$1,000 and building a new jail elsewhere. The rest of the land soon followed, for by this time the county lot was bounded on all sides by college property, a situation which history has since repeated.

The printer set up his establishment first "at the Post Office, near the sign of the White Horse," near the Hay-market, an open piece of ground at the corner of State and St. John streets, and later near Captain Peck's at Long Wharf.

The original company, Parker and Holt, was dissolved in 1760, when Holt had to go to help in the business in New York. The Parker firm kept the ownership, and Thomas Green a printer from New London became the New Haven agent. Thomas Green and his family had an interesting connection with colony affairs. Printer's ink seemed to run in the veins of the family as their blue blood. A Samuel Green began printing in Cambridge in 1649; three of his sons at least, and the brother-in-law of one of them for good measure, were printers; one of these sons came to New London in 1714, the second printer in Connecticut, and had five sons who were printers; one of the five, Samuel, had three sons who followed what might be called the family profession. The oldest of these, born 1735, was our Thomas, thus the fourth in line, or column perhaps one should say. He also had a son who was a printer. Albert C. Bates, who sets forth these facts in an article in the New Haven Colony Historical Society papers, says that when Thomas Green was learning his trade he might have received instruction from any one of several in his family, his father, his grandfather, or one of three uncles.

At the time of the Revolution one of the family, Timothy, was official printer of the colony, but many of the proclamations of Governor Trumbull, and several Acts of the Assembly were printed by Thomas Green and his brother in New Haven. One of these was the "Act for encouraging the Manufacture of Salt Petre and Gun Powder," interesting because of the powder factory in New Haven. Another was an "Act for raising and equipping a body of Minute men."

Thomas Green was in Hartford for a few years between the times of his residences in New Haven, and while there printed President Clap's "Essay on Moral Virtue," and Jared Ingersoll's "Letters Relating to the Stamp Act." Later he fell into disfavor with the college authorities, and with many, for, as a Church of England man, he was thought to be a Tory, and the number of his publications decreased for a time. Mr. Bates quotes from President Stiles. "Sir Chang (Henry Channing, a graduate of that year) returned fr. Hartford, the Printer there has engaged to (print) the Commencement Theses, Catalogues, & Quaestiones Magistrales. The Press in New Haven (Tho. Green) is a Tory press & unobliging to College. This the Reason of sending abroad." However when he died in 1812 the notice of his death says, "He was a gentleman of peculiar suavity of manner, great benevolence and universally

esteemed; every house in New Haven was to him as a home." It is said that his (third) wife was obliged to sign her will by making her mark, a curious fact in a family so addicted to letters.

It should have been mentioned in connection with the Parker company and the Greens of New London that they were printers of the almanacs made by Robert Treat and Roger Sherman and one prepared by the Rev. Joseph Moss of Derby, perhaps, says Mr. Bates, the first almanac printed in the state.

Thomas Green and his brother set up a paper mill in 1776 in New Haven. Barber gives the following notice from their paper which explains why they engaged in this enterprise. "We are very sorry that we cannot procure a sufficiency of paper to publish a whole sheet; but as there is now a paper mill erecting in this town, we expect, after a few weeks, to be supplied with such a quantity as to publish the *Journal* regularly on a uniform sized paper, and to be able to make ample amends for past deficiencies. July 3, 1776."

It is necessary to return to the *Connecticut Gazette* which we left at the arrival of Thomas Green in 1760, taking the place left vacant by the departure of John Holt. In April 1764 the publishers announced in No. 471 of the paper that they were giving up the business, because "the encouragement for the continuation is so very small." Thomas Green moved to Hartford and the paper was revived in the summer of 1765 by Franklin's nephew, Mecom, but it lasted less than three years under his management.

Mecom is said to have been an excellent printer, having learned his trade under Parker, but apparently he had not his uncle's business ability. He was quite the gentleman, even in his attire when at work at the printing press. One can imagine the proverb Poor Richard would have quoted on seeing this. This habit, together with the fact that he published a Magazine with a department called "Queer Notions," caused him to be known by that name.

His announcement of the policy of the paper invited the "benevolent of all parties to send him an account of all novelties they think may be useful to their countrymen," with the inconspicuous addition that they will be used "if convenient." He also proposed to subscribe to English periodicals and newspapers, which with "American intelligence from Nova Scotia to Georgia inclusive, and also from Canada, cannot fail to furnish him with a constant stock of momentous materials and fresh advices to fill this *Gazette*."

For local happenings the paper printed, among other things, the affair of Benedict Arnold's whipping an informer of "importing contraband goods;" the affair of Jared Ingersoll and the Stamp Act; and an article by Naphtali Daggett on the troubles with England, which, copied in papers all over the country is said to have had great influence in forming public opinion.

Mecom was ready to give up the paper in 1768, and like his predecessor Holt, put a plea in the paper for the payment of money owed him.

He informed the public that "he is preparing to move from this place with his family and that he chiefly depends on his debtors for something to pay the expense." He added that "it may not be improper to say that all persons may be supplied with a newspaper by Messrs. Thomas Green at the Old State House, where other printing work is done and books bound." Atwater says, "The older paper yields to its younger rival so gracefully, that one may believe that its proprietor received some consideration for retiring from the race." If so the paper was experiencing both parts of the saying, "Welcome the coming and speed the parting guest."

Barber gives a description of this little paper. "No. 28, dated (Saturday) October 18, 1755. * * * It is a sheet of 4 pages, each containing two columns; and measures, when opened, $10\frac{1}{4}$ inches in length, and $15\frac{1}{2}$ in breadth." The description given by Atwater is slightly different. "*The Gazette* had four pages, and at first each page measured nine inches by six and a half inches exclusive of margin. The page was afterward enlarged to measure fourteen inches by nine and a quarter inches; but sometimes paper of the normal measure not being obtainable, a smaller size was used for one, two or three numbers. There were two columns on a page."

The newspaper mentioned by Mecom as already started was the *Connecticut Journal and Post Boy*, which Thomas Green and his brother Samuel had started in the autumn of 1767. The appropriateness of the name *Post Boy* for a newspaper is explained by the dependence the publishers placed on the papers they received by the post, sometimes finding it necessary to delay the appearance of their papers until the posts brought something to print. The modern equivalents are the Associated Press and United Press wire service, and news syndicates.

In the expectation that the career of Mecom would not last much longer, Thomas Green had sent his younger brother Samuel to New Haven in 1766, to be on hand when the time came, so that no other printer would be invited to fill the vacant place. When Mecom left he himself returned to New Haven. The connection of Thomas Green with the old paper, the *Gazette*, and the new *Journal*, makes the latter a step-child of the former. Today the *Journal-Courier*, which had its beginning in the *Connecticut Journal and Post Boy*, has under its title on the editorial page the caption, "Connecticut Gazette. Founded 1755. Connecticut Journal. Founded 1766," thus acknowledging the relationship. The evolution of the present paper has been brought about during the intervening 175 years by a series of changes of name and ownership, and acquisition of other papers.

From 1775 to 1799 the paper was called the *Connecticut Journal*, and it soon added "Weekly Advertiser," to its name, but only for a few months. The name *Advertiser* seemed to appeal to the publishers, and was used again for a few months in 1809. For a time, in the '40s, the paper was known as *The Morning Journal and Courier*, taking the first part of the new name from *The Morning Courier*, a paper bought by its

owners. The present form of the name was adopted early in this present century.

The paper also passed through several changes of ownership, coming into the hands of a man who owned other Connecticut papers, Thomas G. Woodward, and John B. Carrington, of the *Connecticut Herald*, who had been an apprentice of Mr. Woodward and had had newspaper experience in Georgia. The two joined in a partnership in 1835 and published the first daily paper in Connecticut, *The Daily Herald*. They soon got the *Journal*, so that the *Journal-Courier* is in a sense the outgrowth of the *Herald*. Thus it got its present name from the *Connecticut Journal* and the *Morning Courier*, and the daily feature from the *Daily Herald*.

Mr. Woodward was a veteran editor, and when he died, Mr. William T. Bacon, (whom we have already mentioned in connection with literature), came into the partnership and acted as editor from 1846 to 1849. There were other re-arrangements of the firm,—Mr. Bacon was succeeded first by J. B. Hotchkiss, and then by a stock company, in which curiously enough a postmaster was a member, Mr. N. D. Sperry. In 1875, Mr. Carrington, who was the largest owner and manager, became sole owner, and acted as editor for a time. At his death his sons succeeded him, and 1906 the surviving son sold a half interest to N. G. Osborn who became editor.

For a time a weekly edition was issued, under the name, *The Connecticut Herald*, a paper which went back to 1804, with the later addition of the *Weekly Journal*. The Carrington Company also published *The New Englander*, a bi-monthly, established 1843, and edited by T. D. Woolsey and Leonard Bacon.

The *Journal-Courier* has absorbed two other papers, the *New Haven Palladium* and the *Morning News*. The former was published from 1829 to 1911, at first only as a weekly, ten years later appearing three times a week, and 1841 becoming a daily. At first a Whig paper, it turned Republican. "Bold, Independent and Original," it advertised itself in 1871, and as "The only morning newspaper in New Haven that publishes the full despatches of the Associated Press." The other, the *Morning News*, was an independent paper, published from 1882 to 1898, having bought the lists and a few assets of an earlier paper, the *Observer*, a small sheet of a few issues. For a time it was owned by S. E. Baldwin and Henry Farnam, in the interests of good government. An example is its successful warfare, practically unaided, against state and city payment of reporters. It had other notable achievements, and was successful for a time, but, says Hill, it "met the inevitable fate of the overcrowded."

The *Columbian Register* was founded 1812 by Joseph Barber, a strong Jackson man. During its various changes of name it has kept the word "Register" as the main part of its title, changing to the *New Haven Daily Register* in the '40s, for a brief time appearing as the *New Haven Morning Register*, but soon changing to *The New Haven Evening Register*. It was at first a weekly (in fact this was kept until December, 1911, "in

order to serve the needs of farmers and residents of outlying towns"), then tri-weekly, becoming, as the *New Haven Register*, a daily, as has been said.

In 1879 the first *Sunday Register* was published, a four-page paper which was issued with a sort of apologetic explanation that it had just growed, like Topsy. At the time few New York Sunday papers came to New Haven, and the *Register* had the field almost entirely to itself. The issue of its fiftieth birthday describes this venture, and is interesting as an account of the beginning in New Haven of an institution which is regarded as a necessity today. "Just how daring an attempt it was, and how carefully it had been considered beforehand may be appreciated from the introductory editorial which appeared in that first edition. Although hardly an apology, the editor's introduction most certainly bordered upon an excuse, and it was at least an expression of a hope that the Sunday paper would not be given too harsh a reception. Excerpts from that editorial follow: 'Sunday journalism * * * has come to stay. It is the effect of forces too powerful to be controlled. Such being the case, apologies are superfluous. Facts must be recognized, and those doubtful souls who fear that Sunday papers will create a feeling of disregard for the sanctities of the Sabbath, may lay aside their fears. They could not have come unless they were needed. What little prejudice remains against Sunday papers is groundless.'"

The paper had no "feature story," no illustrations, very few advertisements, and what the anniversary issue calls "unimpressive" head lines, "with about half the columns beginning without any heads whatever, being continued from the bottom of the previous column." Sports were represented by an article presenting "Some interesting Facts and Reflections Relating to Bicycle Navigation," and a long description of the trotting on Whalley Avenue, which had just been made possible by some good sleighing. This custom, by the way, was an established and exciting feature for years, when Whalley Avenue from Howe Street was filled with "cutters" whose horses were often being raced, while ordinary work-a-day traffic was supposed to give way to the fun.

The first editorials of the *Sunday Register* of 1879, and of the *Columbian Register* of 1812 expressed similar aims: The 1812 editorial says, "The columns of this paper will contain the substance of all congressional affairs, as well as foreign and domestic news. A small portion of our columns will be devoted to such miscellany as may prove a moral repast to youth." In 1879 it was said, "Questions of social, religious, moral and esthetic character will be calmly and dispassionately discussed, while much space will be devoted to the better class of literature; to science, art, domestic and social affairs, and whatever tends to illustrate the march of mind and morals."

The appearance of the *Sunday Register* was duly chronicled in Beckwith's Almanac for 1880, with one of his characteristic comments. "New Haven Sunday Register first appeared. (It may be a stretch of charity

to hope that the Sunday edition will make amends for the perverse utterances contained in its issue on secular days. 'While the lamp holds out to burn'—The editor may apply the other line of the couplet)."

The founder of *The Columbian Register*, Joseph Barber, in 1834 took into partnership his nephew, Minott A. Osborn. He was only twenty-three years old, but had been in his uncle's office since he was fourteen. At that age he had left Lovell's Lancasterian School to learn the printer's trade, and had been advanced rapidly, so that before 1834 he had been doing some writing. He continued as editor and publisher until his death in 1877. In 1838 Mr. Osborn became sole owner of the paper. He and Mr. Barber could no longer agree, and the older man decided to retire. William B. Baldwin was partner for a time, managing the business end of the paper, but this partnership was dissolved in 1866.

The following account of its later history is taken from the Anniversary number. "In 1875 a joint stock corporation was formed, The Register Publishing Company. Minott Osborn died in 1877, and from then until 1884, when his son, Col. Norris G. Osborn, came into control, there were three editors, Robert W. Wright, Judge Samuel A. York, * * * and William Parsons.

"The present Register Building was erected in 1884, and the equipment moved, and ever since that time *The Sunday Register* has been printed in Crown Street. In 1895 John Day Jackson acquired control of the paper, and has been its publisher ever since."

The *Register* has recently moved to a new building, the third home of its own. The second building was on Chapel Street.

The *Register* was always Democratic until 1896 when it "bolted" Bryan and came out for the Gold Democrats, and later for McKinley. "It was said that the editors of the *Register* and the *Hartford Times* practically controlled the major policies of Connecticut * * * political organizations had no headquarters where they could meet, and the Democrats used the *Register* offices as their meeting place. Here they laid their plans for campaigns and discussed the distribution of the spoils. As part of its contribution to the party, the *Register* is said to have published ballots for almost the entire county, free."

Can one help recalling at this point the objections made to ministerial influence in politics under the rule of the Standing Order? And Lyman Beecher's description of their activities? "The ministers had always managed things themselves, for in those days the ministers were all politicians. They had always been used to it from the beginning.

"On election days they had a festival. All the clergy used to go, walk in procession, smoke pipes, and drink. And, fact is, when they got together, they would talk over who should be governor, and who lieutenant governor, and who in the Upper House, and their counsels would prevail."

Atwater says, "The editor of an influential newspaper occupies in these days a position comparable only to that formerly held by the village parson. Daily the editor mounts his pulpit; every day the worshippers

assemble to hear him. To the public, which grows up around him, he becomes in politics a teacher and an oracle; in society a mentor; in religion a critic; in business matters an indispensable assistant and adviser."

Antagonism to the *Register* during the Civil War led to an attempt to wreck its building, but this was prevented by the sight of armed guards. The would-be wreckers then advanced on the home of the editor, but receiving wrong directions, attacked by mistake the home of the editor of the *Palladium*, which was Republican.

New Haven's "original one-cent newspaper," the *Union*, was founded in 1871. At that time there was a strike of compositors on the *Journal and Courier*, and a printer from New York, Alexander Troup, came to address them. The result was the founding of the *New Haven Union*. At first it was published on Sunday morning, but soon appeared on Saturday afternoon, as the *Saturday Evening Union*. In 1873 a joint stock company was formed, and the paper appeared daily, on Sundays also, thus becoming the first Sunday newspaper in Connecticut. It finally became Democratic, and supported Bryan with vigor. Bryan was a close friend of Mr. Troup. The sons of Mr. Troup continued the paper after his death in 1908. At times the *Union* was considered sensational. The *New Haven Leader*, later the *Times-Leader*, was started in 1892 as a distinctly Republican paper. These two papers are now consolidated as the *New Haven Times*. Papers in foreign languages were also started, Italian and German, and others of various aims, some with picturesque names, as the *Sun of Liberty*, the *American Eagle*, *Nutmeg Gratings*.

Waterbury has three daily papers, survivors of several attempts of one kind and another,—the *American*, the *Democrat* and the *Republican*. Of these the *American* is the oldest, having been first issued in December, 1844 by Joseph Giles. It contained no editorial, so necessary a part of the modern newspaper, but had something resembling the appeal of modern local news, in that it aimed to interest people of the surrounding towns as well as Waterbury. E. B. Cooke, later known as "Father Cooke," bought an interest in the paper in a very short time and was an important factor in its development, until a severe illness in 1867, after which he was not active. In an autobiographical account he said, "For a period of nearly sixty years, the writer has been practically engaged in his favorite profession having acted as foreman, editor, reporter and contributor as occasion demanded." His connection with the paper lasted until 1875.

The paper developed, especially during the Civil War, as all newspapers did, and became a daily in 1866. In view of the independent position of the *American*, it is interesting that in 1865 certain people thought it not sufficiently partisan, and started the *Daily Chronicle*. This was not successful and was soon bought by Mr. Cooke, who thereupon made the *American* a daily. At the time of the Blaine candidacy the *American* cast aside its independent position, and became Democratic, but returned to that position in 1877. Its general attitude may be shown by a quotation

from its columns given in Anderson in a chapter written by C. F. Chapin, Yale 1877, who became editor in 1878, and remained in that position even under changes of ownership in 1877 and 1922. "Its chief end," it was said, "is to gain readers by printing what people want to read, the news; and it throws in its opinions on this news, and on all matters of human interest as they come along, for good measure."

The Chase family became owners of the paper in 1877, and remained so until 1922 when it was sold to William J. Pape, who had previously bought the *Republican*, and who formed the American-Republican Company, Inc., which made possible a "sun-rise to sun-rise covering of news," for it publishes the two papers, one in the morning, and the other as an evening paper. There is also a *Sunday Republican*. For a time, beginning in 1881, while the paper was under Chase ownership, Arthur Reed Kimball, who was connected by marriage, was associate editor, and later general manager. His connection ended in 1922. He has been mentioned already as a writer.

Some forty-five years after the founding of the *American*, and also it may be added of the temporary existence of several other journalistic ventures, the *Republican* was started, in 1881, in the common fashion of a weekly. J. H. Morrow, a newspaper man from Brooklyn, editor until 1890, announced its policy in the first number, which was "earnestly to maintain the principles on which the Republican party was formed." In 1884 it became a daily, appearing in the evening until 1886, when it changed to a morning paper, with a Sunday edition started in 1898. It was owned for a short time by Francis Atwater, and in 1901 was sold to two newspaper men from New Jersey and Pennsylvania, respectively, W. J. Pape and W. M. Lathrop. Its circulation was helped by the proverbial ill wind, in this case a fire in the building of the *American*, and the trolley strike. In 1906 the old Sunday edition was revived, thereby substituting, for many, a good Sunday paper in place of some bad ones. In 1910 Mr. Lathrop sold his interest in the paper to Mr. Pape, who as has been said has consolidated this and the *American* companies, the two papers however being kept entirely distinct and complete in themselves. The *Republican* has for many years had a larger circulation than the other Waterbury papers. "It is noted for its fearlessness in fighting for any measure that means the public good and for attacking any which does not. Several reforms have been brought about through its vigorous exposition of unfavorable conditions." It has also been successful in raising funds for charitable purposes, as for instance for a hospital.

The third paper, the *Democrat*, started as the *Valley Democrat* in 1881, a weekly paper appearing on Saturdays. In 1886 it changed to a Sunday paper, and the next year to a daily, *The Evening Democrat*. A statement of its aims made a few years later is given in Anderson's "History of Waterbury," "Its conductors are under no oath of office and no bonds for the faithful performance of public duties; but they are bound by a sense of obligation to defend the interests of their constitu-

ents. *The Democrat* is a representative elected by popular suffrage, and it has served the people and not its owners alone. That is why it has prospered as a commercial undertaking." The men who started it were Cornelius and Michael Maloney.

Waterbury has had many other ventures in the journalistic field. Two of these were campaign papers,—the *Flag of Our Union*, for Fillmore, backed by John Kendrick; and the *Waterbury Journal*, for Fremont, later called the *Semi-Weekly Democrat*, suspended in 1858 for financial reasons. Other efforts were *The Naugatuck Valley Messenger*, the *Valley Index*, and the *Weekly Examiner*, to name one or two. The last named was an advertising circular, changed into a labor organ, really a free lance on any subject. There have of course been other papers, which have found brief life their portion, in varying degrees of brevity, and papers representing special interests of all kinds. The account in Osborn's History, from which much of this material on newspapers has been taken, ends the section on Waterbury's papers with the following general summary: "There is a long miscellaneous list, mostly of papers which represented special or trade interests, or church or amateur papers. There were five or six trade papers or house organs; some seven church papers; and no less than thirty amateur papers which expressed the ideas of youth. There is also the usual number of school papers, some of them of excellent quality." Lists are given in Anderson's "History of Waterbury."

Meriden has at present two daily papers and one weekly, but as in the case of the other towns these are but the survivors of many more.

The first in order was the *Northern Literary Messenger*, whose character is indicated by its name. It was made up mostly of miscellaneous reading, "devoted to literature and the fine arts," and paid little attention to local matters except in the matter of advertising. It was edited by O. G. Wilson, and was succeeded or continued by the *Mercury*, the same name in different form, the two lasting only about five years.

For a few years after 1850 O. H. Platt engaged in newspaper work. He edited the *Connecticut Journal*, started in 1852, sold the next year to a man who consolidated it with the *New Britain Journal*. It contained so few advertisements and was so expensive to publish that it was soon sold. The *Connecticut Whig* took its place, lasting two or three years, also edited by Mr. Platt. After the *Whig* was suspended he edited the *Meriden Transcript* which had been started in 1850, and continued until 1856, when Mr. Platt's partner in producing it moved away, and he himself found it necessary to devote his time entirely to his growing profession. *The Chronicle*, started by a Canadian, Robert Winton, lasted for two years (1856-8), when under a new owner and a new name, the *Banner*, it had the very brief existence of three weeks.

Meriden was then without a paper for a time. In 1863 another weekly was started, the *Meriden Recorder*, "Independent in Everything and Neutral in Nothing," under two men, one of whom was Luther C. Riggs, poet as well as editor. In 1869 he published an edition called the *Daily*

News, and for a short time in 1881, there was an evening paper based on the *Recorder*, called the *Evening Recorder* or the *Newsboy*, which "tried to be neutral and pleased no one." There was also a *Meriden Press-Recorder*, another combination. Mr. Riggs had other papers for a time.

Two other papers were started in 1867,—the *Weekly Visitor*, soon made the *Daily Visitor*; and the *Daily and Weekly Republican*, started as an opponent to the *Recorder*. William Graham, a famous political writer, was on this paper. In 1868 the two were merged, and for a time became the *State Temperance Journal*. In 1881 the *Republican* was revived, soon absorbing the *Monitor*, a paper begun in the interests of General Grant. This combination of several papers known as the *Republican* lasted until 1899, when in turn it was merged in the *Record*, a paper dating back to 1860. This is the present *Morning Record*, first called the *Record and Republican*.

In 1886 the Journal Publishing Company was formed, to publish an evening paper and carry on a general printing and publishing business. The paper launched by it is the *Meriden Journal*, appearing in the evening. This company published the "History of Meriden" by Gillespie and Curtis and the account of the "Centennial of Meriden," prepared by the committee which had the celebration in charge.

The list of newspapers and periodical literature published in New Haven County is as long as the list of novels, for many indeed are those that have had a little day and ceased to be. Some hardly lasted beyond the first number, others appeared for years. Today eleven of the thirty-four daily newspapers in Connecticut (twelve counting the *Yale Daily News*) are issued in different towns in New Haven County; three Sunday papers, of the six in the state; one semi-weekly, of five in the state; and nineteen weekly, of eighty-one in the state. Every other week therefore, if they happen to be published the same week, the presses put forth thirty-four newspapers, for the information and entertainment of its inhabitants. "The reading of newspapers in this country is undoubtedly excessive," said President Dwight more than one hundred years ago. Perhaps, with the increase of population, the proportion of papers to readers is no greater than in his time.

Of the daily papers, Ansonia, Naugatuck and Wallingford each have one, curiously enough all three are evening papers and independent in politics. Meriden has two dailies, morning and evening, respectively Republican and independent in sympathy. Waterbury has three, two evening and one morning, independent, Democratic and Republican respectively. New Haven has three also, two evening and one morning, two independent and one Republican. Some of these papers have Sunday or weekly editions. The following towns have weekly papers, all but one independent. *The Press* of East Haven; the *Shore Line Times* of Guilford; *The Republican* of Meriden (Republican); the *Times* of Milford; the *Record* of Seymour; *La Verita* of Waterbury. New Haven (city) has ten weekly papers,—independent, commercial, labor, religious, agricultural, German and Italian.

Some of these towns have had other papers at different times,—Guilford, Milford, Naugatuck, Wallingford. One of the Guilford papers, *The Shore Line Sentinel* (1877-1881) was at the time the only paper published along the coast from New Haven to New London. Branford has had papers,—the *Weekly Gleaner* and the *Branford News*, both about 1878, the *Opinion*, 1891-1915, and the *Branford Standard*, 1921-4, an edition for Branford of the *East Haven Press*.

Westville had a paper for ten years, the *Westville Times* (1894-1904), and Cheshire the *Courier* for two years (1877-9). This list is not exhaustive.

Derby's first newspaper, the *Derby Journal*, was started in 1846, but failed when the attempt was made to turn it into a daily. There were too few people to support such a paper. Associated with this publication was John W. Storrs, poet as well as editor. He was historian also, and wrote what is described as one of the best regimental histories, an account of the Twentieth Regiment, C. V. There was also a *Valley Messenger*, and in the late '60s the Rev. W. T. Bacon, already mentioned as a poet, with his sons started the *Derby Transcript*, and remained editor until he died (1881). In 1888 the *Transcript* became a daily paper, and was continued for several years. Meanwhile the *Ansonia Sentinel* was being developed. It was started in 1871 by another minister, Rev. E. M. Jerome, as the *Naugatuck Valley Sentinel*, a weekly. In 1884, the *Evening Sentinel* was started, the two producing a paper for six days a week. This paper has taken the place of the *Transcript*.

Naugatuck, which now has the *News*, a daily, had two other papers started in the '70s, the *Enterprise*, and the *Naugatuck Review*. The latter was consolidated in 1889 with the three-year-old labor paper, the *Agitator*. The united paper was called the *Naugatuck Citizen* and lasted until 1896. Shortly before this the *Naugatuck News*, the present paper, had been established. Milford has had various papers, beginning with the *Telegram* in 1873, followed much later by the *Times* and *Topics*. The *Milford Citizen* was established in 1894. The first number of the *Times* appeared in March, 1928.

Seymour's one paper, the *Record*, was conducted until 1924 practically continuously by its founder, William E. Sharpe, the historian of Seymour. In his "History of Seymour" it is stated that before the *Record* was founded in 1871 "there was no paper published in any of the towns between Derby and Waterbury." Mr. Sharpe conducted it as a local and family newspaper, with articles, pictures and sketches of Seymour people and institutions, "so that the files of the *Record* are a mine of information both in regard to current events and early history." The *Milford Times* also prints pictures and articles on local history.

Wallingford has had nine or ten attempts at papers, beginning with the *Wallingford Witness* in 1886. At about the same time the *Wallingford Times* was started, and bought the *Witness* in 1889. The *Times* was started as a daily and weekly.

CHAPTER III

PAINTERS AND ARCHITECTS

In 1878 H. W. French began his "Art and Artists in Connecticut" thus, "One of the three pioneers in original art in America, Connecticut, entered more vigorously into the field than either of her sister states; though she cannot claim at the outset to have attained the eminent artistic ability of one of her competitors. She produced the first, and for years almost all, of the standard historical works of the country. She has given the world more artists of acknowledged ability than any other state; and from the outset her sons have either led the van, or appeared in the front rank of the nation. The first academic art-school of the country is in Connecticut." Not every one has agreed with this opinion. William Dunlap, playwright and painter, (among other things), born in New Jersey (1766-1839), visited New Haven six months, and left saying the city was devoid of art feeling. But the painter Stuart, who had a poor opinion of Dunlap's work, said, "Brother Dunlap, it appears to me the good people of New Haven may have had some cause." As a matter of fact what has been done in New Haven County in this field?

The oldest picture in New Haven, painted in 1635, is a portrait by an unknown artist of an unknown person, said to be a member of the household of Governor Eaton. Unfortunately it can not even be conjectured to be that of the Governor himself, for it is the portrait of a young woman. It would in fact be too great good fortune for New Haven to have a picture of Eaton to match the familiar one of Davenport, and the town must be satisfied with the possession of his tombstone in Grove Street Cemetery, and the autographs of both of them.

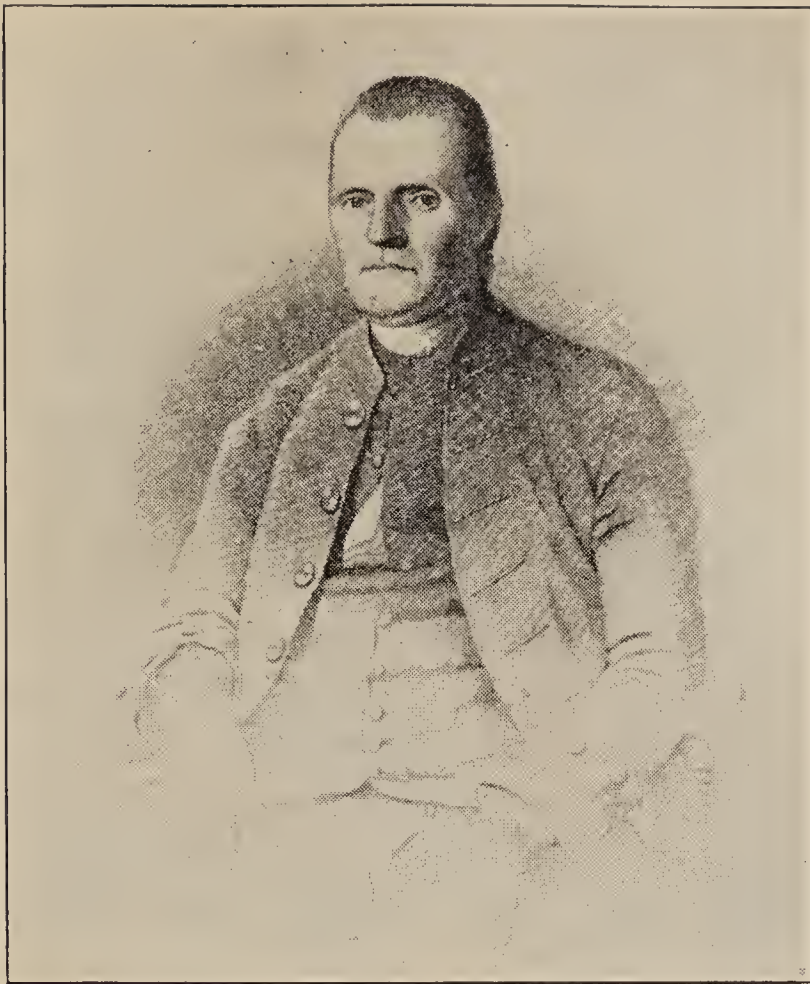
New Haven has pictures of two early benefactors of Yale, the magnificent Elihu himself, and the good Bishop Berkeley. The former was painted by an unknown artist, and in the history of art the latter is of the greater interest. It was painted by an artist who came over with Berkeley, John Smybert (or Smibert), a man who lacked inspiration, but who was trained, and had studied with Van Dyke. Smybert lived in New Haven and at one time in Boston, which furnishes other facts of interest to New Haven. Young John Trumbull, who finally succeeded in becoming an artist in spite of the remonstrances of his father, and whose works are best seen in the Yale Art Gallery, went to Boston to study. In the sketch of his life, he says, "There I hired the room which had been built

by Mr. Smibert, the patriarch of painting in America, and found in it several copies by him from celebrated pictures in Europe, which were very useful to me * * * there remained in Boston no artist from whom I could gain oral instruction; but these copies supplied the place, and I made some progress." Smibert probably only through his pictures started Benjamin West at painting, and from West, Trumbull received lessons and help later. Besides the portrait of Bishop Berkeley, he painted one of Henry Caner of Boston, architect of the first college building in New Haven.

The shot fired at Lexington that was heard round the world, had among the results of its reverberations the inspiration of a certain kind of artistic effort in New Haven. Two rising young men were at Lexington, one with the Foot Guards as an original member, and the other probably going along as a volunteer,—Amos Doolittle and Ralph Earle, the former an engraver, born in Cheshire and living in New Haven, and the other from Lebanon, a young self-taught itinerant painter. Within a few months after the Lexington Alarm, there appeared "Four different views of the Battle of Lexington, Concord, Etc. * * * neatly engraven on Copper, from original paintings taken on the spot." One can imagine the two young men, neither much over twenty, working them out, Doolittle acting as model for Earle, who "when he wished to represent one of the Provincials as loading his gun, crouching behind a stone wall when firing on the enemy, (he) would require Mr. D. to put himself in such a position." These prints probably represent the first historical paintings by an American. The same desire to perpetuate a scene immediately found its local counterpart in a sister art, for David Humphreys, also young, wrote the Elegy on the burning of Fairfield on the spot.

The two young men had quite different after careers. Doolittle remained in New Haven, pursuing his various arts and crafts, making maps and plans, book plates, coats of arms, college diplomas, bank notes, prints of famous men, title pages and illustrations for books, printing calicoes, painting and gilding. Earle had a chance to go to England, studied with West, became a member of the Royal Academy and painted royalty and notables. In Connecticut again he painted "Pope" Timothy Dwight and Roger Sherman, the familiar picture of Chief Justice Oliver Ellsworth and his wife (living in their house six months to do it), and perhaps the picture of Amos Doolittle. His large picture of Niagara Falls was exhibited by Doolittle, price of admittance 9d. A portrait of Earle is in the Metropolitan Museum. It is said that he "murdered his own greatness in liquor," at any rate he lost engagements because of his habits, was imprisoned for debt, and died at the age of fifty (1801), while Doolittle lived to be over seventy (1754-1832), in his less turbulent career.

The Revolution had a soldier-poet in Humphreys, it was to have a soldier-painter in John Trumbull, son of the war governor, Brother Jona-



ROGER SHERMAN

1721-1793

From a painting by Ralph Earle



(Courtesy of Yale Alumni Weekly)

THE OLD YALE LIBRARY, BUILT IN 1843
Henry Austin, Architect

than. The portraits he painted from life are invaluable contributions to history. Like Humphreys, he was elegant and courtly, and counted many important men as his friends. The first use Trumbull made of his talent in this direction was at Boston soon after he enlisted in the army (1775). His eldest brother told him that General Washington wanted a correct plan of the enemy's works, and that to furnish this would give him a probable means of introducing himself to the favorable notice of the general. Young Mr. Trumbull accordingly crept out, and was proceeding to get the information, when a deserting British Artilleryman brought him a rude plan of the entire work. The drawing he made was shown Washington, and the young man was soon made second aid-de-camp. Later he made drawings of plans of Ticonderoga.

Trumbull left the army after two years. He made several trips abroad, where he studied with Benjamin West, was imprisoned as a spy after the execution of Major André, knew Sir Thomas Lawrence, encountered Sir Joshua Reynolds, and met French artists as well as English. While studying with West on a second visit after the war, he began, he said, "to meditate seriously the subjects of national history, of events in the Revolution, which have since been the great objects of my professional life * * * (I) felt that in painting them, I should be paying a just debt of gratitude to the memory of eminent men, who had given their lives for their country." In 1790 he issued some proposals for publishing prints of two of his pictures by subscription. He said, "Historians will do justice to an era so important, but to be read, the language in which they write must be understood. The language of painting is universal and intelligible in all nations, and in every age." The list of subscribers to the prints (at three guineas for the set of two), contains the names of David Humphreys and James Hillhouse.

Two pictures in the Gallery of the Yale Art School, the death of Warren and of Montgomery at Quebec, were painted in West's room. One day West showed one of them to a gathering of artists. Reynolds said, "this is better colored than your works are generally," thinking them the work of West. As Reynolds had recently told Trumbull that the coat on his portrait of Wadsworth was "not cloth—it is tin, bent tin," Trumbull felt that "the account between us was fairly balanced." West encouraged Trumbull to proceed with his plan, and suggested having the painting engraved and the prints sold to help remunerate the artist. In pursuit of an engraver, Trumbull went to Paris, where he was encouraged in his general project by Jefferson, who invited him to stay at his house. While there Trumbull began the picture on the Declaration of Independence, "with the assistance of his information and advice."

Trumbull had all sorts of experiences in his trips abroad, including the unpleasant one of being arrested during the French Revolution while trying to get a passport. From this situation which threatened to become more than unpleasant, the artist David and the picture of Bunker Hill extricated him. In pursuit of the execution of his plan he spent

much time traveling about his own country, getting portraits from life of the Revolutionary characters. Trumbull did not confine himself to military subjects. He painted Lemuel Hopkins, the ex-Waterbury poet, physician and wit.

Towards the end of his life Trumbull became impoverished. He was painting a second series of pictures of the Revolution, smaller in size than those in Washington. It occurred to him that "in an age of speculation, it might be possible, that some society might be willing to possess these paintings, on condition of paying Trumbull a life annuity." Fortunately he dismissed the idea of approaching his Alma Mater, Harvard, and turned to Yale, "although not my alma yet, she was within my state, and poor." A contract was made in which Yale received the pictures in return for a life annuity to him of \$1,000 a year and the erection of a fire-proof building in which to keep the pictures. This contract was signed in December, 1831, a notable act, Yale thereby taking a step in advance of other institutions. At the end of the sketch of his life, published in 1841, he says, "The Gallery now contains fifty-five pictures by my own hand, painted at various periods, from my earliest essay of the Battle of Cannae, to my last composition, the Deluge, including the eight small original pictures of the American Revolution, which contain the portraits painted from life." Other Trumbull pictures have been bought and others given. He painted his own portrait, and a marble bust of him is in the Yale Art Gallery.

Among other pictures connected with this period is a likeness of General Humphreys by Stuart, which is said to be one of the artist's best works. "It ought to be engraved," said the historian Hollister, "and published as a beau ideal of the military gentleman of that period." A picture of Humphreys delivering the British flags to Congress, was painted under his direction by a Spanish artist while he was in Spain as minister. One can imagine that painters would like a commission to make a portrait of the handsome officer. Trumbull painted Israel Putnam, and it will be remembered that Humphreys, who was on his staff, wrote an account of his life. There are also pictures of Wooster, William Douglas and Benedict Arnold, by other artists.

A picture of Washington by Trumbull deserves a word. Trumbull was commissioned by the City of Charleston to paint his picture, and chose to present him in "his military character, in the most sublime moment of its exertion—the evening previous to the battle of Princeton." During the sittings Washington and the painter "talked of the scene, its dangers, its almost desperation. He looked the scene again, and I happily transferred to the canvas, the lofty expression of his animated countenance, the high resolve to do or die. The result was in my own opinion eminently successful, and the general was satisfied." But not so the agent of the southern city, who wished something less heroic, more calm and peaceful, the President rather than the General. Washington told Trumbull to keep the picture, and it ultimately found its way to Yale. Professor Hoppin, writing in Atwater's History, recalled hearing,

as a boy, the artist saying, "There you have Washington not in his town clothes and a set of false teeth, but as he looked on the battlefield in his regimentals. Don't be deceived by other portraits of General Washington, this looks just like him."

Associated with Amos Doolittle was another engraver, Thomas Kensett. There was some connection between the two through marriage, and Kensett and his partner published a number of Doolittle's plates. He also published Wadsworth's map of New Haven. He is of further interest for the very inartistic reason of being of the firm of Kensett and Daggett, which experimented with canning. He was however connected with art through his son, John Frederick Kensett, born in Cheshire (1818-1872), who became a distinguished painter. The son began like his father as an engraver, but later studied abroad, and achieved eminence as a landscape painter. Three pictures are in the Metropolitan Museum.

In 1801 Thomas Robbins wrote in his Diary, "Agreed with Mr. Moulthrop to take my portrait." This picture is in Hartford, and Moulthrop also painted his father and mother, and the portrait of President Stiles with the uplifted hand. Reuben Moulthrop was born and died in East Haven, (1763-1814), and worked in wax more than on canvas. Whenever anyone became famous, Moulthrop took his likeness in wax for the collection. These figures were sent all over the country. Miss Hughes says there was a fortune in this, and that it gave employment to many persons in making, dressing and exhibiting them. Two dressmakers for instance were employed, and a man to exhibit the figures. Two figures were used in what is supposed to be modern fashion. One was blonde, the other brunette, and according to local color, one or the other, (both if necessary) was exhibited as "The Beauty of the Place." Moulthrop built a "palatial residence" on Townsend Avenue, still standing, but much altered. The business was ended because gamblers used wax figures in front of their establishments. A later phase of the business was making shrines for the South American trade.

The names of some early nineteenth century portrait painters of the county are,—Horace Johnson, born in Oxford in 1824, who worked in Waterbury. His friends, like Trumbull's were opposed to his becoming an artist, and he worked as a locksmith for a time, but finally yielded to his desires and studied art, in Hartford, New York and Rome. He lived in Waterbury until his death in 1890, and painted the portraits of many Waterbury people. Wales Hotchkiss and George Wright, born about the same time, the one in Bethany and the other in Wallingford, are mentioned as portrait painters; in Guilford Isaac Sheffield, born 1798, "who painted hundreds of sea captains during the early nineteenth century, all with telescope in hand and standing against a red curtain;" and Dennison Kimberley, also of Guilford, who, quite in the local manner, was portrait painter and engraver. W. O. Stone, H. I. Thompson, Mrs. H. A. Loop should be added to the list; and the miniature painters, George Munger and his daughter (also from Guilford) and Samuel Holt, born in Meriden.



SECOND EDIFICE (1713-1830) OF FIRST CONGREGA-
TIONAL SOCIETY, GUILFORD

Established in 1639 by Rev. Henry Whitfield. The "three
decker" steeple, built in 1726, was the first in Connecticut.
Site was within Green at the North end



(Courtesy of New Haven Chamber of Commerce)

TOWER PARKWAY, NEW HAVEN

Showing classical style used in private homes. The houses are now torn down to make
way for the new Yale gymnasium

New Haven had by birth as well as adoption an illustrious portrait painter,—Nathaniel Jocelyn (1796-1881), “a genius and much loved gentleman, ‘whose long life embraced nearly the whole period of the history of American art.’” His father was a watchmaker, and the boy was trained in that trade. There was some distant connection with John Trumbull, the painter. Similar stories of their early bent toward painting are worth repeating if only to say a kind word for some features of female education of early days. Trumbull said, “My taste for drawing began to dawn early. It is common to talk of natural genius * * * in my own case, I can clearly trace it to mere imitation. My two sisters, Faith and Mary, had completed their education at an excellent school in Boston, where they both had been taught embroidery; and the eldest, Faith, had acquired some knowledge of drawing, and had even painted in oil, two heads and a landscape. These wonders were hung in my mother’s parlor, and were among the first objects that caught my infant eye. I endeavored to imitate them, and for several years the nicely sanded floors (for carpets were then unknown in Lebanon) were constantly scrawled with my rude attempts at drawing.” It is said that Jocelyn as a child used to watch an aunt color maps and his mother paint flowers.

Like so many others, Jocelyn took up engraving and for a time was member of a firm which engraved bank notes. Later he was one of the founders of the American Bank Note Company. When he began portrait painting as a profession he first went South, predecessor of the West as the Mecca for ambitious young men, where he was very successful, but had to leave on account of his health. He traveled and studied in Europe in 1830, with S. F. B. Morse, then pondering on his invention rather than on the art treasures of Europe. Another member of the party was Ithiel Town, the architect.

In New Haven Jocelyn was in great demand as a portrait painter, and more portraits in the Yale Gallery are painted by him than anyone but Trumbull. The latter praised his work, though he was usually critical, even rudely so, sometimes. A list of portraits painted by Jocelyn would include most of the prominent citizens of New Haven, and the wives of several. In 1844 he received a medal for the best portrait exhibited in the state, and he was made a member of the National Academy in 1849. One great achievement was an important share in bringing about the founding of the Yale Art School, through suggestions to his friend Augustus R. Street. Jocelyn because of this was given a studio in the building.

Jocelyn was interested in freeing the slaves, assisted in the Amistad case, and painted a picture of Cinque. He also undertook real estate dealings, which finally absorbed his time for several years, and ended unfortunately. These activities gave the name to one of the city squares,—Jocelyn Square. He also helped Noah Webster on the Dictionary, taking the words on portraiture.

A partial list of portraits painted by Jocelyn includes: Ithiel Town, Judge Daggett, William Leffingwell, Dr. Timothy Beers, Professors Silli-

man, Kingsley, Olmsted, Goodrich, Drs. Knight, Eli Ives, W. H. Seward, R. M. Sherman and his wife, R. S. Baldwin, Isaac Townsend, Isaac Thompson, Mr. and Mrs. W. J. Forbes. His own partrait by Harry Thompson, is in the rooms of the Historical Society.

Jocelyn had a number of pupils who achieved eminence. John and George Durrie began with portraits, but turned their attention to landscapes, especially the younger, George, known as the "New England Farm Scene Painter." Two others, W. O. Stone and Thomas P. Rossiter, men of great promise, did not entirely fulfil the promise of their early years.

The Flagg family of artists began in New Haven with three sons of Mayor Flagg. Henry C. Flagg was a painter of marine views in the intervals allowed in the life of a sailor; George was a popular portrait painter, having as subjects, among others, members of the Sheffield family of New Haven. He painted "The Match Girl" to show the artist Constable that an American could paint. The third brother, Jared, entered the ministry, and was a portrait painter. Two of his sons were artists, but not identified with New Haven.

Two New Haven names are associated with sculpture. Chauncey Ives was born in Hamden (1812), but spent most of his life abroad. He did two things connecting his work with his native place, a bust of Ithiel Town, in the Yale Art Gallery, and a statue of Roger Sherman for the Washington monument.

The other name is that of Hezekiah Ives, born in New Haven in 1791. He was a sensitive timid soul, though his father was a Revolutionary patriot and he was born in a house with British bullet holes in it. Like Governor Trumbull and Mayor Flagg, his father did not wish him to become an artist. He was apprenticed to a grocer, who was also a cobbler. Of the two the boy preferred the latter occupation, but this did not suit his father, who gave him some money to become a partner in a business firm. This resulted disastrously, and after having a fruit stand, he withdrew into seclusion. Meanwhile wood carving had brought him an income, and he invented machines, one which was used for carving piano legs; a bracket saw, the first one made; and a machine for making worsted lace which brought enough money to free him from the debt left from his commercial experience. The model of one of these machines is in the collections of the New Haven Colony Historical Society.

Samuel F. B. Morse saw some of his wood carving, and advised him to try marble. He carved a head of Apollo, a figure of Sappho, a head of Washington, and a bust of Chief Justice Ellsworth which is in the Supreme Court Room in Washington. New Haven has a group, Jephthah's Daughter, with much that is admirable, though done without models.

Waterbury claims some share in the careers of the sculptors Truman H. Bartlett and his son, Paul Wayland Bartlett, born while his father was living in Waterbury. The father made portrait busts of Waterbury men, and a statue for a cemetery lot, a heroic figure of Wisdom, the result of two years' labor abroad.

The son made the figure of Franklin in Library Park. Among works in other places is the statue of LaFayette in Paris, presented to the French Republic by school children of America.

"A local history of art," said Mr. French, "which, as in the case of Connecticut covers but little more than a century, cannot well be more or less than a biographical record of artists who have borne their part."

Obviously there is much that might be called architecture in a county nearly three hundred years old, in a climate where little dependence can be placed on treetops alone for protection; with twenty-six towns requiring public buildings; with a population of over 400,000 to be supplied with houses, churches, schools and the other structures our civilization considers necessary. Even restricting researches to the past reveals a wide field of investigation. A Guide Book recently prepared by the Mattatuck Historical Society lists by name eighty-three notable "old houses," with the remark in several cases, that there are "many" or "several" others not mentioned. This list does not include churches or public buildings.

New Haven architecture, or more properly speaking building operations, long expressed itself in terms of dwelling houses and meeting-houses, the two necessities in a plantation whose design is religion. Since everything was based on religion the meeting-house could properly be used for "secular" purposes. At first the buildings were of necessity of the rudest kind, some of them really huts, but soon better houses began to appear. The oldest had no cellar, but a pit at one end; big chimneys, built of stone cemented with clay, boards instead of plaster; beamed ceilings; and sometimes a little ornament, perhaps what the builders called "cut-work" on the stairs. After a while the boards became fine paneling. "Thus, bits of charming cornice, little runs of dentils and decorative window heads made their silent appeal.

* * * And it is just these little mannerisms of the old Colonial work which furnish even today the most natural inspiration for an American architecture. * * * Graceful, even playful, lines in chair backs, mirror heads, and leaded fan lights were the tiny springs, the native source of our Colonial architecture,—just as the spires of the two churches on the Green point to its high-water mark."

Some ecclesiastical societies have had three buildings. Consequently there was plenty of opportunity here for the display of architectural talent. Davis in his "History of Wallingford" speaks of one man who built eleven meeting-houses, though according to the dates given, one of his achievements, the steeple of the three-story meeting-house in Wallingford, must have been built by him at the age of sixteen. However, Ira Atwater of New Haven in the early nineteenth century had the record of building churches in Milford, New Milford, New Britain, Meriden, Guilford, and, in New Haven, the Chapel Street church and the College Chapel, (predecessor of Battell Chapel),—a considerable accomplishment.

The first meeting-houses, as has been said, were small square buildings whose only decoration was a turret, intended not for decoration, but for



THE UNITED CHURCH ON THE
GREEN, NEW HAVEN



CENTER CHURCH, NEW HAVEN

the serious uses of the watchman and the drummer. Shelter and protection were the objects aimed at. William Andrews, chief carpenter of Quinnipiac, contracted in 1639 to build one for that settlement, but let out part of the work to two other men, who in turn let out some again to two others. Under this arrangement the work soon had to be overhauled. The building activities of Dr. John Hulls in Wallingford have already been discussed. These early meeting-houses were built by men with no pretensions as architects. They were carpenters and worked according to dimensions laid down in town meeting, with a committee to oversee the work. They were interested directly, as church members. For workmen, everyone must help, and often it was some time before the building could be completed. The carpenter thus was the architect, if one may use the word, for these early houses and churches, and nothing more was needed.

The next type of meeting-house was, in appearance, much like a large house; with several doors, many windows, and perhaps possessing, or at any rate desiring as an object to be obtained, a tower and belfry at one end. An example is the Old Stone Church in East Haven, dedicated in 1774, one of three in the state of this type. This building is said to have had George Lancraft in charge of its construction, a sort of fore-runner of a builder or architect.

These points may be illustrated by the votes concerning the successive meeting-houses in East Haven. In 1706 "The Village agreed to build (a house), 20 feet long, 16 feet wide, and 17 feet between joints, and set it across the east end of the School House." Two men were appointed overseers at 3/6 a day, and the pay of men and teams was fixed. The house thus simply built and planned was used until 1719.

In 1714 it was "voted to build a meeting-house 30 by 40 feet, 20 feet high, and jutted one foot at each end, with a strait roof." A building committee of four men was appointed. These men branched out a little, for it was added that the form of the seats and pulpit should be like those of the Branford meeting-house. In 1772 it was voted to build a stone house 60 feet long (eight feet added later). According to Hughes a skilled workman, George Lancraft, was employed, but only this one. The tradition is that some of the committee went to Boston to see the new "Old South Church."

In 1718 the Collegiate School, not yet called Yale College, was beginning its great building operations in New Haven, hastened, it is suspected, in order to insure its remaining in New Haven. The particular edifice erected at this time was built under the benign favor of no less a personage than Governor Saltonstall, who was much interested in the welfare of the college, and it is thought drew the plans for this first building, "Mother Yale," and suggested employing a "House Wright" from Boston, Henry Caner. Caner, an Englishman who had just finished some work in Boston, built not only the "college," but the house for the rector, and his barn, and is said to have been the architect of the first State House of New Haven. Money to pay him for the college work was raised partly by the impost on rum and partly by a drive.



(Courtesy of H. M. Bradley, Jr., Derby)

**FIRST CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH,
DERBY**

Organized in 1677 and erected in 1820



(Courtesy of Waterbury Chamber of Commerce)

**BENJAMIN FRANKLIN STATUTE BY PAUL WAYLAND BART-
LETT IN FRONT OF THE SILAS BRONSON PUBLIC LIBRARY,
WATERBURY**

Henry Caner was called Mr., though modestly describing himself as housewright or carpenter. He also dealt in real estate, and had some kind of a shop. A "Caner's Pond" in the northern borders of New Haven is spoken of and Canner Street still bears his name, the spelling perhaps recording the pronunciation. Smybert, as has been said, painted his picture. When he came to New Haven he was a widower with two sons, but he found a widow whom he married, and had a third son. He was a member of the Church of England, and when he died, 1731, Samuel Johnson attended his funeral. His sons were graduated from Yale, and two of them became clergymen, preaching for a time in Fairfield County.

The Yale building, result of work in an untried field, was regarded with great admiration. "We behold its fair aspect in the Market Place," was the word sent to Elihu Yale, whose timely gift had made possible its completion. Professor Hoppin (in Atwater) speaks slightly of "its prim dormer windows and belfry * * * South Middle and the other college buildings, now somewhat venerable for age, but remarkable for nothing else than a parsimonious economy of space and ornament."

After the Revolution the age was coming which Edmund Burke had prophesied to John Trumbull in London, when he heard of his plans for studying painting. "Do you not intend to study architecture also? * * * you must also be aware that you belong to a young nation, which will soon want public buildings." Trumbull later regretted not having taken his advice.

In the discussions over the formation of the Federal Constitution, constant reference was made to the republics of Greece and Rome. Later, great enthusiasm was roused by events in Greece in 1830, and perhaps because of these things and the influence of Jefferson, there was a period when Greek models were followed in all buildings, public and private, churches, hospitals, factories and houses. This meant turning the houses and churches with the gable towards the street, and the use of many pillars. Two of the churches on the Green in New Haven were built in this style, and there were other examples in New Haven, as the hospital and orphan asylum buildings. Churches were built in this style in Milford, Guilford, Meriden, Hamden, Cheshire, North Haven, Madison, to name a few.

A reaction was bound to come. Henry Ward Beecher expressed it in his *Star Papers*. "We abhor Grecian architecture for private dwellings, and especially for country homes. It is cheerless, pretentious, frigid. Those cold, long legged columns, holding up a useless pediment that shelters nothing and shades nothing * * * we do like Grecian architecture in well-placed public buildings. But it gives us a shiver to see dwellings so stiff and stately."

Perhaps the first to break away was the Episcopal Church, in little ways in the beginning, such as round or pointed tops to the windows. Bishop Brownell in 1841 said the old church in Cheshire "had been replaced by a neat and spacious building of brick, in the Gothic style of

architecture." New churches in Fair Haven, Northford and Wallingford led the Bishop, said Beardsley, in speaking of them in his annual address to "congratulate the Diocese on the greatly improved style of church architecture which had been manifested within the last few years." Architects, instead of builders, were employed, as in St. John's in Waterbury. "The taste, however, for pointed windows," continued Beardsley, "and the Early English style, was extending everywhere, and building committees in the smallest parishes caught its influence and proceeded accordingly." They were followed by other denominations, and the classical style was abandoned so completely that there are signs of reaction.

In March, 1813, that indefatigable diarist, Thomas Robbins, recorded of New Haven, "The people here have taken down their two meeting-houses in the Green. The spirit appears a little trifling." Almost exactly a year later he wrote, "Three very spacious and elegant new meeting-houses are building at New Haven." This brings us to New Haven's first architects, Ithiel Town and the self-taught David Hoadley. Both were Connecticut men, Town born in Thompson in 1784, and Hoadley, entirely a New Haven County man, born in Waterbury ten years earlier. Town came to New Haven in 1810, receiving the commission to build Center Church while he was on the sunny side of thirty and died here in 1844; Hoadley moved to New Haven in 1814, but returned to Waterbury and died there about 1840.

Ithiel Town did much building in New Haven, and was given the honorary degree of M. A. by Yale in 1825. He was one of the founders of the Academy of Design, had the best collection of architectural books in the country, and was an engineer as well as an architect. George Dudley Seymour, in an essay on Ithiel Town, say that he "ingeniously invoked the aid of applied mechanics in the construction of Center Church," building the spire within the tower, (which perhaps was a common practice), and devising some particular method of raising it to position in only about two hours, by means of an arrangement of windlass and tackle. The only other case of building a spire definitely known to Mr. Seymour is that of the Farmington Church.

Town also accomplished the feat of building the church over the graves of the old burying yard without disturbing them. The church is said to have been modeled after St. Martin's-in-the-Fields in London. Henry T. Blake in his book on the New Haven Green tells in amusing fashion of the clock Town intended to present to this church, but as he fell out with the Society he gave the clock to Trinity Church, and his attendance as well. The affair is the more noteworthy as it was the first time-piece in a New Haven church, other than an hour-glass. Trinity Church, dedicated early in 1816, had also been built according to designs made by Mr. Town. Considered the best example of pure Gothic in the country, it was regarded with great admiration. Beardsley, in the "History of the Episcopal Church" in Connecticut, said it was "the largest structure of the kind in New England, and for simple elegance and architectural

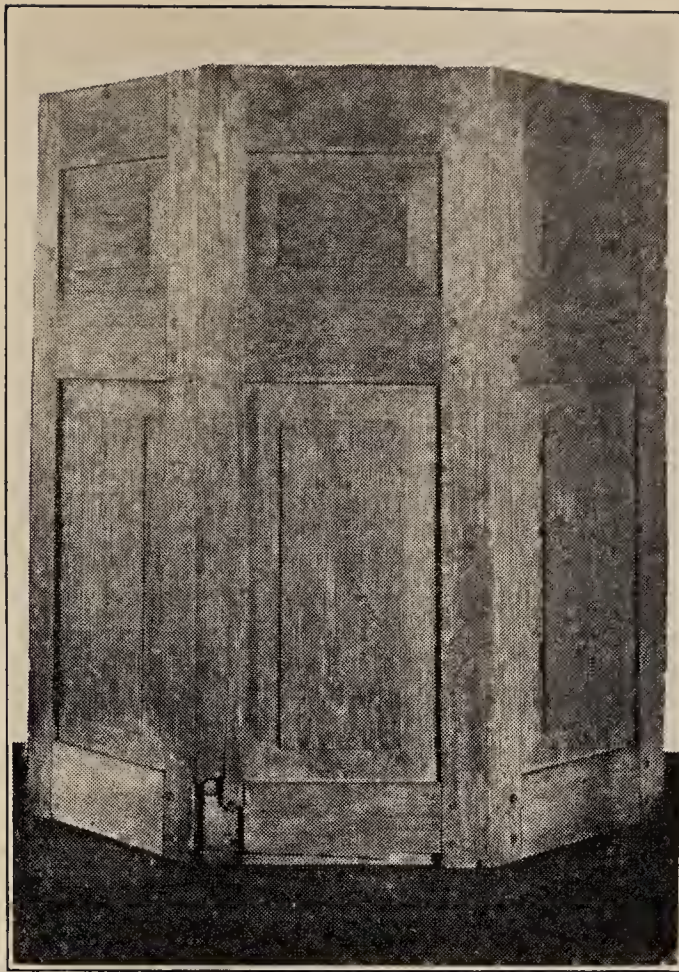
design was perhaps unsurpassed by any in the whole country." He added regretfully, "The original drawings provided for an apsidal chapel, with a convenient vestry-room, but such an addition was in advance of the times and offensive to Puritan prejudice, and the committee unwisely consented to its omission." The church had some features copied from York Cathedral. Town might have built all three churches on the Green, had not David Hoadley underbid him for one.

Town also was the architect of the State House. Lambert quotes someone who calls Mr. Town an "architect of taste and talents," and says of this building, "It presents one of the best copies of ancient models which our country affords, and is worthy of an artist who has evinced his fondness for his profession by visiting the best schools in Europe to perfect himself in his art."

Town also drew the plans for the Eagle Bank and for the truss bridge at Lake Whitney, a design which was used in other parts of New England enough to yield him a considerable royalty. He built private houses, among others the Sheffield mansion on Hillhouse Avenue for himself, the wings being added later by Mr. Sheffield. He introduced the fashion of covering buildings with stucco, using it on his own house.

As has been said elsewhere, his portrait was painted by Nathaniel Jocelyn, and his bust by Chauncey Ives is in the Yale Art Gallery. The painting of Town, which is not in New Haven, is described by George Dudley Seymour, who says it "is one of the best works of Jocelyn and represents Town seated under a classical portico, with his left arm resting on two ancient books, suggesting his library. In the far distance is a Greek temple, apparently the Temple of Theseus, on which Towne is said to have founded his design for the old State House on the Green."

David Hoadley started his career by learning the trade of house carpenter. About 1790 he was working for a man who made wooden clocks, reels, window sashes, etc. In 1795 the Churchmen of Waterbury voted to have a new building, and directed "the committee to build a decent, well-furnished church, fifty-four by thirty-eight feet, with a decent steeple on the outside, at the east end of the same." David Hoadley was the architect, and gave the building the churchly characteristics of an arched ceiling and gallery windows arched at the top. He built some houses in Waterbury, and a church in Milford, which gave him such a reputation that he was asked to build the North Church in New Haven. This is his masterpiece, just as the neighboring Center Church is Town's masterpiece. Like Town he built a bridge, but this was only a footbridge over the Naugatuck River. He built houses in New Haven; the Tontine Hotel; Christ Church and a house still standing in Bethany. His characteristics in the matter of ornament are described as the use of a pillared front door, delicate carvings, mantels flanked by arches, features of almost every house he built. An example may be seen in pictures of the Kingsbury house in Waterbury, built in 1809, given in "Anderson's History, III, 795-6."



(From the collection of the New Haven Colony
Historical Society)

PART OF THE PULPIT OF THE
FIRST CHURCH IN EAST
HAVEN, BUILT IN 1719

Used also in the present Stone
Church until the close of the Revo-
lutionary War



(Courtesy of R. C. Chamberlain, New Haven)

An architect, whose work, in entirely different style, "suggested by" Italian Gothic, may also be seen facing the Green in New Haven, was Henry Austin, (1804-1891), born in Mt. Carmel. The building referred to is the City Hall, erected a little more than half way through his long professional life. Austin was trained by Ithiel Town and had access to his fine collection of books. One of his most important buildings was the Old Yale Library, another the old railway station, the one in the Gothic and the other in the Italian style. A notable work was the brown-stone gateway, in Egyptian style, of the Grove Street Cemetery. Austin himself had so many pupils who went out from his office and became successful architects that he was called the Father of Architects. He built houses in Waterbury, Wallingford, Danbury, most of them in the Italian style, fashionable at the time; but, says Mr. Seymour, they had "dignity, solidity, were extremely well planned, eminently gentlemanly, and had style. He built many churches throughout the State and elsewhere,—tidy, well proportioned, spired, white wooden fabrics, inferior to the neo-grec meeting-houses which they succeeded. His most notable church was the 'Pride of Danbury,' 1857, burned down in 1907." He tried to emulate Town and build the spire inside the tower of this church, but just at the moment of success, when it was within a few inches of its place, a rope broke and the spire crashed through the roof. The feat was not attempted again. The spire of this church, by the way, is somewhat like that of the North Church in New Haven. Mr. Seymour says that though Austin's career came at the worst period of our architecture, "his designs were far sounder than the bulk of the designs of builders who closed the century."

Atwater gives a long list of New Haven builders and architects of the nineteenth century, from which it would be most interesting to make a map of New Haven from the point of view of its builders. Anderson does a similar service for Waterbury. Many of them did work in other towns in the county.

SECTION XIII—

AGRICULTURE IN NEW HAVEN COUNTY

CHAPTER I

ACQUISITION OF THE LAND

In studying the economic history of New Haven County, which begins with its settlement in 1638, one is bound to think of the commercial expansion of England in the seventeenth century. In 1603 the great East India Company was founded. English trade was expanding all over the world. One of the primary motives for early colonization of America by the English was the desire for trade. It must also be remembered that the most important industry of England in the seventeenth and even in the eighteenth century was agriculture. The landed proprietors were the political and social leaders. Land was the most important source of wealth, and land itself the most important commodity. The city men, the merchants, who had become wealthy by trade, sought to elevate their social position by acquiring a landed estate by purchase, or marriage. The counties often sought a wealthy city man to represent them in Parliament. Thus the interests of town and country harmonized.

The earliest settlers of New Haven County were of both classes, city men and traders, and farmers. The colonists of New Haven city came mostly from the city of London. Theophilus Eaton had made a fortune in trade, and most of the others were London merchants; John Davenport was a London minister. Some, however, were farmers. The settlers of Guilford, Branford, Milford, and later of Waterbury, were chiefly farmers. The motive animating the company led by Eaton was trade. In part the cause of their refusal to remain in Massachusetts was because the place of settlement available for them was, they felt, poorly situated for the development of commerce. The spacious harbor of New Haven and the surrounding plains led them here. The harbor was favorable for trade and the adjacent land would be readily cleared and cultivated.

The settlers of Branford came chiefly from Wethersfield, an agricultural district. The motive for the change was a church quarrel. Branford was chosen not primarily because of facilities for trade but for agriculture,—it was described as a “place fit for a small plantation.” The

colonists came early in 1644 and commenced to clear off the forests. They had cattle with them and began to provide houses and barns and get hay from the productive meadows.

The early settlers of Milford came from Essex, Hertford and Yorkshire, great agricultural counties, and remained for a little while in New Haven. They already had domestic animals that they drove over the Indian trails to Milford. The early settlers of Guilford came from the great agricultural districts of Kent and Surrey. They were nearly all farmers. The coastal plain had already been cultivated by the Indians; the land seemed to be fertile and reminded the colonists of the coast of England. Hence these farmers settled in Guilford.

Waterbury was not settled early. It is the last place in the county colonized by outsiders and so merits inclusion among the original plantations whence the remaining portions of the county were settled. The farmers of Farmington had heard of the alluvial plains along the Naugatuck. They explored, reported favorably and after a delay of a year caused by King Philip's War, a band of farmers went out from Farmington and began to settle Waterbury.

Thus New Haven County had its origin in the two classes of merchants and farmers; the latter seem to predominate. Moreover the close relationship that existed in England between city and county led even traders naturally to acquire land here, not merely as a source of subsistence but also as a cause of dignity and importance.

The men who founded New Haven, Milford, Guilford, and Branford did not come as individuals, or as representatives of any organization in England. Each band formed itself into a sort of joint stock company, perhaps it would be better to say they formed a kind of regulated company, for while certain affairs of the group were handled and directed by a committee, each individual received his share of the land and managed it himself either alone or in coöperation with others. However, whatever may have been the understanding or arrangement beforehand among these prospective settlers, whether as a joint stock company or a regulated company, once they had arrived and established their plantation, they acted not like either of them, but like the free village community of early England, or better still, like the members of a manor of the seventeenth century. Each group, before it planted the colony, made a compact of some sort to act together. We may take the Guilford settlers as a type, "We whose names are here underwritten, intending by God's gracious permission to plant ourselves in New England, and if it may be, in the southerly part about Quinnipiack, do faithfully promise each, for ourselves and our families and those that belong to us, that we will, the Lord assisting us, sit down and join ourselves together in one entire plantation and be helpful each to the other in any common work, according to every man's ability and as need shall require, and we promise not to desert or leave each other or the plantation, but with the consent of the rest, or the greater part of the company who have entered

into this engagement. As to our gathering together in a church way and the choice of officers and members to be joined together in that way, we do refer ourselves, until such time, as it shall please God to settle us in our plantation. In witness whereof we subscribe our names, this first day of June, 1639."

Rev. Henry Whitfield, Puritan, had given up his living in Ockley on account of his opposition to Archbishop Laud's policy, and finding no opportunity to preach at home and hearing that some of his friends had gone to New England in 1639, he sold his property and prepared to emigrate with his family and friends thither. Under his leadership a group of young Puritans in Kent, Surrey and Sussex gathered. He acquired, practically by gift, a vaguely described district around the Hamonasset River from George Fenwick, representative of Lords Say and Sele, who had, or thought they had, a royal patent to all that territory. Fenwick had, however, in addition been in New England and had acquired from the Mohegan Uncas a strip of territory along the Sound which included ancient Guilford. The emigrants thus had their land ready. They came over in a ship which they had chartered and were seemingly equipped for establishing a settlement, though the only goods mentioned were five cows supplied by Fenwick which Whitfield later acquired. During the voyage they made formal arrangements to dwell together as is shown by the Covenant just quoted.

When they arrived at Quinnipiac in July, 1639, they remained together in accordance with their agreement; they purchased land from the Indians in Guilford, not, says Steiner, included in the tract acquired from Mr. Fenwick, and at once laid out their settlement.

In the case of the settlers of New Haven under Davenport and Eaton, we have no such document showing a preliminary covenant or compact. We know that they came over on two ships, the *Hector* and one whose name is thought to be the *Martin*. Probably they brought the small equipment for settlement in New England familiar now to all Puritans. Landing in Massachusetts in 1637, and welcomed, the great body of settlers finally declining invitations to settle there, sailed for Quinnipiac in June, 1638, a spot open to them by the destruction of Indian power in Rhode Island, and attractive because it "hath a fair harbor fit for harbouring the ships and abounds with rich and goodly meadows." All this united action suggests that before they arrived, perhaps before they sailed, some compact or covenant of joint action had already been made. The leaders in this enterprise were the London merchants, especially Theophilus Eaton and the clergyman Davenport, to whom such an arrangement would seem both wise and necessary. Moreover as soon as they landed, the necessary work of laying out the town, of acquiring the land from the Indians, went forward in a systematic business-like way with objection from no one, as if already they had some stipulated organization. There is, too, a reference to such an organization in the records of June, 1639, "Whereas, there was a cout solemnly made by the whole assembly of free planters of this planta-

tion the first day of extraordinary humiliation wch we had after wee came together, that, as in matters that concerne the gathering and ordering of a church, so likewise in all publique offices wch concerne civill order, as choyse of magistrates and officers, making and repealing of lawes, devideing allottments of inheritance, and all things of like nature, we would all of us be ordered by those rules wch the scripture holds forth to us." This meeting must have been held soon after the settlers landed.

"The action of the Guilford group as well as the unified action of the Eaton-Davenport body suggests an earlier arrangement to act together," says Levermore. "Throughout this interval (down to the adoption of the Fundamental Agreement) the colony probably existed as a joint stock association of proprietors subject to such rules and rulers as had been agreed upon, possibly before leaving England." It was under this covenant that they bought their first lands from the Indians and laid out their new town. In 1639 the colonists met, as has been described, in Robert Newman's barn to order their government permanently, and agreed that the government of the plantation should be in the hands of the members of the church. Finally in October, 1639, the seven men who had been chosen (led by Theophilus Eaton and Davenport) to organize the church and state completed their labors by creating the members of the state, i. e. citizens or burgesses, by ordering the election of the members of the government and by declaring that "all former power or trust for managing any public affairs in this plantation, into whose hands soever committed, was now abrogated and from henceforth utterly to cease." Thus the organization which had operated under the earlier compact came to an end. A new united body composed of members of their church succeeded.

The history of Milford and Branford is similar, though in neither case was there a long continued association before the actual establishment of the plantation. Milford was established by some New Haven colonists under the leadership of Minister Prudden. These settlers were joined by some people from Wethersfield who were great admirers of Prudden. The first organization of their group was of the church in August, 1639. Then they went to Milford, and set up their government composed of church members as New Haven had done. This group organized the town, laid out the lands, made the regulations binding on all concerning the general management of agriculture.

Branford began like Milford. It, too, was established by a group of New Haveners who were joined by others, chiefly from Wethersfield, who then established their church and state.

Thus New Haven County started with these four groups along the shore. They lived in limited areas, surrounded by a kind of palisade for defence. Within this fortification each family had enough land for its support and in addition each had land outside for cultivation, when the time came, as well as for pasture, and woodland for building material and fuel. There was no idea of a separate detached farm house at the outset.



(Courtesy of the New Haven Colony Historical Society)

**THE FIRST HOUSE BUILT OUTSIDE THE PALISADES,
MILFORD**

Used as a hospital at the time this picture was taken

English custom, no doubt, and danger from the red men counselled this close clustering of houses.

The first problem before each group was the acquisition of a legal title to the land for their settlement. Mr. Whitfield had attended to this matter for Guilford, for he had received from Fenwick a grant of land which Fenwick gave him, acting as the agent of Lords Say and Sele, who had it by charter from Charles I. Moreover Fenwick had a title to this land by Indian grant as well as by purchase from the Indian sachem Uncas before the great Pequot disaster of 1637. Even so, the minister proceeded to make purchases of the same land from the Indians whom he found in possession. There was no purchase or gift of land by individual settlers from the Indians. Such a procedure was not allowed. Each group purchased an area and then subdivided it. We take the action of Quinnipiac as typical.

The decline of the Pequots in numbers and hence in political importance made this settlement possible. The Indians had just been dealt a killing blow in Rhode Island, which freed forever these European settlements from that Indian menace. The Mohawks of New York had thinned the ranks of the local Indians so that they did not have great war bands, and, comparatively speaking, they welcomed the English as a means of protection against their own Indian enemies. Davenport and Eaton as representatives of their joint stock company opened negotiations with these Indians for a grant of land. The document which contains the first cession is dated 24 November, 1638. The number of settlers, perhaps 800, was much greater than of the Indians and must have made the latter feel that they were dealing with a strong power. Very likely some informal arrangement was made when the settlers arrived in the spring of 1638, but the formal document was not drawn up until autumn.

In making this covenant with the Indians, the English desired two things which are quite distinct. This group of settlers formed a government; they were making and enforcing laws. They therefore wanted a cession of territory on which to set up their state. They and the Indians were two sovereign powers; the latter were ceding the former a piece of territory, a province. In the second place they wanted land for their houses and farms, a private purchase of territory. They thus were acting as a state and also as a group of business men. The document which contains this cession embodies these two concepts. It is called a treaty as though it were between two sovereigns, but much of its terminology is that of a warranty deed of land between two private parties.

Thus the articles of agreement state that Momaguin "is the sole sachem of Quinnipiac and hath an absolute and independent power to give, alien, dispose and sell all or any part of the lands in Quinnipiac." Here the two ideas are mingled. The political ideas include the protection which the Indians were to receive, the limitations upon their rights of hunting, their proper behavior toward the English (not to come into a house without permission), their agreement not to damage English cattle

and to bring back strays, their agreement not to admit members to their tribes without permission of the English, and to be subject to English justice for the enforcement of these articles.

The terminology of private law is seen in statements that, "not any other person whatsoever hath any right, title or interest in any part of said lands so that whatsoever he the forenamed Sachem, his council and the rest of the Indians present do and conclude shall stand forever and inviolable against all claims and persons whatsoever." The Indians "jointly and freely gave and yielded up all their right, title, and interest to all the land, rivers, ponds and trees with all the liberties and appurtenances belonging unto the same in Quinnipiac to the utmost of their bounds east west north and south unto Theophilus Eaton, John Davenport and others the present English planters there and to their heirs and assigns forever."

There is also the "consideration" without which no alienation of land was valid according to English law at the time. There are two statements of this term. First, they say, "In consideration of which," the English promise the Indians certain protection; then they speak of certain products which they give to the Indians, saying "The English planters * * * do further of their own accord, by way of free and thankful retribution give" the products * * *, "all which being thankfully accepted by the aforesaid (Indians)" and the agreements ratified as if the thankful retribution had to be a consideration agreeable to the Indians.

Here follows part of this typical document with which the acquisition of land in New Haven County begins: "Articles of agreement between Theophilus Eaton and John Davenport and others, English planters at Quinnipiac on the one party, and Momaguin the Indian sachem of Quinnipiac and Sugcogisin, Quesaqvqush, Carroughood, Wesaucuck and others of his council on the other party, made and concluded the 24th of November, 1638; Thomas Stanton being interpreter."

"That the said Sachem, his council, and company do jointly profess, affirm and covenant that he the said Momaguin is the sole sachem of Quinnipiac, and hath an absolute and independent power to give, alien, dispose and sell, all or any part of the lands in Quinnipiac and that though he have a son now absent yet neither his said son, nor any other person whatsoever hath any right, title or interest in any part of the said lands, so that whatsoever he, the forenamed sachem, his council and the rest of the Indians present do and conclude, shall stand firm and inviolable against all claims and persons whatsoever."

"Secondly, the said sachem, his council, and company, amongst which there was a squaw sachem called Shaumpishuh, sister to the sachem, who either had or pretended some interest in some part of the land, remembering and acknowledging the heavy taxes and eminent dangers which they lately felt and feared from the Pequots, Mohawks, and other Indians, in regard to which they durst not stay in their country, but were forced

to fly and to seek shelter under the English at Connecticut, and observing the safety and ease that other Indians enjoy near the English, of which benefit they have had a comfortable taste already, since the English began to build and plant at Quinnipiac, * * * they jointly and freely gave and yielded up all their right, title and interest to all the land, rivers, ponds, and trees with all the liberties and appurtenances belonging unto the same in Quinnipiac to the utmost of their bounds, east, west, north, south unto Theophilus Eaton, John Davenport and others the present English planters there and to their heirs and assigns forever," reserving for themselves a sufficient plot east of the harbor of ground to cultivate; "yet within these limits * * * they did covenant and freely yield up unto the said English all the meadow ground lying therein, with full liberty to choose and cut down what timber they please, for any use whatsoever, without any question, license, or consent to be asked from them the said Indians," nor shall the Indians move to another place within the bounds of Quinnipiac without the consent of the English.

"Thirdly, the said sachem, his council and company, desiring to hunt and fish within the bounds of Quinnipiac" * * * do hereby jointly covenant and bind themselves to set no traps near any place where the * * * whether horses, oxen, kine, calves, sheep, goats, hogs, or any sort, * * * to take any fish out of the weir belonging to any English" and their hunting shall not disturb the English.

"Fourthly, the said sachem, etc., do hereby covenant, etc." not to loiter about the settlement or trade on Sunday, or enter a house without permission, or remain within after warning to leave, or do any "violence, wrong or injury to the person of the English;" the latter will make good any damage done by them or their cattle to the Indians; no more than six Indians shall at one time come into town armed with bows and arrows.

"Fifthly, The said sachem etc. do covenant etc, that if any of them shall * * * kill or hurt any English cattle * * * though casually, * * * they shall give full satisfaction for the loss or damage as the English shall judge equal; but if any of them * * * willfully do kill or hurt any of the English cattle * * * they shall pay double value; and if * * * any of them shall find any of the English cattle straying or lost in the woods, they shall bring them back * * * and a moderate * * * recompense shall be allowed." * * *

Sixthly, the Indians agreed not to admit any newcomers without permission or harbor any enemies of the English;

"Lastly, the said sachem etc, do hereby promise truly and carefully to observe * * * all * * * of these articles of agreement; and if any of them offend in any of the promises, they jointly hereby subject and submit such offender or offenders to the consideration, censure and punishment of the English magistrate * * * without expecting that the English should first advise with them about it;" * * *

"In consideration of all which, they desire from the English, that, if at any time hereafter they be affrighted in their dwellings assigned by

the English unto them as before, they may repair to the English plantation for shelter and that the English will then in a just cause endeavor to defend them from wrong. But in any quarrel or wars which they shall undertake or have with other Indians, upon any occasion whatsoever, they will manage their affairs by themselves without expecting any aid from the English."

"And the English planters before mentioned accepting and granting according to the tenor of the premises do further of their own accord, by way of free and thankful retribution, give unto the said sachem, council and company of the Quinnipiac Indians, twelve coats of English trucking cloth, twelve alchemy spoons, twelve hatchets, twelve hoes, two dozen of knives, twelve porringers and four cases of French knives and scissors. All which being thankfully accepted by the aforesaid and the agreements in all points perfected, for ratification and full confirmation of the same, the sachem, his council and sister, to these presents have set to their hands or marks the day and year above written."

On December 11th they purchased an additional piece of land north of this spot about ten miles long, as they estimated, and eight miles broad. All the consideration was again called "a thankful retribution," and was considered by those men as pay, and the Association as a purchase. John Davenport, writing to John Winthrop in 1660 (it is true not contemporaneously), speaks of it as follows: "But for the purchase it was made above twenty years past without any seeking on our part upon an offer made to our then governor and company. It was of Mantoweeze that the land was bought." This territory lay north of that sold by Momaguin and was described as "extending about ten miles in length from north to south, eight miles easterly from the river of Quinnipiac toward the river of Connecticut and five miles westerly toward Hudson's river."

The Guilford land was similarly purchased by Henry Whitfield and five others for the whole number. The document detailing it is shorter than that of New Haven, but of the same tenor. It states that Sachem Squaw was the owner of the land to be purchased, that she sold it to the aforesaid English planters, and that "the aforesaid Sachem Squaw, having received twelve coats, twelve fathoms of wampum, twelve glasses, twelve pairs of shoes, twelve hatchets, twelve pairs of stockings, twelve hoes, four kettles, twelve knives, twelve hats, twelve porringers, twelve spoons, and two English coats professeth herself to be fully paid and satisfied."

Squaw Sachem her mark

Henry Whitfield

in the name of the rest

In the presence whereof

John Higgenson

Robert Newman

Though Branford was one of the original settlements the land was not bought from the Indians, for its territory was included in the purchase from Montowese made by New Haven. On September 3, 1640, New

Haven granted it to Reverend Samuel Eaton, who was to bring a group of settlers from England. He went home on this mission, remained in England and the matter resulted in nothing. In 1643, Totoket or Branford was granted to Mr. William Swaine and others in Wethersfield, "they repaying the charge, which was between twelve and thirteen pounds, and joining in the jurisdiction with New Haven and the fore-named plantations, upon the same fundamental agreement settled in October, 1642, which they duly considering duly accepted." This group had separated from Wethersfield because of religious dissension. So a body of thirty-five men moved to Branford, where they were joined by five New Haveners, one of whom, John Sherman, became their minister. They formed their church and began the division of their lands.

The Milford group, however, bought their lands from the Indians in a manner similar to those in Guilford and New Haven. These Paugasuck Indians are said to have claimed all the land from the Oyster River to the Housatonic, and as far north as Beacon Hill brook, about twenty miles. Prudden's church and state group bought at first, February 12, 1639, a tract of about two miles at Milford village, which was conveyed to them by a written document by the Sachem Asantawae. A supplemental detail of the transaction, added no doubt by the English, gives the English livery of seisin, the formal method of alienating a freehold. "A twig and a piece of turf being brought to the Sagamore, he placed the end of the branch in the clod, and then gave it to the English as a token that he thereby surrendered to them the soil with all the trees and appurtenances."

So the acquisition of the land was begun by groups, who purchased it from the Indians, with documents and forms designed to give them as legal a title as possible for their lands.

Division of the Land

The different companies had no intention of establishing a communistic economic organization. Having obtained the land they proceeded to apportion it among the members of the groups. The allotment was made apparently in proportion to the relative amount of stock, i. e. cattle, implements, and the like, which each head of a household contributed to the common fund. That is, there was apparently no subscription of money. When we say "common fund," we do not mean that the group as a whole owned the cattle, swine, or other property, but that each planter brought with him to use on his own farm a certain amount of stock, tools and seeds, (capital in the broad sense) and that he received land in proportion to that amount of goods. The records of the New Haven settlement say that of the upland and the meadow, each planter "received a share according to the proportion of estate which he hath given in and the number of heads in his family." The planters were the proprietors of the company, the companions of Eaton and Davenport, who had contributed to the undertaking. After the Fundamental agreement was adopted a "free

planter" was one who had signed it. There were 111 names signed that summer. "The house lots," says Levermore, "were probably proportioned to the amount invested in the enterprise by the owner and the number of persons in his family but no record of the town plot is in existence."

In Guilford the method of division was that "all lots shall be made and divided equally according to estates given in and according to the number of heads in each family." It was ordered too that "no planter shall put in his estate above five hundred pounds to require accomodation, proportionable in any division of lands in this plantation except it be with express consent of the major part of the freemen met together, and for some good causes and grounds granting liberty, to some such as desire a further enlargement. And that all planters desiring accomodation here shall put in the valuation of their estates according to one or the other of these four sums, appointed for the rule of proportion, (viz,) either five hundred pounds, two hundred and fifty pounds, one hundred pounds, or fifty pounds."

In Milford the first regulation concerning the allotment of lands was that "according to the sum of money which each person paid toward the public charges in such proportion should he receive or be repaid in lands, and that all planters who might come after should pay their share equally for some other public use."

In Wallingford, which presumably followed the example of the mother colony, New Haven, the allotments of land to individual planters involved no payment of money or consideration of any kind by them. All the planters were classed in three ranks according to their ability to pay taxes. The first rank paid double the tax levied on the lowest rank, and one-third more than the middle rank, and the allotments of land were apportioned in this ratio. The ability to pay taxes must therefore have rested on the amount of capital or estate possessed by each planter. In Waterbury the estates of the various colonists ranged from £50 to £100, the amount probably depending on the amount contributed by each to the costs and charges incident to the settlement of the plantation.

The allotments therefore of the original settlements were made by the body of planters direct or by a representative committee, and the size of the allotments depended upon the "estates" of the various planters. What was "the estate which he hath given in?" The term "estate" cannot be definitely determined, it may mean the amount of cash contributed to the joint enterprise, or the amount of cash and goods of total capital both put into the common purse and also possessed by each planter and used by him for his own business, trade, farming or both.

The first allotments of land were those made in the village surrounded by the palisade. At New Haven an area half a mile square was divided into nine squares, eight of which were subdivided into lots and assigned to the planters. This amount of land was not sufficient and two suburbs were added for thirty-two householders who were not planters. The lots were of varying sizes, depending apparently upon the amount con-

tributed to the joint enterprise, but at all events each was large enough to occupy the owners in cultivation for the first two summers. Some little additional land was cultivated. The number of planters was ninety-one. These were the proprietors, the citizens, but thirty-two others received land who were not planters. In 1640 a committee began the allotment of additional land. The decision to divide more land probably means that the first necessary buildings had been finished and that the lots were completely cultivated so that now they had leisure to attend to more.

The principle underlying the next and succeeding divisions was that each planter should receive an amount of land proportioned to the amount of estate which he had given in and the number of heads in his family. In other words, whatever the meaning of the term "estate," we may say that the division is based upon the amount of capital and, in addition, on the size of the family. Another principle was adhered to. The colony had bought all this territory as detailed above. Now they did not open the whole territory at once to settlement and cultivation. They selected a definite quantity adjacent to the town—a tract extending about a mile in every direction, called the Two Mile Square or the Upland. Five acres of upland and five of meadow were allotted to every £100 of "estate given in" and in addition for every head in the family (counting husband, wife and children) two and a half acres of upland were bestowed and a half acre of meadow. The Neck (the district between the Mill and the Quinnipiac rivers) very fertile for tillage, was also subdivided at the rate of "an acre to every hundred pounds and half an acre to every head." Moreover a large surface of outland northwest of the town was set aside for common pasturage. In the autumn of 1640, a further division of land was announced, the upland lying outside the Two Mile Square. Every planter received twenty acres for every £100 of estate, and two acres for every head in the family. These pieces of land were assigned by lot except in the case of Governor Eaton, Captain Turner, two deacons and John Davenport. The first four were allowed to choose their allotments. Mr. Davenport was in addition permitted to have his farm "where he shall desire it, with all the conveniences of upland and meadow and creeks which the place where he pitches will afford, though above his proportion according to his desire." This extra division must have been made not because of the necessity of having enough land to till, but because of the desire of honor and dignity that would arise from the possession of a great estate.

These divisions made adequate provision for the planters or proprietors. It will be recalled that some colonists, thirty-two in number, were allotted land in the suburbs who were not planters. These were also given additional land. In 1645 they were assigned "six acres for a single person, eight acres for a man and his wife, with an acre added for every child they have at present." On these they were to pay taxes if they took up the land. Levermore says these same colonists also received allotments in the two partitions of 1640.

These partitions of 1640 went to 123 people among whom were divided 13,854 acres. Some of these estates were of considerable size. There were 19 estates of over 200 acres. Governor Eaton had by far the largest, nearly 1,000 acres; then there were 24 estates from 100 to 200 acres; 27 estates from 50 to 100 acres; and 53 containing less than 50 acres.

The method of expansion and settlement remained the same. Every so often there came a demand for a new apportionment of land and it was then made by the authority of the General Court of New Haven. Not every proprietor or citizen desired or was able to take up his allotment. If he did, he would be taxed on its value. In 1680, there were 213 proprietors but a year after the apportionment was ordered, only twenty-seven entries of estates had been made by the surveyor on the town records. Men who did not take up their land would of course still have all the advantage of the common lands of the town in farming. Their pigs, cattle, and horses grazed on it. Land not taken up apparently remained part of the undivided property of the proprietors and would be subject to partition at the next apportionment. But, as a result of the incomplete assumption of new estates, those settlers who did take their allotment generally were able to choose its location and were not forced to accept a tract that they did not like. Thus the squatter who could obtain citizenship would be able to choose his land. His title, however, could not come from possession or from the Indians, only from the General Court.

In his brilliant monograph, *The Old Mount Carmel Parish*, the Reverend George S. Dickerman has worked out the steps in the allotment of lands in the town of New Haven.

	When ordered	Acres	Shares
First Division	January, 1640	5,601	123
Second Division	October, 1640	8,253	123
Third Division	December, 1680	8,323	213
Fourth Division	April, 1704	3,616	354
Fifth Division	March, 1711	9,745	416
Sixth Division	January, 1727	4,872	340
Seventh Division	March, 1738	2,436	372
Eighth Division	March, 1753	2,350	398
Ninth Division	July, 1760	550	362

One principle governing the allotment of lands in Guilford, Milford, and probably Branford too was the same as that in New Haven, viz., that the land belonged to the planters who were the members of the church, or the proprietors, and they from time to time allotted new portions of it to individual settlers. Thus in Branford in 1644 meadows were divided into approximately equal parts by a committee and then apportioned by lot. In Guilford the estates of the various planters were classified as £50, £100, £250 and £500. No one except by consent of all was to put in his estate as over £500. The undivided lands belonging to the pro-

prietors as a whole were to be partitioned from time to time according to the estate and number of heads in each family. For each £100 estate, five acres of upland and six acres of meadow and for every head three acres of upland and half an acre of meadow and so proportionately for fifty pounds estate, none being reckoned for such heads to any man but himself, his wife and children.

Various divisions were made later till practically all the land of Guilford, North Guilford and Madison had been allotted. The land, however, was not settled. Additional inducements therefore were offered. Larger allotments were made. Landholders other than the proprietors or planters and also tenants were included in the fourth division, that of 1691, and the allotment for children was increased to eighteen acres for each child under sixteen years, and ten acres for each woman and female child. In addition outsiders were freely allowed to purchase land. The town of Milford likewise began to set aside a portion of the town for division and apportioned the division by lot among the proprietors. This list gradually grew till in 1712 it contained 197 persons. The last division of common land was made in 1805, and was based upon the list of proprietors of 1685.

In this way most of the lands of New Haven, Milford, Guilford, and Branford were divided, to be exploited by private persons. While much of each town was for a long time held in common it was for convenience in undivided severalty. There was of course no communal system of agriculture.

Another phase must now be described. Not all the land of the present county was apportioned in the way we have described it done among the proprietors of these four towns. Two other groups were established, Wallingford, a daughter of New Haven, and Waterbury, a daughter of Connecticut colony. Each developed in the same way as the original settlements. The desire of men for new land apparently led to the settlement of Wallingford. The movement began in New Haven and was agreed to by the General Assembly of the colony in 1667, on condition that the new village should be an independent organization. A committee of New Haven therefore laid out the village, decided that the lots should contain six acres each, apportioned them by lot, made specific arrangement that the settlers of the new town should occupy their lots and put up houses, live together, and establish a church. All this land the bounds of which were defined by the court of New Haven was turned over to this New Haven committee to hold in trust for the new group of planters till they had started an orderly community life. The Wallingford settlers signed a covenant to live together as a church and state. When in 1672 they had received their town lots, had built their houses and had begun to function as a community, the trustees resigned all their power and their title to the territory into the hands of the planters who thereupon became a corporate group and ruled as had the settlers of New Haven before them. They paid nothing to New Haven for their town. It was an allotment just as the

earlier divisions nearer New Haven had been, only it was made to a group, instead of to individual persons.

The proprietors of Wallingford at once began further division and allotment of the lands among themselves, of meadow and woodland till the whole territory had become the private property of individuals. The basis of the allotment was the tax assessment. Three ranks were made conventionally,—the first rank assessed double the amount in the lowest rank, and one-third more than the middle rank. Rockey says, "In June, 1673, the planters voted that there shall be allowed for the first division of land to each planter, taking in home lots, river lots and all sorts of land, to the lowest rank 40 acres; to the middle rank 60 acres and to the hiest rank 80 acres and so to keep for the present."

The organization of proprietors continued till the opening of the nineteenth century, and from time to time made allotments of land. In 1803 it resigned to the town all its rights and title to the undivided lands. "Probably," says Curtis, "all the land had by that time been distributed." The vitality of these organizations is striking. What real authority they must have exerted during the colonial period of American history.

Waterbury was a child of Hartford through Farmington, and till 1728 was a part of Hartford County. Certain farmers of Farmington petitioned in 1673 that they be allowed to settle at Mattatuck (later Waterbury) on the Naugatuck River. On the favorable report of a committee which investigated the district, the government at Hartford appointed a committee of five to regulate and order the settling of a plantation there. This committee acted till 1686, when Waterbury was given a charter, which conveyed the land to them. Broadly speaking, the committee of the Assembly at Hartford merely supervised and ratified the acts of the prospective settlers at Waterbury, who soon (1677) were acknowledged as proprietors or planters. It laid down the rules for settlement. Each inhabitant was to have eight acres for a home lot:—the amount of land to be distributed in the meadows was to be based upon a man's estate, which was not to be over £100; every planter was to take up his land and build and occupy a proper house within four years; each must occupy the house for four years; failure to comply with these regulations meant forfeiture of lands and allotments. The actual allotment was delayed till after King Philip's War, and in 1677 the occupation really began. Then the necessity of defence apparently led them to reduce the size of the town lots to two and three acres, so that the settlement was more compact. This choice, however, was made by the proprietors and only ratified by the committee. Complaints of those who failed to comply with the requirements of the covenant were reviewed by the committee whose last recorded business is dated 1687, but practically it never functioned after

the issue of the charter to Waterbury in 1686. Thenceforth the planters or proprietors ruled alone. Except at the inception, the initiative rested with the inhabitants. They decided on reduced town lots; they built the common fence, built their houses, and built a grist mill. Thus a new centre of colonization similar to that of the four coast groups was created.

They had divided lands: each proprietor received a part of each kind of land available, two and three acres for a town lot, an acre in Manhanneck for a garden spot; an eight acre lot of arable; a division of meadow land; and one of boggy meadow. While the share of each proprietor was to depend upon the number of pounds of estate allotted to him as a signer of the plantation agreement, the highest estate was fixed at £100 and the lowest £50. These figures represent the nominal amount which each had contributed toward the expenses incident to the establishment of the settlement. No one can tell whether such amount was actually paid or not.

Allotments of land were made in proportion to the amount of each man's estate e. g. in a division of meadow made in 1679 the committee of the proprietors made the division, and apportionment was made by lot at the rate of two acres for every £100. If the amount of meadow available fell short, it was to be made up by any undivided lands.

Whereas in other towns, the government aimed to place an allotted piece of land in a specified place, in Waterbury, after the fertile meadows along the Naugatuck had been apportioned, they did not specify any particular locality where land was to be taken up. When a division was authorized a certain time was allowed for viewing the land, then each settler could locate his new allotment anywhere he chose, on land that was not already reserved.

The Scattered Homesteads

The division of New Haven County among settlers therefore was in three steps: First the division by the four primary groups, New Haven, Milford, Guilford, and Branford. Proceeding from the center of settlement they aimed to open from time to time a specified district allotted by lot to their planters. Second the same procedure was followed from two secondary sources of colonization, Wallingford and Waterbury. In the case of Waterbury, however, after the earlier divisions were made in the way mentioned, land was opened to settlement in general, not in any particular locality,—a method which led to the third step, the scattered homesteads. The earliest English settlers in New Haven County were of course familiar to some extent with the scattered farm houses. The typical English organization at home was the village or manor,—the group of houses where the farmers dwelt, where stood the mill, the oven, the church, the home of the lord of the manor; where each house was surrounded by a garden. From this center, each farmer went out in the morning to cultivate his fields. The village was surrounded by tracts of arable land, of meadow, of waste and of woods, each of which played an

important part in the village economy. But in the west of England another form of organization existed from the earliest times,—that of scattered hamlets, where only two or three homes were together or even single homes stood alone, in the midst of the farm. Hence, custom might suggest that farmers could dwell separated from the main group, if they were not afraid, and if the local Indians were not very dangerous, which the English settlers soon found to be the case. But another element entered from the first. When land was divided in specified districts, some of the proprietors either went out of the village group and lived alone there or hired some one to go and live on the allotment. So farm houses arose outside, though not far away. Men found that there were stretches of what promised to be excellent land all over the district outside any given area and far from the town. Governor Eaton was granted a large area three or four miles from the center, north of East Rock. It was lowland and impracticable to cultivate it from New Haven as a center, so he put some one on the farm. David Atwater soon obtained a farm near East Rock and erected a house. Others settled farther north. Mr. Davenport was allotted a farm “as large as he wanted” east of the Quinnipiac. He put a farmer on the land. Stephen Goodyear settled a farmer on land west of West Rock in the valley of the West River. In 1671 the Morris house was erected on a farm near Lighthouse Point. By 1645 so many had settled east of the Quinnipiac that a ferry was established. Yet we must not exaggerate the speed of this settlement. In 1650 Nehemiah Smith went north into what is now Hamden to a place called Shepherd’s Brook, about five miles from the New Haven Green, to raise sheep. He remained there in this “wild place” for about twelve years and finally gave it up and removed to New London, as the life there was too hard.

In 1664 Matthew Gilbert went a little farther north and received a grant of forty acres to raise fodder for his horses. He remained as a permanent resident, and others settled there around and north of him. Thus less than thirty years after the original plantation, men were settling six miles in the interior alone. No doubt such things led to the establishment of the group at Wallingford, just a little later. By 1659 there were farmers living in Stony River, South End, and on the farther side of East River in East Haven. In 1646 Guilford divided land east of East River and ten men handed in their names to have it allotted to them. About 1650 men began to settle farms in Madison, beginning near the eastern part, miles from Guilford. By 1695 about thirty families were living within the limits of Madison parish. North Madison had a pioneer who built a dwelling in the southeast part, when the nearest homes were on the seashore, but he did not stay. The first permanent settlement there was about 1725 in groups of half a dozen families or less in various parts of the town. In 1705 North Guilford was surveyed and men began to go up there from Guilford and work all the week, returning Saturday to their homes. Soon after, various farms were settled, but no village was set up as in Guilford. There were scattered farms. Wheeler’s Farm was

the name of a little village in northwest Milford. It was named from the first settler in 1705, a separate settler. From Waterbury, settled 1679, went out men about 1700 who first settled at a distance from the village,—Obadiah Richards in Watertown, Isaac Bronson in Middlebury, Samuel Hikcox in Naugatuck. By 1730 there were thirteen farms at Naugatuck. Watertown and Plymouth up country had seventeen farms, thirty-three men in 1732 and Buck's Hill had seven farms.

Derby was a different sort of settlement. In 1642 John Wakeman of New Haven built a trading house at Derby (Paugasset) to establish commercial relations with the Indians and perhaps open a way to the Mohawk Indians too. This trading station was permanent, and in 1654 some families came as settlers. In the following year Derby was acknowledged as a village by the New Haven colony. In 1661 there were about half a dozen houses there, and at least one occupied house about half way between New Haven and Derby. While in the case of all the other settlements which we have discussed, the proprietors acting as a group bought land from the Indians, and then allotted it to the individual planters, at Derby several settlers bought land themselves directly from Indians and thus received their title. After Derby was recognized by New Haven as a village, the settlers proceeded to allot lands and reserve them, as other groups had done, but without any committee of the mother colony to guide them, as had been the case of Waterbury and Wallingford. After all this district had been merged in the Colony of Connecticut, the General Court ordered that owners of Paugasset should buy no more land from Indians until they had been made a separate plantation. Both Indians and whites however were too anxious to deal to be stopped in this way, and purchase of land continued. Men of Milford and Stratford also bought land in Paugasset from the Indians and settled there. In 1672 the General Court made Derby a plantation; twelve families had settled there and eleven more were coming. A committee of the General Court was appointed to supervise the proper distribution of lands.

Finding that various persons had already bought lands in Derby, both of English and Indians, the committee did not propose to eject them, but confirmed them in possession of the land if they became settlers, or settled some one on the land who might be approved by the town. They also made a division of some other undivided lands near by to make possible an approximately equal allocation of home lots, meadow and swamp lands among approved settlers both new and old. They also turned to other land near by which had been hitherto unallotted and unclaimed and devised a scheme for its distribution among future settlers so that no colonist should appropriate to himself all the good land that might be located in a single place. Thus they said that "the rest of the lands * * * between the river and the hills * * * be divided unto at least six or seven inhabitants, and they have home lots at the upper end toward Mr. Hawley's and each of them four acres to his home lot and to be at as little distance from each other as the place will bear

and the rest of the said plain and old field to be equally divided among those six or seven and that the low moist or swamp ground upon the hills be laid out to the said six or seven in proportion, to make meadow, after the six acres for the ferry is laid out as aforesaid; and also any land that is fit for tillage upon the hills (within the purchase from Mr. Bryan) shall be divided among the seven or more inhabitants, and also any farther field or fields that the aforesaid seven or more inhabitants together with the ferryman shall have need of and shall desire to take in and improve upon the hills above Mr. Hawley's house until each of them have his quantity of fifty acres beside swamp land for meadow, leaving liberty to the town to add to a man of more than ordinary use among them twenty acres, or within that quantity as they shall see cause. And then the rest of the lands within that neck to lie in common, until the town or such as the court shall appoint, see cause farther to dispose for encouragements of inhabitants there. Thirdly that Plum meadow and the adjacent land, by estimation about twenty acres, lying on the east side of the river that cometh from Naugatuck, be divided to accomodate at least two inhabitants."

Thus the settlement grew. No colonist was permitted to acquire a great tract in a single place; swamps, meadows, and uplands were all divided in tracts of three to ten acres and then allotted to settlers.

Southbury resembled Milford in its inception. Part of the congregation at Stratford seceded and resolved to form a new town. With the consent of the General Court, they bought lands from the Indians and settled as a congregation along the Housatonic. Part of the congregation settled along the Pomperaug River in what is now Northbury in 1673 and part in Woodbury. The towns were divided in 1787 and thenceforth Southbury was separate. The Southbury settlers had home lots of from two to five acres laid out on either side of the main central street. In the rear was an additional allotment of four times the area of the home lots. From time to time land was granted to settlers new and old, meadow, upland, swamp and wood, in plots of varying sizes just as we have already seen, until 1782 when the last division was made.

In this way the farms of New Haven County were created, titles gained, and the settlement made.

The spread of population continued until the end of the eighteenth century when all the land was not only divided but also actually exploited, either cultivated or used as pasture, meadow, or woodland. By that date the agricultural exploitation of the county reached its height and thenceforth it declined. Land soon began to go back into forest and farms and houses were gradually abandoned in the more difficult and stubborn ground.

Whence came the people who subdued the land? After 1640 there were few European arrivals. Probably the most important element was the natural growth of population. Families were large and the new generations had only agriculture to practice as a livelihood. Hence there

was a constant demand for new lands. Mr. Dickerman says that the Register of Births in the New Haven archives contains 290 family names between 1647 and 1754, and that under these are the names of 5,954 children, yet this record is incomplete. David Atwater had eleven children and 65 grandchildren, and 25 of these grandchildren show 162 great-grandchildren. Abraham Doolittle had 13 children, 73 grandchildren, and 232 recorded great-grandchildren. These may have been exceptional families and not all of these descendants became adults, yet there is no doubt that the birth rate far exceeded the death rate. In Waterbury before 1700, thirty young men who were sons of the planters had been added to the list of land owners. These were called Bachelor proprietors. In 1721 seventy-three men, sons of twenty-four original proprietors of Waterbury lived there for a time if not permanently. The first settler of Wolcott was John Alcock, aged twenty-six, from New Haven, who settled a tract of 11½ acres in the western part of the town. When he came he had been married fifteen months, so this was the first family. There was also immigration, not from England, but from other districts outside the county. The north part of Wolcott was settled chiefly by people from Farmington. Southbury received settlers from Bridgeport and Stratford. It should be noted too that men who migrated from one settlement or town within the county were not all young landless men. Older men who were established already found or thought they might find better land in a different district and consequently moved.

The fact of migration suggests another characteristic of the time. If men migrated, it must have been possible to buy land either from the town (and occasionally from the Indians, as in Derby), or from the landholders themselves. It is astonishing how great the early traffic in land was. Some men bought for homes; many bought apparently as an investment. In New England therefore just as in old England in the seventeenth century, land was the most important commodity. Out of this traffic arose a new legal regulation, which the mother country even today has not formulated as simply and completely as these early settlers did. They established the rule that every transfer of land must be recorded. Hence today we have an office of Land Record. The reason for the regulation is not explained by contemporaries. Probably it was due to the desire of the settlers to get an indefeasible title to their lands, as we have seen they sought in their operations with the Indians. Partly it may have been due to the desire of the community to keep track of their lands, to avoid disputes. When they were allotting lands among the planters, it was difficult for them to establish boundaries that never conflicted. The solution was to have all sales recorded. At any rate it was not done as a result of a decree issued from the home government; each township made the rule for itself, a very simple and practical suggestion.

Equipment of the Early Colonists

The early settlers at New Haven were, it would seem, primarily interested in trade. But as in most trading towns in England, trade and

agriculture were closely allied. The trader might well have a country estate as well. We have hardly any information concerning the equipment that the early colonists brought. The followers of Davenport and Eaton however came to Massachusetts and we know what some ships with Puritan immigrants carried. Whitfield and his followers were in touch with Puritan emigrants too. It is fair to assume that they were equipped in the same way other groups were that came at the same time. In Whitfield's ship there is mention of five cows. An emigrant ship to Massachusetts Bay Colony was "ballasted with iron, steel, lead, nails and other heavy articles of utility. The bulk of the cargo consisted of apparel, bedding, food, tools, arms, ammunition and seeds. Neat cattle and goats were usually taken and sometimes horses." Higginson said, "All that came must have victuals with them for a twelve month." Winslow had written from Plymouth, "Bring good store of clothes and bedding with you. Bring paper and linseed oil for your windows with cotton-yarn for your lamps."

The settlers of Milford who had remained for a winter or so at New Haven are said to have for the most part gone to Milford by land, "driving their cattle and other domestic animals before them while their household and farming utensils and the material for 'the commonhouse' were taken round by water." The early records of land transfers and of the courts tell us more of the agricultural equipment at the outset. The consideration for the land bought from the Indians consisted of coats of trucking cloth, alchemy spoons, hatchets, hoes, knives, porringers and French knives and scissors, glasses, shoes, stockings, hats, blankets and shirts.

The second purchase from the Indians by Eaton and Davenport provided against trouble in connection with "horses, oxen, kine, calves, sheep, goats (or) hogs," of the English. In 1640 there are notices of the cow pasture on the "hither side of the Beever ponds, and the oxe pasture on the farre side of the Beever pond." In all cases great importance was attached to the meadows, of course for the animals. In 1641 the hogs were to be driven for five miles from the town. Sheep too were owned. The Neck at New Haven was early to be used as a sheep walk, and Nehemiah Smith proposed to keep sheep four miles north of the Green. For nearly a century, it is said that the town of Milford kept a flock of sheep, numbering at times 1,000 or 1,500 head under the care of a common shepherd.

For a long time Derby had no sheep, but beginning with 1670 the town encouraged rearing these animals, and by 1703, at least, we find sheep owners in the town. Both cattle and sheep were sent by Milford and New Haven to be pastured in Derby. In 1664 Matthew Gilbert obtained a grant of land in Hamden to save fodder for horses. The importance of the stock is shown also by the elaborate and repeated regulations about fences, what shall be counted sufficient fence, etc., the appointment of fence-viewers, the establishment of pounds and pounders. The tax list of 1730 in Waterbury enumerates cows, oxen, hogs and horses, practically everyone having one or more horses.

The regulations about trees and buildings and meadows show too that they had axes, scythes, or sickles and saws. The people of New Haven at once set up a mill, and so they must have brought mill stones with them. Arms, pikes, swords, muskets, they had also.

For a time before the union of New Haven with Connecticut the former had a small cavalry troop. In 1653 when war was imminent with the Indians, New Haven prohibited the exportation of horses without the special permission of the supervisors of cattle. In 1658 orders were renewed that horses must be branded by the town officer and that their purchase or sale must be registered. Every town had its horse brand very early, and each person had his own brand. Every planter in Guilford could pick out his own cattle from the common herd by ear marks that were recorded in the town records. They must have had plows and harrows too, for all proposed to cultivate the soil. Hogs were common and gave great trouble by breaking through fences.

In Guilford "Abraham Crittenden, Sr., took and kept a stray colt and was called before the Court therefor on April 2, 1660. He had lost a colt two years before and produced witnesses to prove that this was the one. It was testified for the town that Abraham Crittenden had previously claimed two other different horses as his lost one, and considering this, the Court decided that 'wee see not how in justice to grant him the sole interest in this horse, which appears to be a stray, not having a legal owner. Therefore, Abraham Crittenden is to have half the horse's value for taking him up, and if he desire to keep him, to pay the other half to the Town.' The Court further censured him 'for being too inordinately affected or covetous, in straining or endeavoring to get some horse of three for his, all of them appearing to have some difference in their naturall marks & one of them, especially, being notoriously unlike the rest, in contrast wee see not how some passages by him spoken, may be reconciled with truth.'

"A third stray horse was taken up by Andrew Benton and, being handed over to William Parker of Saybrook, he promised to be accountable for the horse, whenever it shall be called for 'to answer any better title or clayme.' " From the beginning therefore it seems fair to conclude that the colonists had an adequate farming equipment of stock and implements.

What did they raise? We find a considerable variety and amount of grain, vegetables and stock. They had hay, Indian corn, wheat, rye, peas, beans, flax, hops, malt, beer, or cider for drink, apples, parsnips, cabbages, turnips, and after a while potatoes; they had butter, cheese, hens, geese, turkeys, sheep. An inventory of William Gibbard's estate in 1663 names two oxen, three cows and a calf, one heifer, two beasts two years old, one yearling, one sheep, ten swine in the woods, if they can be found and are alive, three mares, one horse, two mares two years old, two one year old colts. The inventory of the estate of Caleb Mix in 1765 shows one horse, one mare, one pair of oxen, one bull, one three year

old steer, five two year old, five yearlings, four cows, one heifer two years old, two cows and calves, one cow, thirty-one sheep, six ewes and lambs. Capt. Dan Bradley's estate, 1773, contained one horse, one cow and calf, two cows, a heifer, one pair of steers, two calves, one calf, six heifers, three swine.

Money was harder to get than goods, so barter was common. At an ordination of a minister in Wallingford, in 1711, there were contributed twenty pounds of butter, four bushels of wheat, cheese, hens, goose, turkey, sheep, three bushels of apples, malt for beer, a barrel of cider, hiring five horses. In Derby these payments appear in an old account, March 31, 1681: payments by 4 bushels 3 pecks Indian corn; Indian corn 18 bushels 1 peck; Indian corn 15½ bushels; a cowhide 37 lbs. 2 oz.; a bushel of summer wheat; 13½ lbs. hops; 3 bushels ½ peck wheat; 1 bushel and 3 pecks rye; flax 7½ lbs.; 3 bushels and ½ peck wheat and 13 lbs. hops.

Another account of March 31, 1680, is of the "money paid by the town of Derby to Mr. Nicholas Camp for Mr. Joseph Hawley & by his appointment as the Court ordered us

	£	s	d
One steer of two year old and upward	2	17	6
By John Prindle to Mr. Camp	6	05	6
Per four yards & a half of cloth	1	02	9
Per Ebenezer Johnson	0	16	2
Per seven bushels and half a peck of Indian corn & 1 bushel and three pecks of rye	0	4	9½
	12	6	8½

In 1677 the court at Hartford sent notices to towns as follows: "This court doth grant a rate of eight pence upon the pound upon all the rateable estate of the Colony, to discharge the country debts, to be paid in good and merchantable wheat, peas, and Indian corn, pork and beef; winter wheat at five shillings per bushel; corn at 2 shillings and six pence per bushel; pork at three pounds ten shillings per barrel; and beef forty shillings per barrel; always provided if there be above one third paid in Indian corn, it shall be at two shillings per bushel."

In his History of New Haven Colony Atwater gives the diet of the settlers which tells us of their crops at the start. Venison was plentiful, and "there were wild geese and wild turkeys, moose and deer," "pigeons." The rivers and streams were full of fish and along the sea shore clams, oysters and mussels abounded. Poultry and swine were soon abundant enough to spare for the table, and within ten years of the foundation of New Haven, beef had become an article of export. "Maize, beans, squash were indigenous and were raised, also turnips, but not potatoes at the outset. Every farmer soon raised flax, and raising of sheep spread so all had woolen and linen clothes."

“For several years there were held two fairs annually at New Haven, one in May and the other in September for the sale of cattle or other merchandise.” Winthrop wrote to his wife, “We are here in a paradise. Though we have not beef or mutton, yet (God be praised) we want them not; our Indian corn answers for all. Yet here is fowl and fish in great plenty.”

“The diet for breakfast and supper was frequently porridge made of meat, sometimes salt meat, and of pease, beans, or other vegetables. Frequently it was mush and milk. A boiled pudding of Indian meal, cooked in the same pot with the meat and vegetables which followed it, was often the first and principal course at dinner. It seems to have been assigned to the first course in the interest of frugality, to spare the more expensive pork and beef. Of esculent roots the turnip was far more highly prized and plentifully used than the potato. Tea and coffee had not yet come into general use so as to be articles of commerce even in England, but beer was the common drink of Englishmen at home and in America. A brew-house was regarded as an essential part of a homestead in the New Haven colony, and beer was on the table as regularly as bread.”

CHAPTER II

OLD FASHIONED FARMING

The economic organization of agriculture at the outset was patterned after that with which the colonists were familiar at home. When they came to New Haven, they left two kinds of agricultural organization, the manor and the enclosure. Most of England was divided into manors. A manor was an estate managed as an economic unit. It contained a varying number of tenants and owners who, though they owned or rented their lands individually, cultivated them in common. All this land was held from a single person, the lord of the manor. All the tenants and landholders on the manor were free. There were also agricultural laborers who might have a house and garden, and who worked for the farmers. Most probably manors still had a mill, a bakehouse, and a brewery for the use of the inhabitants. The land of the manor was divided into arable which was cropped, and meadow for the hay. Each farmer held part of the arable and part of the meadow. His land in the arable was ordinarily scattered in strips throughout the whole piece. Each strip normally contained an acre. Thus he would have shares of the good, the fair, and the poor soil of the manor. Ordinarily a farmer would not own work animals enough to plow and harrow, so coöperative farming was the rule. Each farmer had a part in the meadow proportioned to the part of the arable land that he held. There was also pasture, woodland and waste. Each farmer pastured a number of animals in proportion to the amount of his holding. He could take wood for fuel and for building, with the consent of the lord of the manor or the manor group. His pigs and geese could run in the waste. Wood, waste and pasture were being continually brought under cultivation as population slowly increased. The main operations of agriculture (plowing, harvesting) began at a certain date. After crops were harvested, animals of all the inhabitants were turned out to graze on the stubble. There was a manorial court presided over by the lord's steward that supervised the life of the manor. All disputes between tenants and questions about renting and selling land were settled in this court.

The farmers did not live separated. In the eastern and central parts of England in general, they lived in a village along a single street, each house with its plot or yard and garden of land. There, too, stood the church, the mill, the bakery, the brewery, the tithe barn, the house of the lord of the manor and his barns. From this settlement went out each

morning the farmers and the agricultural laborers to do their work. The cattle, sheep and geese were brought in at night for safety.

This system had begun to break down and the system of enclosure had for a long time been gradually entering. The divisions into strips were abandoned and the large continuous adjoining fields fenced with hedges were substituted. Coöperative farming was discarded. Each farmer owned all his stock and tools, owned or rented his farm and cultivated it himself with his own hired men. The choice of crops, the method of cultivation, the time of plowing and harvesting, all questions of this sort no longer depended upon custom or the decision of a group, but solely upon the volition of each individual farmer. These two methods of agriculture obtained in old England in 1638, with the manorial method predominant. This was not advanced agriculture. The farmers who enclosed represented the best type of farming: they raised sheep for wool, were beginning to give attention to the advantages of fertilizing, choice of seeds, improvement in implements, stock breeding and artificial drainage. They were beginning to introduce new crops, turnips, carrots, potatoes, cabbages. Gardens began to be more developed. The farmers who enclosed and hence were free to farm in their own way were just beginning to do some of these things. They were also gentlemen and men of capital who could afford experiment. Out of this background came the New Haven cultivators.

A survey of agricultural arrangements in the various towns of New Haven County reveals many English manorial customs of the 17th century. There was of course no lord of the manor of whom all the land was held. Each colonist owned his land; he had a freehold. Yet in this they seem to have adapted a manorial custom, the registration of all land holdings, a register of land titles. There was in England no list of freehold titles in any court or government office. There a purchaser of such land ordinarily did it by bargain and sale, lease and release, and received from the vendor such documents as proof of his title as they might arrange to exchange. The government made no record of this. England had however another kind of free tenure which kept a record, copyhold tenure. Copyhold was not freehold, differing from it by various rules of alienation and inheritance, but it was free and could be freely sold and inherited. Much of the land in the manor, probably most of it, was held in copyhold. Land held in copyhold was recorded on the court roll of the manor. Every alienation of such land took place in the manor court, and a record of the transaction was written on the court roll. The tenant who desired to sell his land surrendered it into the hand of the lord of the manor who thereupon admitted the purchaser as a tenant. This transaction was entered upon the manorial roll with a description of the land thus alienated. The new tenant wished a document certifying his purchase and was given a copy of the record on the roll and so his tenure came to be called tenure by copy of the court roll, or briefly copyhold tenure. Thus every transfer of this kind of land was enrolled. All landholders among the colonists would be familiar with such English procedure, and it may very well be that here

we see the origin of our land record rolls. For all the towns at the outset adopted this procedure.

The settlers, too, at first, lived in a village often along both sides of a street, each house in its plot or yard. The arable land was not divided into strips, but no man's holdings after the first division of the lands all lay in a compact block. They were scattered. Nor did any one absorb all the good arable or meadow. He was allotted tracts in proportion to his "estate," so all shared in good and poor land. One may say this arrangement arose out of the fact that we are dealing with members of joint stock companies, so it was necessary to divide the land equally. But observe too that this was the sort of allotment which all manorial tenants in England would understand as normal and logical.

Lands in the new settlements as yet undivided were held in common, not true common land we are reminded by specialists, for they are owned in undivided severalty. Nevertheless for the time being they were held as common and all planters used them as pasture and sometimes for arable. There was also the community shepherd (as in the mother country) and a cowherd for the cattle that, after the hay was cut, were turned in on the meadows (as was the old manorial custom). So Bronson records, "In the fall season after the grass had been cut and the crops removed from the common field, it was the custom to turn in the 'cattle, horses and sheep' for pasture. It was the practice to name the day on which the fields should be 'cleared,' and when the people might turn in their cattle, &c. This was late in September or early in October. 'Commoning time' was looked forward to with great interest. At the appointed time, early in the morning, or immediately after sundown, the whole town was astir. All the four footed beasts that lived by grazing were brought out, driven in long procession to the meadow gates, and 'turned in' to crop the fresh herbage. There they remained luxuriating and gathering fatness till the late autumn frosts. The writer's recollection extending back forty years, furnishes him with some refreshing scenes connected with the opening of the common field. Boys who used to drive the cows a mile to pasture, hailed the time with lively feelings."

The pigs in England ran out into the waste and picked up the beech mast, and here in New Haven they made a regulation to drive pigs five miles from the center. In Waterbury and Milford, they even say they have herds of sheep owned by the town. The New Haven towns had town bulls and boars, pounds for lost cattle, haywards to seize all cattle and hogs astray and impound them. Of course the town had also control over the allotment of lands, the erection of fences and so on. In all this, we seem to see a continuance of the manorial court and its officers.

The English manor also contained an element not purely agricultural, the artisans and store keepers. Back in the Middle Ages this group was not large; in the 17th century it had become on certain manors the predominant element, forming the little cities of that era. These artisans were the men who ran the grist mills and fulling mills, the bakeries, the

breweries. There are blacksmiths, carpenters, masons. They were however for centuries in England primarily agricultural in their interests. Only in modern times did cities grow out of this element. Such was the case with the colonists in New Haven. In order to live properly these agricultural communities had a certain artisan element. We have noted the mills, sawmills, grist mills, fulling mills, the brewery.

There are references also to a great number of trades, sawyers, carpenters, ship carpenters, joiners, thatchers, chimney sweepers, brick makers, brick layers, plasterers, tanners, shoemakers, saddlers, weavers, tailors, hatters, blacksmiths, gunsmiths, cutlers, nailers, millers, bakers, coopers and potters. Of course many of the trades are so closely related that the same man might easily be classed under more than one. The conclusion one is inclined to reach is that we already had a considerable specialized artisan class. But when we recall the smallness of the population of New Haven, even in 1700, and that agriculture, even in 1800, was still carried on within the city itself, and that these artisans all had farms, we conclude that agriculture in 1640 was the dominating interest, and that all these trades were pursued for part of the year as an auxiliary to farming. Such a condition might conceivably, with the growth of population, develop a great artisan group, but also much the same condition existed in England for a long time before the Industrial Revolution of the 18th century.

At the opening of the 18th century we obtain some light on the general agricultural development. Tax lists were higher than before. The number of animals seems greater in the lists which we have. Capt. Francis Browne, a seaman, was commander and part owner of a sloop, the *Speedwell*, which plied for years between New Haven and Boston, carrying merchandise. This cargo to Boston consisted of raw materials and the return load of manufactured articles. The consigners from this end came from various towns in New Haven County, and chiefly from the old town of New Haven (including East Haven, Woodbridge, North Haven and Hamden), but others too outside the county employed him. Sometimes he went up to Derby to get part of his load. His cargoes (1707-1716) therefore ought to be fairly representative of the county as a whole. At first the shipments were almost wholly wheat and butter. Later cargoes showed greater variety, the change no doubt being due not to the increased variety of excess products, but to the spread of knowledge of the opportunity to sell any surplus. Apparently everything was on a small scale. The load usually never exceeded 1,600 bushels of grain. When we reflect that there were not many other boats in such a traffic, we see that there did not exist a great surplus with which to trade. Thus while agriculture was the most important industry, it is clear that we are not dealing here with a great prosperous farming community. In the various cargoes to Boston appeared wheat and flour, Indian corn, rye, as the ordinary consignment with a few oats. The importance of hogs is shown by the fact that pork and bacon were the principal meat cargoes. There

were some beef and a good deal of spring butter, occasionally some beans and peas, "some honey, beeswax, bayberry wax and tallow; hazel nuts, butternuts and chestnuts; once or twice a basket of eggs, a bag of mustard seed and a bushel of oysters." Common consignments were "flax and wool, both in bulk and manufactured, with the coarser linens and worsted cloths, especially tow cloth, sail cloth and shoe thread * * * furs, specified as wolf, bear, fox, raccoon, mink, otter, martin, beaver and wild cat skins." Such a list covering a period of years shows a rather backward state of agriculture.

In 1780 New Haven owned only five ships with a tonnage of 134 tons; in 1745 only three ships. Notice that the ketch *Speedwell* sailed to the Azores in 1745 with a cargo worth only £90-4-6. The trade of New Haven began to boom after 1740 and in this rise agricultural products played a part. In the year ending May 1, 1774, they exported flax-seed, 150,000 pounds; wheat, 15,000 bushels; rye, twenty thousand bushels; Indian corn, 33,000 bushels; oxen, 2,000; horses, 1,400. By 1800 therefore New Haven County had developed a considerable commerce. As far as agricultural products were concerned, its chief markets were New York, the Southern states, and the French and English West Indies. Indeed the commerce with New York was really part of the West Indian trade. Boston apparently, that one hundred years earlier had been the destination of food products, no longer played so important a role. Thus in 1801 New Haven sent to New York, cheese, 220,000 lbs; butter, 800 firkins; lard, 600 firkins; cornmeal 1,200 barrels; rye flour, 230 barrels; barley, 1,500 bushels; Indian corn, 300 bushels; rye, 200 bushels; oats, 530 bushels; potatoes, 160 bushels. These products of course went partly to the West Indies. The southern market was open because of such great concentration there about 1810 upon the production of rice and cotton. There was a steady demand for foodstuffs for a white population of 40,000 and a black population of 110,000. It was not so large as might be expected, when it is recalled that New York alone had a population of 100,000 and was only seventy-five miles away. The southern market was scattered over a coast line of 250 miles and was 800 miles from New Haven. Still New Haven County shared in this trade. The West Indies market was for a population of 2,000,000, less than one tenth of which was white. While these islands raised part of their food, nevertheless there was so great a profit in sugar, that it paid the planter to put all of his land into that article and buy his food stuffs and animals. New Haven had eighty ships and three fourths of them were engaged in foreign trade, most of it with the West Indies. It must be remembered that the ships were small and made on an average only two trips a year. Still there is no question about the growth in demand for food stuffs opened to the farmers of New Haven. To how much of the county did this demand extend? Was it just the immediate environs of New Haven? Dwight says, "The neighborhood of the New Haven market enables the farmers to avail themselves of all these advantages by a ready sale of everything they raise." Again,

"The inhabitants of North Haven, living so near to New Haven and accustomed to carry everything to that market, are in easy and thriving circumstances." While he does not speak of Wallingford and Meriden in the same way, we know that in 1710 some Wallingford men used to trade with Boston via New Haven and communication in 1810 must have been good between New Haven and Wallingford. Dwight on the first day of his trip went to Berlin, 26 miles. Again, he says, "The inhabitants (of East Haven) have an ample market for all their produce at New Haven."

There were four harbors by which products of New Haven County could be exported, New Haven, Derby, Branford and Guilford. In the condition of land transportation at the time, perhaps twenty miles was the limit of transporting goods to economic advantage, but this would make it possible to bring farm products from all of New Haven County to the coast. Dr. Beardsley writes: "A few years prior to 1800 Mr. Leman Stone and others settled in Derby and for a long time carried on an extensive commercial trade with New York, Boston, and the West Indies. At one time, Derby Narrows was nearly blockaded with carts and wagons loaded with all sorts of produce for Waterbury, Woodbury, and other towns. Sometimes a string half a mile long would throng our highways and teamsters would have to wait half a day or over night for their turn to unload for shipping." Orcutt says, "Grain of all sorts, pork, butter and cheese were brought here for export from Woodbury, Waterbury, New Milford and towns around in great abundance. Within the fading memory of the oldest inhabitant the road now called Derby Avenue has been seen lined and crowded with loaded teams by the hundred, waiting turns to deliver their goods for shipping and return to their homes." Steiner says, "The West India trade of Guilford was quite important. Vessels have been occasionally built in the present town of Guilford. Many of them owned by the inhabitants have been employed in the coasting trade and in former days some were employed in the West India trade." Madison, Guilford and Branford all had fine crops of wheat, rye, and corn for the export trade due to use of shells, sea weed and white fish as fertilizers. There was much navigation and business at Branford, says one, even more than at New Haven. Large store-houses were built at various points in the town for receiving, storing and shipping goods. Wheat, rye, corn, flax and flax seed were shipped in considerable quantities. North Branford produced excellent wheat down to the Revolutionary War. Dried apples were shipped to Maine in return for fish and pine lumber. Hence by 1810 a considerable coastwise and foreign market was opened to all the towns of New Haven County. This, and not its manufactures, which at that time were inconsiderable, explains the growth of the city of New Haven.

Whence came this additional agricultural product? In part from the use of fertilizer, in the towns along the coast with their use of fish. But in fact from the growth of population with its colonization of all the land within the county which could be used for arable and pasture. Notice the

importance of pork. The swine ran wild in the woods and in late autumn and fall were fed corn and fattened just before butchering, an easy way to raise meat.

We can trace this gradual reduction of the untamed forest by the formation of new towns. Cheshire became a town in 1780; East Haven in 1785; Hamden in 1786; Madison in 1816; Meriden in 1806; Middlebury in 1807; North Branford in 1831; North Haven in 1786; Orange in 1822; Oxford in 1798; Prospect in 1827; [Northbury in 1787]; Wolcott in 1796; Woodbridge in 1784. Obviously these dates represent the time when population had grown so that they felt it would be advantageous to have a town organization, and marks the advance of farming for communities such as those above that are agricultural in nature.

One would like to believe that the increase in agricultural products meant more progressive farming on the whole. It is difficult to believe this in face of President Dwight's statement. He was a great traveler and observer and was extremely interested in all matters that affected his own town, and he was an ardent patriot. When he therefore admits without qualification the superiority of English farming, without excepting New Haven County, we may be sure that the character of farming here was similar to that in the back country except where, as in Guilford, Milford, Branford, and Madison, fish and sea weed were used as fertilizer. Here are his words, "The husbandry of New England is far inferior to that of Great Britain."

Since the time of the early settlements there seems to have been little or no improvement in methods of agriculture. English farming had in the 18th century undergone so marked a change that it is fair to call it a revolution. It consisted of changes in every phase of farming, stock, tools, seeds and crops raised, and methods of exploitation. A great variety of new tools was invented, ploughs and cultivators; horses were substituted for oxen as the work animals on the farms; by careful selection the breeds of horses, cattle and sheep had been greatly improved. Varieties of cattle were developed that, on the same or smaller farms, had much more flesh; milk too was produced in much greater quantity with other varieties of cattle. Sheep were increased in size and in the amount and texture of the wool so they could be used for mutton and greater product of wool. The change effected in stock during the 18th century is shown by the size of animals in Smithfield market in London 1720-1790.

An improved quality of seeds of all sorts, including hay, resulted in better and bigger crops. New crops were introduced, e. g. turnips, with remarkable effect in many ways. Increased crops of hay, straw and turnips made it possible to carry a large number of cattle of all sorts over the winter. Formerly, with little fodder, most cattle had been butchered in the fall. Now they could be fattened in winter, and butchered when larger, and more meat produced. Also this meant a great increase in the amount of manure which enriched the soil and produced greater crops of grain and hay. Combined with this was a growing utilization of artifi-

cial fertilizers. In the eastern counties of England, they completed the draining of the fens, opening to farming a great stretch of fertile soil. The market for the increased product was the population of the new towns and cities which grew up around the factories, symbols of the Industrial Revolution. So great was the demand for food stuffs that fortunes were made in farming. It is said that no place in England is more than twenty miles from a navigable stream, so that the whole market of England was open to these farmers.

While theoretically all these profits might be within the reach of any agriculturalist who had the intelligence to farm in the new way, practically many small farmers were too ignorant to make the change and in addition most of them had not the requisite capital. It resulted therefore after a time in the annihilation of the small yeoman farmer, and the substitution of the great capitalist farmer. One most important element in this change, perhaps the most, was the fact that the big landlords had capital. Another element lay in the great quantities of fine fertile land in England. It was not the obdurate soil characteristic of so much of New Haven County. The question of expense was very important. New tools, new seeds, artificial fertilizers, new horses and cattle, sheep, and hogs, all these might be acquired by a big business man with necessary capital. There was also the question of labor. It was abundant in England. We must note all these points, for at first sight it appears a little strange that the farmers of New Haven County seemed so slow to adopt the principles of the new farming.

Let us see what crops were raised here about 1800. Indian corn and rye were the chief grains. Next to grass, Indian corn was the most valuable crop. Dickerman says of it, "Indian corn may justly be considered as our principal grain, and the most valuable in the whole circle of husbandry. Its increase, compared with that of any other grain, is in a greater degree independent of the season, and governed more by the attention and care of the cultivator. It is mixed in the proportion of one third, with rye, and constitutes the common bread of the inhabitants. The beef, pork, and poultry, fattened with it, are greatly superior to such as are fed on any other grain. Besides the crop, the average of which is about twenty-eight bushels per acre, the forage it affords is very considerable, every part of the stem and husk being applicable to the feeding of cattle." Dwight says that this crop is "nearly as valuable to this country as all other kinds of corn united, and yields a crop much more certain, and much more extensively useful than any other." It was more easily cultivated on a big scale too. The Indians had taught the whites to plant it in rows $3\frac{1}{2}$ by 4 feet square and this made it possible to cultivate it by horses both ways and reduced the labor of hoeing by hand. Oats, barley and buckwheat were also sown. Barley was regarded as better food for horses than oats. Buckwheat was valuable as a weed killer and was sometimes plowed under for fertilizer. The pigs fed on its blossoms, the farmers ate buckwheat pancakes, and chickens ate the grain. Wheat had always

been raised. From the beginning it was one of the grains used for calculating pay, but it had been given up here because of failure of crops caused by a "rust," or "fungus."

Our ancestors had no root crops to nourish the stock during the winter to help out the hay. Such a crop would have kept the animals in better condition and made manure which was valuable as fertilizer. By 1800 they had begun to raise potatoes, chiefly for cattle, and lots of pumpkins, planting them among the corn, but raised practically no carrots or turnips.

Every one grew some flax, usually enough for the use of the family for linen and tow cloth. Linseed oil was obtained too from the seed. Peas and beans were raised for family use. Of course every one had a garden, the variety of vegetables found in it depending just as it does today upon the character of the farmer and his family.

There was no proper system of rotation of crops. Various schemes were employed. They might plant maize, followed by rye, oats or barley, and then grass, or rather fallow, which grew up to weeds; then after a while maize again. In Ridgefield the rotation was: buckwheat or rye; Indian corn; flax or oats and in the fall rye and pasture. Then after a few years in pasture, repeat. Of course, the trouble with this system is not really the particular rotation, but the lack of proper cultivation.

Another handicap to a bountiful yield was the lack of the application of fertilizers. Artificial fertilizers were hard to get. Common stall manure is of course splendid. The difficulty was that farmers had not much of it. Their stock was pastured from early spring to late fall. In the winter they often ran loose in the barnyard and rain destroyed much of the value of the fertilizer. Further, the amount of stock was not very large and the food was not very adequate. One exception to the statement that fertilizers were neglected applies to Madison, Guilford and Branford. White fish were caught in great numbers and together with seaweed were put on the land, enriched it and greatly increased the crop. Fertilizers therefore were not used sufficiently because there was not much collected. It paid better to let stock graze a great deal than to keep them shut up, for which too, they had not the feed. Artificial fertilizers were expensive and hard to get, unless one had a gift from the gods such as the white fish in Madison and Guilford.

The home was comfortably and substantially built. The barn was a good building. It had a threshing floor in the center with stables for cattle and horses on either side. Above the stables for cattle and horses, there was a mow for hay and unthreshed grain. Part of the hay might be stored in sheds near the barn, open at the sides, with a thatched or shingled roof. There was a corn crib set up on posts as now. The tools were few and poor; plows, hoes, pitchforks, manure forks, and shovels. They were all of wood, oftentimes made by the farmer, and strengthened with strips of sheet iron by the blacksmith. They had flails, a fan and riddle sieve for winnowing, scythes, sickles, cradles, carts and harrows. Flint in "Eighty Years' Progress" describes the plow thus: "The Carey

plough had a clumsy wrought-iron share, a land-slide and standard made of wood, a wooden mould-board, often plated over in a rough manner with pieces of old saw-plates, tin or sheet-iron. The handles were upright, and were held by two pins; a powerful man was required to hold it, and double the strength of team now commonly used in doing the same kind of work. The 'bar-side plough' or the 'bull plough' was also used to some extent. A flat bar formed the land-slide, and a big clump of iron, shaped a little like the half of a lance head, served as a point, into the upper part of which a kind of coulter was fastened. The mould-board was wooden and fitted to the irons in the most bungling manner. The action might be illustrated by holding a sharp-pointed shovel back up, and thrusting it through the ground." Bidwell says, "With such unwieldy instruments, two men or a man and a boy, using three horses or two or three yoke of oxen, could turn over in a superficial manner the soil of one or two acres in a day. Some attempts had been made to improve this implement; a cast iron plough had been invented in 1797 in which the mould-board and land slide were cast in one piece, but the mass of the farmers were ignorant of these improvements. The iron plough was even opposed because of the fear that it would poison the earth."

After plowing came the harrowing; the harrow usually had wooden teeth, though sometimes iron ones. Poor plowing made harrowing quite ineffective.

The crops were transported to market by two wheeled ox carts, except in winter when sleighs could easily and quickly carry huge loads, once the snow was beaten down. The mild climate of the county reduced this advantage.

Cattle were very important for food, hides, milk, and as draft animals. They were not very well bred; they were small, hardy animals not remarkable for beef or milk. As draft animals, oxen were preferred to horses, for the reasons stated by President Dwight: "The advantages of employing oxen are, that they will endure more fatigue, draw more steadily, and surely; are purchased for a smaller price; are kept at less expense; are freer from disease; suffer less from labouring on rough grounds; and perform the labour better; and, when by age or accident they become unfit for labour, they are converted into beef. The only advantage of employing horses instead of oxen, is derived from their speed." Horses were used somewhat as draft animals and for transportation (riding). Every farmer had one or more. They too were a small hardy breed. Every one had a few sheep that picked up a living in pasture, meadow and upland. They were necessary for their wool. They were small and vigorous and were but little used for food.

President Dwight of course probably had New England in mind, but if the following strictures had not applied to New Haven, it is likely that he would have noted the fact. He says: "With this cultivation the average produce of wheat in Connecticut is, by information, on which I rely, fifteen bushels an acre; and that of maize twenty-five bushels. The greatest crop

of wheat, which I have known in Connecticut was forty bushels an acre; the greatest crop of maize one hundred and eighteen. The quantity of wheat, usually sown is one bushel and a half peck, to the acre.

“Wheat is sown with the broadcast. Maize is planted in hills, from three to four feet apart, in a manner resembling a quincunx. The number of stalks in a hill should be not more than four nor less than three. The ground is afterwards broken, sometimes with a harrow, made in the form of a triangle, and sometimes with a plough; each drawn by a single horse. In stony grounds a larger plough is used; and is drawn by a yoke of oxen. The ground is then cleaned with the hoe. The process is repeated at least three times, and not infrequently four: at the last of which the earth is raised to the height of from four to six inches, around the corn, and is denominated a hill; whence every planting is called a hill of corn. The hill is made, to give a better opportunity for the roots, which, when the stalk is grown to a considerable height, shoot from it several inches above the surface, to insert themselves in the ground with more ease, and less hazard of failure. These roots are called braces; because they appear to be formed for the sole purpose of supporting the stalk. * * * The principal defects in our husbandry, so far as I am able to judge, are a deficiency in the quantity of labour, necessary to prepare the ground for seed; insufficient manuring; the want of a good rotation of crops; and slovenliness in cleaning the ground. The soil is not sufficiently pulverized; nor sufficiently manured. We are generally ignorant of what crops will best succeed each other; and our fields are covered with a rank growth of weeds. Those, indeed, which are planted with maize, and potatoes, are kept, during the vegetation of these plants, tolerably clean but whenever the hoe ceases from its task, become again very weedy. I have often thought, when passing by a field, from which a crop of wheat or rye had been taken, that the crop of weeds, which grew the same year, would weigh more than either. These evils are understood, and felt; but the price of labour, not unfrequently twelve dollars a month, prevents them from being removed. Superior skill would, however, remove them in part.

“But, defective as our Agriculture is, it has been considerably improved within the last thirty years; and is now fast improving.

“The cultivation of Clover has become a considerable object; and the use of gypsum has widely extended. Other manures, also, have been gathered in greater quantities, and employed with better effect. Fences are, in many instances, better made. The same quantity of labour is frequently confined to a smaller extent of ground; and farms in many places are assuming a neater, and more thrifty aspect. Such, upon the whole, is our soil, and such our culture, that, probably, fewer persons suffer the want, either of the necessities or the comforts of life, than in any other country, containing an equal population.”

One specific indication of the improvement in agriculture is the introduction of merino sheep from Spain in 1802. General Humphreys brought

the first of the breed to America, two rams and seventy ewes, from one to two years old. Thousands of people flocked to see them, when they were landed at Derby. General Humphreys had apparently undertaken this venture, from patriotic not speculative motives. He sold part (it is reported) for \$100 a head to the most enterprising farmers so they could improve the breed of their flocks. The price of a buck soon rose to \$1,500 or \$2,000 and of a ewe to \$1,000 to \$1,500. The General was awarded a gold medal by Massachusetts Agricultural Society. Another indication of the desire to improve agriculture was the formation of agricultural societies. These discussed problems and disseminated information. The earliest organized was that at Charleston, South Carolina, in 1784, but in 1803 the New Haven County Agricultural Society was formed.

Why then was agriculture as practiced in New Haven County so backward as compared with Great Britain? Partly it was the natural conservatism of the farmer; in part, it was the absence of an accessible market; in part too, it was the necessity of the expenditure of considerable capital to introduce stock and tools. It was difficult also to get them. The experience of General Humphreys seems to indicate that some were anxious to improve their stock when opportunity offered. But not every one would undertake to bring over bulls and cows and expensive tools from abroad to a small town like New Haven on the speculation that they would find a ready market, and it was not as though hardware stores were filled with these tools.

Another weighty reason was that in New Haven land was cheap and labor dear: consequently it was economically more advantageous to cultivate superficially a large area with little labor than to hire expensive workmen to cultivate a small area intensively. This argument was expounded by George Washington at length, referring to American agriculture as a whole, but the application to conditions in New Haven County is perfect. He said that "the aim of the farmers in this country (if they can be called farmers) is, not to make the most from the land, which is or has been cheap, but the most of the labour, which is dear; the consequence of which has been, much ground has been scratched over, and none cultivated or improved as it ought to have been; whereas a farmer in England, where land is dear and labour cheap, finds it to his interest to improve and cultivate highly that he may reap large crops from a small quantity of land."

We must observe however that the campaign of education promoted by societies and by individuals had its effect. Dwight says that conditions were improving, and that farming was better. While he makes no specific reference to New Haven County it seems fair to conclude that his remarks should apply to it as well as to other parts of New England. The only point here is that the new farming was not adopted as quickly here as in England, and in some respects has only recently been adopted, e. g. in the acquisition of expensive machinery. Such investments of capital require a large amount of arable land, and many of the farms were too poor for that. No class of great capitalistic farmers arose in this county.

Farms here as elsewhere in New England were mainly self sufficient. Variety in crops was a characteristic. They supplied their own beef, pork and fowl. By coöperation they could enjoy some fresh beef during the winter, but most beef was pickled, salted or dried. Fish from the streams and from the Sound and salt cod were also in common use. They produced their own milk, butter, cheese and lard, to say nothing of soap. Bread was made of a mixture of corn meal and rye flour. Wheat bread too, was eaten. They had fruits and vegetables, as many as they desired. There were plenty of apples for eating, for cider, a common beverage, for vinegar and for syrup, apple butter and the like. Dried, too, they made pies. They had plenty of rich preserves from all sorts of fruits. In addition were honey and maple sugar. Dwight says that he saw a tree which yielded 14 pounds of sugar. The sap was pleasant to drink and real maple syrup then as now, was a great delicacy. With care one could get the supply for nearly a whole year from the maple trees.

They were unable to produce salt, molasses, tea, coffee, cane sugar. Salt was absolutely essential and always was an article of trade. Molasses and sugar (muscovado) were sought as sweets; the former also for rum which rivalled cider as a beverage. Dwight says: "Tea and coffee constitute a part of the breakfast and supper of every class and of almost every individual."

For clothing the farmer was also self-sufficing. It was appropriately called "The Age of Homespun." Each farmer normally produced his own wool, flax, and leather from which his own family made the clothes. Shoes and boots might be made by a local shoemaker with his own or the farmer's leather. Local observers say of Connecticut, as given in Bidwell, "Rural Economy in New England:" "The farmers in Connecticut, and their families, are mostly clothed in plain, decent, homespun cloth. Their linens, and woolens, are manufactured in the family way;" * * * In the statistical descriptions of the various towns we find such statements as this: "The people generally manufacture their linen and woolen cloths in their own families, using all of their wool and most of their flax. If we could have examined the wardrobes of the men and women of the rural towns piece by piece, we should have found everything of household manufacture, with the exception of the few bits of Sunday finery, hard earned and long-treasured, such as a beaver hat, shoe buckles, or a fancy waistcoat, a silk gown or a few ribbons."

Governor Treadwell wrote as follows: "Our ancestors here, of both sexes, have till of late, clad themselves in simple apparel, suited to their moderate circumstances and agricultural state. The men have been content with two suits of clothes, called the every day clothes, and the Sabbath-day clothes. The former were usually of two sorts, those for labour, and those for common society. Those for labour in the summer were a check homespun linen, a pair of plain tow-cloth trowsers, and a vest generally much worn, formerly with, but more modernly without sleeves, or simply a brown tow-cloth frock and trowsers, and sometimes a pair of old

shoes tied with leather strings, and a felt hat, or an old beaver hat stiffened and worn white with age. For the winter season they wore a check blue and white woolen shirt, a pair of buck-skin breeches, and a pair of white, or, if of the best kind, deep blue home-made woolen stockings, and a pair of double-soled cowhide shoes, blacked on the flesh side, tied with leather strings; and, to secure the feet and legs against snow, a pair of leggins which, for the most part, were a pair of worn out stockings, with the bottom and the toe of the foot cut off, drawn over the stocking and shoe, and tied fast to the heel and over the vamp of the shoe; or if of the best kind, they were knit on purpose of white yarn, and they answered for boots on all occasions; an old plain cloth vest with sleeves, lined with a cloth called drugget; an old plain cloth great coat, commonly brown, wrapped around the body, and tied with a list or belt: or as a substitute for them, a buck-skin leather waist coat and a leather apron of tanned sheep-skin fastened round the waist, and the top of it supported with a loop about the neck, and a hat as above, or a woolen cap drawn over the ears.

“For ordinary society in summer, they were clad in a check linen homespun shirt and trowsers, or linen breeches, white homespun linen stockings, and cowhide single soled shoes, a vest with sleeves usually of plain brown cloth, a handkerchief around the neck, a check cap, and a hat in part worn.

“In winter they were clad as above described for summer except that they assumed, if they had it, a better great coat, a neckcloth and a hat that might be considered as second best. Their Sabbath-day suit for winter, was like that last mentioned, except that their stockings were commonly deep blue, their leather breeches were clean and of a buff colour, they added a straight-bodied plain coat and a white holland cap, and sometimes a wig with a clean beaver hat. For the summer it was a check holland shirt, brown linen breeches and stockings, single soled cow hide shoes with buckles, a plain cloth and sometimes a broadcloth and velvet vest, without sleeves: the shirt-sleeves tied above the elbows with arm strings of ferreting of various colours, a white holland cap or wig, and beaver hat: and on Thanksgiving days, and other high occasions, a white holland shirt and cambric neck cloth.

“The women have been, till within about thirty years past, clothed altogether in the same style, with a moderate allowance for the taste of sex. A minute description will not be attempted; a few particulars will characterize the whole. They wore home-made drugget, crape, plain cloth and camblet gowns in the winter, and the exterior of their underdress was a garment lined and quilted, extending from the waist to the feet. Their shoes were high heeled, made of tanned calf-skin, and in some instances of cloth. In the summer they wore striped linen and calico gowns, shoes and linen underdress and every young lady when she had attained her stature, was furnished with a silk gown and skirt if her parents were able, or she could purchase them by dint of labour. Their head dress has

always been varying, and every mode seems, in its day, the most becoming. Within the period just mentioned, the elderly women have worn check holland aprons to meeting on the Sabbath, and those of early life, and of the best fashion, were accustomed to wear them in their formal visits."

Farmers built their own barns and houses, utilizing usually the timber on their own lands. Iron work, nails, hinges and bolts were used sparingly. Beams were held together by wooden spikes. Glass in the house had to be bought, but little else. Furniture was made by the farmer or the local cabinet-maker. Table and kitchen ware were often of wood with some pewter, or earthenware dishes and occasional pots of iron. In New Haven and other agglomerations of population of course more articles came from the stores, and there were fewer home-made things.

Some authors attribute the characteristics of the Yankee, his ingenuity and inventiveness, to the fact that farmers and their families performed such a variety of tasks. No doubt there is truth in this generalization, but the condition was not characteristic of New England alone. Such a situation confronted people everywhere at that time, in America and in Europe as well.

Were the people of New Haven therefore at the opening of the 19th century well off? Who can doubt it? They were well clothed and well fed, and if they took care, they had plenty of variety. With few exceptions they owned their farms. Had they any surplus product there was a market within reach. They had their churches and their schools, their husking bees and barn raising bees; they could still hunt and fish for sport and for food. There was sleighing and coasting. To us their means of communication seems slow and difficult. They felt that they had ample means to visit all their friends and develop community spirit. President Dwight says, and he knew his United States:

"The means of comfortable living are in New England so abundant and so easily obtained as to be within the reach of every man who has health, industry, common honesty, and common sense. * * * Everyone may within a moderate period purchase himself a farm of considerable extent in the recent settlements and a small one in those which are older. Even those, who are somewhat below the common level in these attributes, may, and do, acquire small houses and gardens, where they usually live comfortably. * * * The principal amusements of the inhabitants are visiting, dancing, music, conversation, walking, riding, sailing, shooting at a mark, draughts, chess and unhappily in some of the larger towns, cards and dramatic exhibitions. * * * Our countrymen also fish and hunt. Journeys taken for pleasure are very numerous and are a favorite object. Boys and young men play at football, cricket, quoits, and at many other forms of an athletic cast; and in the winter are peculiarly fond of skating. Riding in a sleigh or sledge is also a favorite diversion in New England. * * * Visiting, on the plan of sociality and friendship, is here among all classes of people * * * a very agreeable and

very rational source of enjoyment. * * * Reading is also a favorite employment."

By about 1800 the work of bringing the land of New Haven County under cultivation seems to have been completed. Thenceforth the area of improved farm land begins to decrease, though only slowly at first. The population of the purely agricultural towns at first ceased to expand and then slowly declined. This will be seen from the following table.

	1800	1810	1820	1830	1840	1850
Cheshire	2288	2288	2281	1780	1529	1626
East Haven	1004	1209	1237	1229	1382	1670
Hamden	1482	1716	1687	1666	1797	2164
Middlebury		847	838	816	761	763
North Branford					1016	998
North Haven	1157	1239	1298	1284	1349	1325
Orange				1341	1329	1476
Prospect				651	548	666
Woodbridge	2198	2030	1988	2052	958	912
Wolcott	948	952	943	843	633	603

One characteristic of the period therefore from 1800 to 1845 is a slight decline of agricultural population of the county. At the same time the character of the occupation of New Haven people was being gradually modified. There is a slow introduction of industry which is reflected in the compilation made by Daniel P. Tyler on Statistics of the Condition and Products of Certain Branches of Industry in Connecticut, for the year ending October, 1845. In this volume one observes great variety and considerable volume of manufactures, a development which had been slowly occurring during the preceding half century, and most marked during the preceding twenty years (1825-1845). The population of the county had grown slowly, increasing from 30,830 in 1790 to 48,582 in 1840. New Haven town had a population of 14,390 mostly in the city. Waterbury was a city, with 3,668 inhabitants. In many villages there were little shops manufacturing goods.

There was, too, some improvement in transportation, numerous turnpikes had been built throughout the county, the Northampton Canal had been opened, steam vessels plied upon the Sound to New York. Railroad construction was just beginning,—an indication of the demand for improved means of transportation. This meant that better markets had been opened and greater opportunities for a career other than farming were opened in the little shops in the towns.

There was also improvement in the methods of agriculture, better tools, more intelligent use of fertilizers, improvement in the breeding of stock, and in the employment of seed. Farms were less self-sufficient: farmers could buy a greater variety of goods and could find a better market for their own products. Why then should the farming population be stationary and even declining under such favorable conditions? There was a constant drain of population away from the country into other dis-

tricts where there were better farm lands, into other parts of the state, to western lands, to Vermont and the country of the Middle West of the United States. During the period before 1840 at least, the agricultural lands elsewhere were the great magnet. Moreover while the local market was better than before, and communication with New York had improved, yet New York had not grown sufficiently to affect this territory much. The local market was but a small one when it is considered that the total population of the county had increased only from 32,162 to 48,582 from 1790 to 1840. Even supposing the scale of living had risen, the increase was not great enough to affect profoundly the agricultural life by the increased demand for foodstuffs. Moreover, the improvement in tillage might be greater than the increase in demand.

CHAPTER III

THE BEGINNING OF MODERN FARMING

From 1845 to 1880 far-reaching changes in conditions supervened. The Industrial Revolution occurred and New Haven County became a hive of manufacturing. New Haven with 62,000 people, Waterbury with 20,000, Meriden with 18,000, Derby with 11,000, had no counterpart in either population or manufacturing in 1840, and there was a host of smaller towns with factories. The population of the county had more than trebled from 1840 to 1880, from 48,582 to 156,523. The increase was entirely due to the development of industry. A network of railroads covered the county. Moreover Bridgeport and Hartford, two important industrial centers, lay just outside. There was easy communication to all these homes of manufactures. There was also quick and constant connection with New York, now a city of one and one half million.

Thus an unparalleled market for every sort of agricultural product was at the doors of the farmers of New Haven County, a tremendous stimulus to the development of scientific agriculture. Coincident with this was the spread of education and the growth of science which both made possible a more intensive campaign of education to improve farming and the practical application of new scientific discoveries, as in fertilizers and stock breeding. The development of machinery in general brought about the construction of new and better agricultural machinery. Thus the new demand was met by a new and better agriculture in New Haven County as elsewhere.

Let us now survey the features of agricultural history from 1800 to 1880. Rev. George Dickerman in his excellent work "The Old Mt. Carmel Parish" thus describes life on a farm, as he remembers it, as a small boy about 1850, within five miles of New Haven. "The old farm house was ordinarily one of a group of buildings, each with a purpose of its own. A few rods away from the house was the barn, having on each side a pair of broad doors reaching from the ground to the eaves, with a floor of heavy planking between the two pairs of doors. On one side of the floor was a bay for a haymow and opposite a row of stalls for cattle, above which was more open space for the storage of hay or harvests of grain in the sheaf. Attached to the barn on the outside were additions of one sort and another, sheds, covered pens, an open yard usually surrounded by a high fence, within which might often be seen a stack of

coarse hay or cornstalks. Where the farm was large, two or three barns were found with a motley lot of other buildings, a horse barn and carriage house, a granary and corncrib, a pigeon and chicken house, a smoke house for curing hams and smoked beef, a shop with carpenter's bench and tools of many kinds for use in all sorts of farm industries. Connected with the house at the rear was a spacious woodhouse and a wood yard, in which were piled the supplies of fuel, some in the form of green cordwood right out of the forest, others in different stages of preparation for the final process of storing it under cover. On some of the farms, there was a cider mill to which came the apples from many orchards in the neighborhood around, not merely to provide the popular beverage, but also to become a constituent of the huge quantities of apple sauce that was one of the food staples of nearly every house; and a good deal more besides to be ripened into vinegar and sent off to market.

"It was one of the proclivities of a thrifty farmer to have some building project on hand. He kept a stock of lumber seasoning and ready for demands as they might arise. He liked to have things under a good dry roof, not only his family, but his cattle; his tools also, carts, wagons, sleds, ploughs, harrows, shovels, and hoes. It would have distressed him to see the treatment that many farmers in the west and south give to their costly machinery today, leaving their mowers and harvesters out in all weather the whole year round.

"So long as farming was the chief occupation and the lands throughout the town were under cultivation, the people were widely scattered and most of their homes were somewhat apart from other homes. Each home with its several buildings was the salient feature of the farm on which it stood. All the buildings of the farm centered in it as the headquarters from which the directions for whatever was undertaken were given, and to which the products of every sort were brought. To live on a farm then meant living there quite distinctly. The owner and his family did the work; and to the work indoors and outdoors there was very little let-up from one season to another. To pay for this, the farm gave the family their support and whatever else they could make out of it. But the support was the main thing. A farmer bought very little; he raised what was required. He made little use of money and ordinarily had very little that he could use. Even in marketing his products, he took most of their value in other things that were wanted on his farm or by his family.

"Unlike most other people, the farmer was largely independent of markets. His house was stocked from garret to cellar with the things which were necessary for food and clothing, while the wood yard held an abundant supply of fuel. His herds and poultry furnished the meat for his table; much of the pork and beef having been salted down in barrels, or cured by smoking, so that it was ready at hand when wanted. The dairy gave cheese, butter, cream, and milk at all times. The garden provided fresh vegetables, berries, and grapes in their season; and in the autumn a surplus of cabbages, carrots and onions was stored in the cellar

for winter use; while cart loads of potatoes, turnips and apples kept them company in the several bins designed for them. The harvests of wheat and rye made the supply of flour. Buckwheat was in demand for buckwheat cakes, and cornmeal was a staple for hasty pudding and johnny-cake. Oatmeal had not then become an article of diet in these parts; nor was anything known of canning farm products. Apples, pears, and berries were dried to keep them from spoiling. Rich preserves and jellies were made of quinces, currants and other fruits, to be put away as special delicacies. Mincemeat was compounded with the diligence and pains of an apothecary, and held in reserve for the inevitable mince pies. Sausages were prepared with almost equal care and their linked chains hung over a pole suspended near the ceiling overhead in the pantry or some other convenient place. Lard was tried in quantities and poured into stone jars, where it could be found ready at any time for 'shortening' and other requirements of cooking. Tallow was moulded into candles or made into 'dips' to furnish all the light to be had on winter nights, except for what shone from the fire on the hearth. All waste grease was saved to be combined with lye, obtained by leaching the ashes from the hearth, and turned into the family supply of soap.

"The machinery of that day was very simple, but somehow it was made the means of doing a large part of the work of more complicated inventions. The farmer mowed his meadows with a scythe swung to and fro hour after hour by his own strong arms. Wheat, rye, oats, and buckwheat were harvested in a similar way with a cradle, or sometimes with a sickle. Then the grain was threshed out on the barn floor with a flail that pounded the sheaves till nothing was left in them but straw. After that, when the straw, with the thickest of the chaff, had been raked off, all that remained was winnowed in the wind mill till the grain was clear of refuse. A big wicker fan was sometimes swung back and forth to help in this process. The way of shelling corn off the cob was to take a spade and put it face down with the blade on the side of a half-bushel measure, then to sit on it, looking toward the measure, with one foot on each side; and, taking the ear between one's two hands, to draw the row of kernels along the edge till they were all dropped in the measure below. Old-fashioned corn had eight rows on a cob, so that this manner of getting off the kernels was easier than it would have been with such ears as we have now. Simple fanning mills and corn shellers were coming into use about 1850; but they were new then, with only one or two in a neighborhood, and were circulated about from one farm to another, as occasion required.

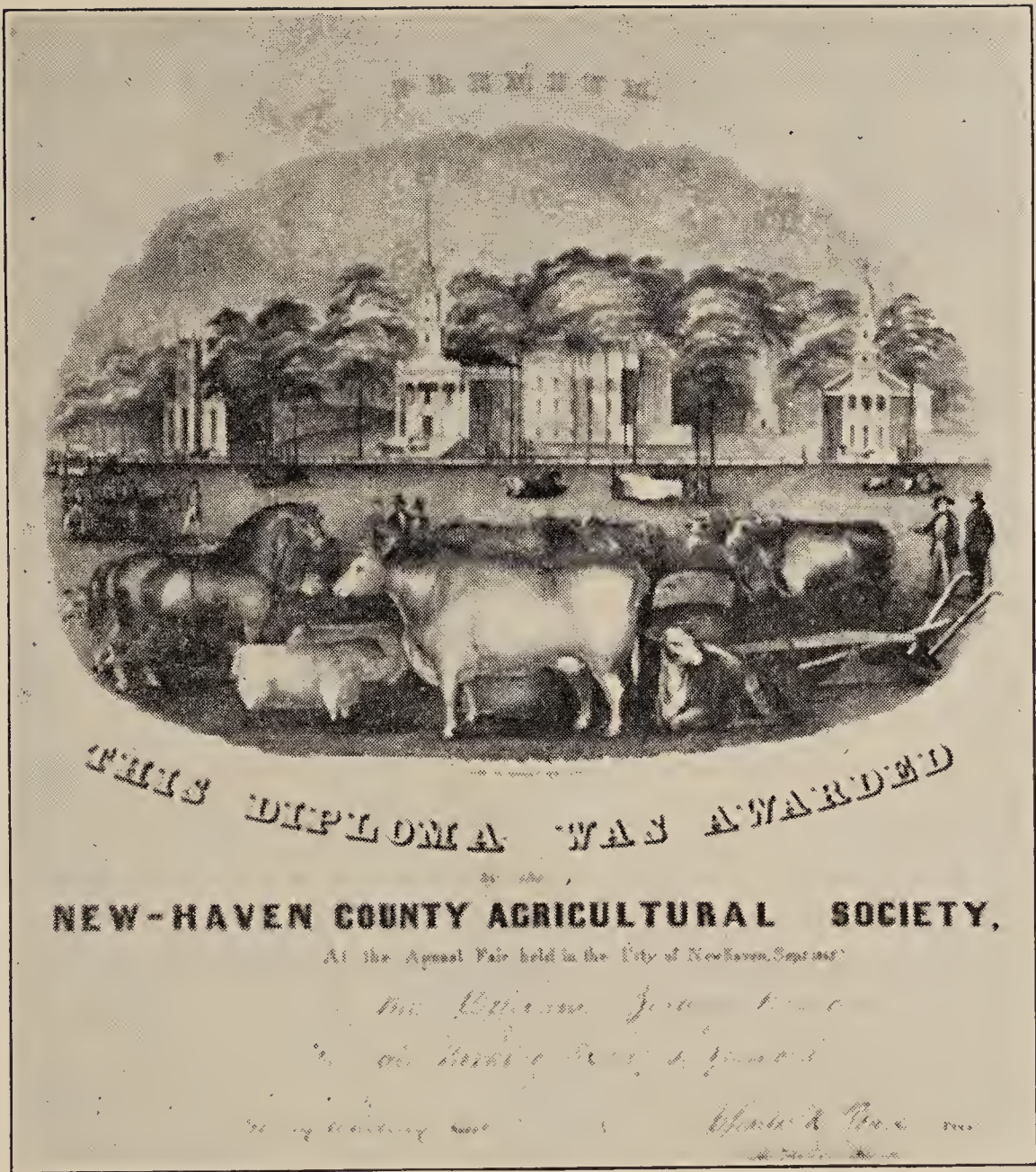
"The skill of the women in the house was quite as masterly. Baskets of wool came to them from the barn after the men sheared it from the sheep. After washing it clean, they turned it into neat rolls with a pair of cards; next they spun it out into yarn on the whirring spinning wheel that was a part of the kitchen furniture; and finally they knit it into warm stockings. Or, it might be, they spun the wool into a finer thread to be woven into blankets or cloth out of which garments were cut and made.

In like manner, quantities of flax came to them in the rough to be prepared for use. For this, they took the hetchel, a piece of board, set thick with pointed spikes some four or five inches long, and whipped the flax across it again and again, till the fibres became clean of the coarse stuff in which they had been grown, and straightened into soft tufts, which passed thence to the little spinning wheel, where they were drawn into thread, finer or coarser as might be desired, and then went on to the final process of being woven to provide linen for all the uses of the household. All bits of cloth, new or old, were scrupulously saved; and what might otherwise have been waste was cut into strips, the ends of which were sewn together, and was then wound into balls to be woven into rag carpets, about the only carpet known in the farmhouse. To be handy with the needle was one of the first accomplishments, and little girls were early set to work at making samplers, to be kept and hung on the wall, often as much a source of pride to them as the diploma of a college is to girls today. Knitting, too, was a universal accomplishment for women, and it was practiced on all occasions. This was a sure safeguard against idleness when other work was done."

This self sufficiency of the farm lasted till far into the 19th century. If this was true of a farm located within five miles of New Haven, it is fair to conclude that self sufficiency was characteristic of most farms within the county.

But one should not hastily assume from this description that improvements in tools, equipment, stock, seeds, and methods of agriculture were not being gradually introduced.

Observe the references to fresh vegetables, berries and grapes, to the "surplus of cabbages, beets, carrots and onions * * * for winter use;" to the cart-load of potatoes, turnips, and apples in the cellar. We see the development of root crops such as earlier were unknown, or only slightly developed. The care and cultivation of flowers suggests a farmer's life that was not overwhelmed by the difficulty of farming and that was not shiftless. "Shrubbery and flowers were a conspicuous feature of many old homes. In front of the Bellamy place, as I remember it, were great clumps of lilacs, and long after the house had become a swarming hive of Irish tenants these bushes would be loaded every spring with blossoms that the children coming from school might pluck off as they pleased. Syringas and wax balls were common. Honey suckles and climbing roses were trained on trellises by the sides of doors and windows. The path leading down through the vegetable garden was bordered on either side with peonies, marigolds, larkspurs, lilies, daffodils, tulips, pansies, and other plants; while tall sunflowers and hollyhocks adorned some corner of the yard. The laying out of the garden was often done with no little pains and regard for ornamental effect, the beds outlined with mathematical precision, the cedar bean poles selected for symmetry and set at right angles in careful perpendiculars, and the whole assiduously tended to keep down the weeds."



THIS DIPLOMA WAS AWARDED
NEW-HAVEN COUNTY AGRICULTURAL SOCIETY,
At the Annual Fair held in the City of New-Haven, September

The Officers of the Society
to the Honorable Board of Agriculture
of the State of Connecticut
for the year 1881

(Courtesy of the New Haven Colony Historical Society)

Efforts too were made to improve the character of stock, of good horses for driving, good pigs, and sheep, and last but not least of cattle and oxen. The importance of these animals as well as of agriculture in general during this period is shown by exhibitions at the fairs revived from early colonial days in 1833 by the New Haven Horticultural Society and the County Agricultural Society. These fairs were held on the New Haven Green until 1856.

There were developed in variety and profusion squashes, pumpkins, grapes, pears "with other vegetables and fruits and flowers in endless profusion." The agricultural fair was held for one day. "The proceedings of this day began at 9 o'clock in the morning with a general peal of bells. Soon after, long trains of ox teams from the surrounding towns began to arrive, drawing gaily decorated carts filled with bands of music and smiling damsels waving banners. Prizes were given for the best displays of working cattle and the result was really magnificent exhibitions of live stock. To the agricultural fair in 1843 there came from Derby 24 yoke of selected oxen; from Cheshire, 24 yoke; from East Haven, 66 yoke; from Hamden, 18 yoke; while Orange brought 151 yoke and took the prize. * * * In the afternoon there was a plowing match, and a collation, and an address. * * * These fairs commenced on the Green in September, 1833, and continued till 1856. In that year the agricultural display was at Grapevine Point."

These changes resulted from the information gradually disseminated by the newspapers and travellers, but also by societies which were formed to help agriculture, and by schools.

In 1794 a "Society for Promoting Agriculture in the State of Connecticut" was formed at Wallingford by the inhabitants of several adjoining towns. Its purpose was to extend the knowledge of farming by experiment and to disseminate that information. The early work was chiefly concerned with use of fertilizers. It met at Wallingford, Cheshire, New Haven, the most if not all its meetings were in New Haven County, but its influence was state wide. It finally was called the Agricultural Society of New Haven. Later it held an annual fair. At times it seems to have been moribund. In 1840 it was revived with annual fairs. In 1847 the exhibition held at Waterbury was attended by 10,000 people and 1,300 head of cattle were exhibited. In 1844 the Pomological Society of New Haven was founded. In 1852 the state took a hand in stimulating agriculture and incorporated the State Agricultural Society.

The development of manufactures meant, as we have said, cheaper and more plentiful tools and a greater variety. Very likely the cast iron plow had supplanted the wooden plow by 1826 and iron forks and spades had superseded wooden implements. But after 1850 the use of many other tools became far more common. They lightened the labor and at the same time made possible better tillage. Steel plows, as well as iron, steel harrows as well as other kinds, rollers, cultivators, drawn by horses or run by hand, as well as iron hoes, rakes, and weeders of various sorts, grain

seeders (drills). The wooden rake was being supplanted by the horse rake; the scythe and cradle were giving way to the mower and the reaper while the flail had disappeared and the grain thresher driven by horse power was now employed.

The products remained essentially the same in 1880 as earlier. The average farmer cultivated the same grains and in addition derived some income from cattle, pork and beef. He received some revenue in addition from poultry, butter, cheese, eggs, fruit, timber and wood.

The census of 1880 gives the following returns of standard crops in New Haven County.

	Acres	Bushels, 1880	Bushels, 1820
Indian corn	5,898	249,305	234,331
Rye	4,905	78,256	50,868
Oats	2,925	76,144	106,372
Buckwheat	52	13,609	17,039
Wheat	259	4,659	4,357
Barley	61	1,348	7,726

Hay remained the most important crop, in demand for horses in the towns and cities, and for the cattle and horses at home. The best hay brought from \$12 to \$30 a ton depending on the crop and the time of year. Indian corn stood next in importance, food for man and beast. The yield ranged from 40 to 100 bushels of shelled corn per acre, the latter yield being rare. Wheat, rye, buckwheat steadily declined in importance. In general they were negligible in the county as a whole. Oats were raised as food for the horses but a declining acreage. Barley, peas and beans brought fair returns, though the amount planted was not great. Potatoes, onions, turnips, beets, carrots and cabbages were all raised and gave a good return; a diversified and profitable crop if properly prepared and marketed near the large towns. Market gardeners flourished with their truck and fruit raising: radishes, lettuce, spinach, early potatoes, cabbages, cauliflowers, strawberries, currants, grapes, raspberries and the like.

The question however is not could fruits and vegetables be properly raised, but did they form an important proportion of the produce of the county? One says a "large amount of garden truck is raised along the shore and as far as a couple of miles back. Most of this finds a ready market in New Haven, Waterbury and the neighboring villages; the surplus is sent to New York, Boston and other Eastern cities." Another says, "the bulk of small fruit finds a ready market near home in the neighboring towns." When however we look at census statistics, or the reports from any considerable number of individual farms, fruit (except for apples) and vegetables played only a small part in the financial returns. They are chiefly valuable for food for the family. How otherwise are we to explain a statement like the following by Prof. S. W. Johnson of the Sheffield Scientific School which he made before a meeting of the Agricultural Society of the state. "The cities too, should have their

share of this instruction. It is in the vicinity of the cities that intensive culture can be made to pay. It is there that fertilizers can be got in greatest abundance, there that land can be kept yielding profitable crops from early spring to latest autumn, there that labor is usually in surplus. There it is too that many a delicate boy goes to the bad for want of honest employment, who might be developing his mind and muscle, and earning his support in healthful out-of-door life. When I see the hundreds of acres of unoccupied land in the suburbs of New Haven, yielding only a little pasturage, and an annual crop of kindling-wood, from its fences ravaged by the small Arabs who ought to be gardening upon it, while I am getting my lettuce and celery from New York and Boston, and cannot get at all the artichokes, the blanched dandelions, the chicory, endive, Brussels sprouts, and other vegetables that in a French city keep perpetual salad upon the table—I cannot avoid the thought, that if the owners of this land, and the growing boys in the schools, knew what health and wealth there might be got from the capital of the one and the skill of the others, this would all soon be changed.” Certainly the intensive farming of fruit and vegetables had not spread widely in the county in 1880.

Oxen remained the chief work animal on the farm, but the horse was becoming more a rival on account of his quickness. Animals of all sorts, horses, cattle, pigs and chickens had greatly improved in quality and numbers. An increasing number of thoroughbred cattle were kept. Sheep raising had practically disappeared by 1880. Unfortunately this was just at a time when breeds had improved to give more and better wool, and more mutton and lamb. In the first half of the century, every family had some sheep, but this condition had passed away, just as flax had vanished. The cause was in the dogs that killed sheep continually. The sheep owner was not fully reimbursed and so he ceased to raise this animal. The railroad also brought in the competition of the west, which hurt the sheep industry in our state.

“Now,” says Prof. William H. Brewer, “what was it that caused the introduction of better tools and implements, better stock, and better methods of farming? It was the Agricultural Societies and their exhibitions.” “For many years,” he continues, “I have been questioning old farmers about the tools and farming implements of their boyhood, and the date of the introduction of improved kinds, and they all tell practically the same story, that the implements had long been known or heard of, then some would be exhibited or used at fairs, soon every one began *talking* about them, a few enterprising farmers would buy them, and then, suddenly, everybody else would want them. Of all these, the cast-iron plow perhaps wrought the greatest change, and met, too, the greatest opposition to its introduction. Yet in fifteen years from the time it began to be seen, it had found its way to perhaps nineteen-twentieths of the farms.

“Remember that all these tools and machines had been invented and somewhat used before, why were they not *generally* used before, and why did they then spread so suddenly into common use? What was the moral

agency which so rapidly changed this most conservative of industries? My own belief, founded on a careful study of the agriculture and agricultural features of that day, is that the great moving agent in this revolution was *agricultural societies and their exhibitions*; other elements helped, of course, but this was the great one.

"The agricultural newspapers, now such a means of carrying useful information to the farmers' houses, then scarcely existed at all. It was the *seeing* of things and talking with the persons who used them that led to the rapid introduction of better tools and machines. Men would see them at the agricultural exhibitions, then would talk about them, and once used, men would never go back to the poorer methods again.

"With live-stock the good effects were even more marked than with grain; for at the fairs the better kinds of animals would be seen by the farmers present, the breeds compared with each other, intelligent discussion provoked, and the public thus educated as to what good stock really was; every one could see it, and see the differences between the good and the poor. We find all over the country importations of all kinds of improved animals. There was that great importation of merino sheep, as well as other breeds; short-horns and various breeds of stock began to come. Frank Forester says that there were more thoroughbred horses in this country before 1820 than there were thirty years later. But it was with sheep, cattle and hogs that the effect was most marked.

"I well remember the first short-horn bull I ever saw. A new county society had just been formed, my father was one of the originators and officers; a fair was held, and a short-horn bull was exhibited. An illustrious farmer of that county, Mr. Ezra Cornell (later the founder of Cornell University), had just bought the bull "*Arab*," the first thoroughbred short-horn that was brought into that county. I was a very small lad then, for that was over forty years ago, but I well remember the crowds that stood around that animal all day, the curiosity to see a bull that cost several hundred dollars, the critical eye with which he was examined, and the comments on him. * * * The farmers were not so well satisfied with scrub stock after that; in a few years short-horns were no curiosity there, and the improvement in the quality of the stock in the next twenty years was worth several hundreds of thousands of **dollars to that community.**—I dare say that I need not dwell on the influence fairs still have in spreading knowledge of machines and appliances; the host of agents at every fair, however small, with all kinds of machines, from a patent apple-corner to a steam thresher or patent ditching machine, is evidence enough that the manufacturers of today believe, from experience, that this is a great and sure way to get a knowledge of their wares before the people. And we all know the eagerness of breeders of **fine stock to exhibit and thus advertise their animals.**"

Out of the state agricultural society developed in 1866 the Board of Agriculture which is still in existence, though changed in form. It now contains representatives from each county in the state. The aim of the

Legislature in establishing this board was to aid the agriculture and horticulture by keeping track of the activities of agricultural societies, to study improvements in farming, and to disseminate useful information about agriculture by any means, especially lectures. It held annual meetings in various parts of the state, the first in New Haven in 1867. This board was very successful because it brought together in its meetings the best minds in agriculture in the state, and displayed to them the most recent results in experimentation relating to farming. The work of the Board led directly to legislation for the benefit of agriculture and the establishment of agricultural schools and other institutions.

New Haven County played a significant part in another way, viz., in the development of agricultural education. In 1840 Justus von Liebig published his great work on "Chemistry in its Relation to Agriculture," a work which represents a new attack on problems of farming, for chemists began to study the chemical constituents and necessities of plants. In the '40s, Professor Silliman and John P. Norton studied and taught at Yale the applications of science to the arts and agriculture. Out of this instruction developed the Sheffield Scientific School and in 1857 it gave its first degree of Ph. B. During February, 1860, Prof. John A. Porter, under the auspices of the Sheffield Scientific School, organized the first course in Yale of agricultural lectures to diffuse agricultural knowledge. About 380 students were registered, 172 from Connecticut. These lectures were given daily, morning, afternoon and evening. They dealt with all phases of farming: soils, chemistry, entomology, crops, seeds, horticulture, stock, dairy. The course aroused great interest in scientific agriculture, but the Civil War stopped the continuance.

The existence of the Scientific School at New Haven led to the further scientific development of this county. In 1862 the United States Government passed an act for establishing an agricultural college in each state. "By this act a grant of public land was made to each state for 'the endowment, support, and maintenance of at least one college where the leading object shall be, without excluding other scientific and classical studies, and including military tactics, to teach such branches of learning as are related to agriculture and the mechanic arts in such manner as the legislatures of the states may respectively prescribe in order to promote the liberal and practical education of the industrial classes in the several pursuits and professions of life.' "

Connecticut gave the income of this grant, \$6,000 or \$7,000 to Yale in perpetuity and part of the tuition of pupils was to be paid. In 1890 there were 80 students at Yale on the agricultural scholarships. In 1893, on account of the feeling that the course was not sufficiently adapted to training scientific farmers, the Legislature transferred the government fund to Storrs Agricultural College, and so New Haven ceased to lead the state in this respect.

Another phase of educational work in the development of scientific farming was the establishment of Connecticut Agricultural Station in

1875. The movement which resulted in this action by the state Legislature had its inception in the articles by Prof. S. W. Johnson of the Sheffield Scientific School which he began publishing in 1883. For over twenty years he carried on scientific investigation, the results of which were published in various periodicals and books dealing with (as Mr. Jenkins says) "the contributions of science to agriculture, the feeding of farm animals, food for plants, phosphates of lime, etc., calling attention * * * perhaps for the first time in this country, to the quality of commercial fertilizers." He exposed various frauds in fertilizers. As a result of his work a movement was started which resulted in the establishment of the first Agricultural Experiment Station in the United States. It was situated at first at Middletown, but in 1877 it was located by the Legislature at New Haven and Professor Johnson was chosen director. It is supported partly by the state and partly by the National Government. Its present director is William L. Slate. This station has been of great value. It has studied the problems connected with insects and fungi and the importance of spraying; it has exposed frauds in foods and fertilizers; carried on studies in nutrition and the composition of vegetable proteins; it has experimented with problems of improvement in seeds and plants, especially corn and tobacco; it has devised and employed improved methods for determining butter fat and methods of raising cream for butter; it has experimented with fertilizers; and has engaged also in the study of forest problems. It is impossible of course to measure the extent of its services, but it is gratifying to note that science is here constantly aiding and improving agriculture.

All this means that from the beginning of the nineteenth century to the present the scientific study of agriculture has been carried on in New Haven County with continual diffusion of this knowledge.

The period from 1840 to 1880, say Davis and Hendrickson in their penetrating survey of Connecticut agriculture in the nineteenth century, is characterized by the beginning of the concentration of industry in large centers which were railroad points. There were two advantages in this, "first, easier access to raw materials, to markets, and to coal which was becoming an important source of power; and second, of cheaper food-stuffs for factory employes. As a result of these conditions, manufacturing establishments began to leave the towns and concentrate in the rapidly growing cities. It began to be generally recognized, moreover, that in most manufacturing enterprises the cost per unit of product would diminish with the increase in the size of the business. This hastened the process of concentration of industry in the cities. The farmer in the inland or upland town was thus gradually deprived of the home market which the developments from 1810-1840 had given him."

Certainly such a generalization does not apply to farming in New Haven County. The shift of manufactures from small towns did not take place here. So many larger towns arose in all parts of the county, only a few miles from almost any farm, to say nothing of Bridgeport and

Middletown, just outside the boundary, that markets were more accessible than ever before. The improvement is reflected too by contemporary comments such as we have cited above.

The difficulty faced by New Haven farmers was the other characteristic of the period, given by the same authors, the competition of the West, resulting from the enormous expansion of the railroads. Among other products, grain and meat could be laid down more and more easily in New Haven County from the West cheaper than our farmers could produce them. For a time, the results of the competition cannot be observed in a way that can be statistically measured. But about 1880 the effects became noticeable inasmuch as the amount of improved land began to diminish. Of course the competition had its effects earlier than this in preventing the development of local agriculture. This table will show the decline. Improved lands in farms—

1850	-----	206,325 acres
1880	-----	184,394 acres

Thus, while a bigger and better market had been created, the amount of land under cultivation and pasture, improved lands, began to shrink.

CHAPTER IV

CONTEMPORARY AGRICULTURE—1880-1930

During the past fifty years, amazing changes have occurred in the conditions of farming in our county. The population has rapidly increased.

In 1880	156,533
In 1900	269,163
In 1920	415,214
In 1930	460,984

While the population has nearly trebled farming land has steadily gone back, from arable to pasture, from pasture to brush, from brush to woodland. This little table shows graphically the decline.

Improved lands in farms—

1900	126,446
1910	123,888
1920	75,880

Thus from 1880 to 1900, the improved land diminished by almost a third and by 1920 only about forty per cent as much land was rated "improved," as in 1880. That is a revolution. The change has gone on while marketing conditions have improved with unprecedented speed. Means of communication have been literally transformed during the period. During two decades and a half, from 1880 to 1905, there was a great expansion of interurban trolleys which linked country and city in more comprehensive fashion. About that time the use of the automobile began to spread rapidly and has violently modified country life. It has placed means of transportation within the reach of practically every farmer that for speed and cheapness has no parallel in the past. It has led to the institution of a network of hard roads which bring the city market to the gate of every farmer in New Haven County.

The cause for the decline was that the same improvements of transportation and application of machinery to all stages of agriculture from breaking the soil to placing the product in the hands of the consumer, brought all parts of the United States into competition with the farmers of New Haven County.

The result of the competition therefore was gradually to change the character of the agriculture of New Haven from extensive to intensive, from reliance on the sale of the standard crops, hay, corn, oats, cattle,

pork, lumber, with a little fruit, chiefly apples, some butter, to milk, eggs and poultry, vegetables and small fruits. Along with this alteration came greater attention to fertilizers and the introduction of iron machinery.

The substitution of milk as product for beef and pork was unconscious and gradual. Farmers began to develop their herds of cows for cream and butter first. Pork too was still raised, for they fattened the pigs on the skimmed and sour milk. Naturally with the growth of population the demand for butter increased, and creameries were put up to insure the output. In 1880 there was great agitation over coöperative dairies and creameries in order that the farmer might realize more from his cows. But the cities continued to grow and the standard of American living demanded more and more milk. Already in 1888, Professor Brewer of Yale estimated that 100 milkmen came into New Haven alone. The demand for milk from the farmer began to overshadow that for butter. Hence arose companies that collected milk from the farmers all over the state for the hungry and thirsty urbanites and the individual milkmen near the city generally disappeared, but by the new organization the city market for milk was open to all the county that cared to take advantage of it. So the number of cows increased and no one raised pork and beef any more. Hence hay and corn remained the chief crops, but not now for sale primarily; the hay was for the cows and the corn for ensilage. In 1880 the best minds among the farmers were still discussing the advisability of silos and ensilage. Modern milk production would be impossible without ensilage. Hence these discussions show that the present age of milk production was just beginning.

More attention was gradually paid to fruit culture, especially apples, but also peaches, pears and small fruits (berries); the growth of potatoes and other vegetables was emphasized and developed as we approach the close of the nineteenth century. Thus a change in the character of the farming was gradually taking place from 1880 to 1900. It was accompanied by the decline of the agricultural population as is shown by the following table:

	1880	1900
Bethany -----	637	517
Cheshire	2284	1989
Guilford -----	2782	2785
Madison	1672	1518
North Branford -----	1025	814
Oxford	1120	952
Prospect -----	492	562
Southbury	1240	1238
Woodbridge -----	829	852
Wolcott	493	581

Such a table well reflects the decay of agriculture. Guilford, though it has not declined in actual members, was practically stationary for twenty years and so may be included. Prospect had declined in population each

decade steadily since it was formed except from 1850 to 1860 when it reached the highest figure, 666. Thereafter it went down till in 1890 it had only 445 inhabitants. Its increase to 562 in 1900 probably was due to proximity to the excellent market of the thriving town of Naugatuck, which in that year attained a population of 10,541, nearly doubling in size. Wolcott declined steadily from a population of 552 in 1810 to 491 in 1870 and it slowly grew to 581 in 1900, due probably to its proximity to the market of Waterbury.

The annual meetings of the Connecticut Agricultural Society throw a flood of light upon farming conditions during the past fifty years. Those who spoke were in the main a small group from all parts of the state, but many others attended and were greatly interested in the latest agricultural novelties. Knowledge of methods and machinery would gradually percolate to all the members of the profession. A lively interest was shown in diversified farming, in the development of orchards, in the proper use of fertilizers, in the war on pests, rodents, fungi, insects, weeds and destructive birds. Long and animated discussions about raising sheep occurred in the meetings. Fierce hostility to the owners of dogs was manifest. The decline of sheep raising was declared to be due to dogs who destroyed whole flocks and for the loss there was no adequate redress.

Connecticut was declared to be full of land that was ideal for sheep culture. There was a ready sale for wool, lamb, or mutton. Then the competition of the West was declared to be too great. Connecticut formerly had many sheep. Professor Brewer says 700,000, and in 1887 only a few were left.

They discussed too the development of pastures and meadows, and the advantages of timothy, clover, and other grasses, the choice of seed, methods of fertilizing, the use of sheep for developing hay and pasture, the struggle to overcome weeds and foul stuff, the ruin of grasses, hay and pasture.

Questions of marketing were raised. The farmers should combine to sell their goods. If the prices are not right, they should have means to keep products that were not perishable, like wool, till they could take advantage of the best market. If he raised lambs, let him plan to bring them to market in the spring when the prices were best. If he raised apples, or peaches, then let him cull his best fruit, pick and pack it with care and he would find a ready market for all he could raise and at good prices. Then there were questions of draining and roads discussed. Much time and thought were spent on both, for the road was the bond between the farmer and his market. The road should be drained, but should it be built of stone, or macadam. There was strong advocacy of wide tires to prevent wagons with heavy loads from cutting a road full of deep ruts. Public sentiment alone never proved able to introduce wide tires, and legislation was not forthcoming.

The hours of labor on the farm, the question of help, chiefly outside the farm house, but at times help to the mistress of the house as well were

problems. Democracy makes trouble for the farmer, for the hired man or the help expected to eat with the family, and sometimes the family objected. The question of wages and hours created a great difficulty. The standard of both was powerfully affected by those in the manufacturing towns. The farm laborers demand a fixed number of hours per day. They would no longer work from dawn till dark. Moreover the pick of the laborers went to the city; only those who could not secure jobs there would take a position on the farm. Thus not only the young people of the farmers' families, but people of all classes fled the farm. Hence the least industrious and enterprising were farmers. Such remarks form the burden of the comments by the farmers themselves.

The question of fairs caused them great concern. They had been historically of profound importance earlier in the century. At some time in the "eighties" the town of New Haven ceased to hold a fair. Complaints were made that fairs were now more important for the horse racing, the side shows and the like than for their exhibitions of agricultural products. "When our societies were first organized, an overwhelming proportion of the population was interested in agricultural pursuits. But our cities sprang up, and many of these societies were established in the cities, and the fairs were held there, and in order to attract a crowd it was found necessary to put on these special attractions. Once having made a start it was not long before various leading societies were vying with each other, to see which could put up the biggest prizes and secure the most of the traveling attractions. Before long the country societies began to follow suit, and we all know what has been the result. But few of the societies today make any pretence of holding a purely agricultural fair. There may be a very few. Others are trying to hold a sort of semi-combination affair. They offer more or less prizes for live stock and farm produce, and they also have the usual number of attractions. There is a third class which makes the horse trot the leading attraction. That is the attraction which is by far the leading feature in a great many of them."

In 1888 the fair of Woodbridge and Bethany was reported to have had the poorest exhibition ever held by this society, so that some thought it might be the last. "About twenty-five yoke of oxen and part of these were from Oxford. The neat cattle were poor in quality and very few in numbers. In the tent all the departments were very short and attendance the smallest I ever saw."

Yet other fairs continued the former tradition of primary emphasis upon exhibitions of stock, crops, handiwork, cookery, and the like. Such were those at Guilford and Madison.

Farmers exhibited great solicitude over the drift of young people to the cities. "Doubtless the chief cause of the present (1881) low state of agriculture here, is found in the fact that the young and enterprising leave the farm and go West. If the question is asked why this is so, it will be more difficult to give a correct answer. A love of change has something to do with it, as well as a desire to acquire wealth more rap-

idly than can be done on the farm. A mistaken notion that farm-work is not as respectable as to be a clerk in a store, or a traveling agent, has drawn some of our best young men from the farm. Some of the details of farm work have come to be looked upon as a drudgery; and objection is sometimes made by our native young people to working along with much of the low and unskilled foreign help, which are now employed on the farm. And then, the isolation of farm-life has its unsocial aspects, so that to be a farmer means with many to be cut off from the amusements and excitements of the world.

“The last fifty years can for our purposes be conveniently divided into two halves. In the first half, say between 1840 and 1865, a series of events, discoveries, and inventions occurred which have disturbed agriculture more than all the previous ones which had before taken place during the Christian era. The extension of steam transportation on land and on sea, by which food may be carried and great cities fed; the application of sanitary science by which the health of cities can be better preserved; the invention of machines for harvesting crops; the introduction of machines and commercial fertilizers; new methods of manufacturing goods; the use of steam as a power, and the transferring of manufactories to great cities; the introduction of the telegraph in transacting business; the discovery of gold and silver in California, Nevada, Colorado and Australia, by which prices were raised all over the world, and which made everything increase in value, and because of which all Europe and America enjoyed a period of unexampled commercial prosperity. Revolution and wars in Europe, which caused a new uneasiness among the masses of laboring men and set them to migrating by millions as they never had before; the abundance of new and fertile land in this country made accessible by rapidly extending railways; all these, with other events, followed each other faster than agriculture could adapt itself to the new conditions they created.”

And again in 1890,—“The diminished value of farm land, the lower price for most farm products, and the lessened prosperity of the business of agriculture as a whole, at the very time when other kinds of business have been very prosperous, has constituted a continual inducement for young farmers to desert the vocation of their fathers, and try their fortunes at something else.

“The cities have attracted men of all vocations to them, causing a decline in rural population. Formerly there were many small manufactories in the country and many country mechanics; wagons, shoes, clothes, harness, and all the various articles used in the country were largely made in the country. As the country blacksmith, wagon-maker, shoemaker and tailor have gone to the cities and now do their work there, the country lawyer and store-keeper have followed. As the rural population has decreased from these causes, and the farmer, who saw his farm decreasing in value, his capital shrinking, his crops no longer paying fairly because of Western competition, has turned his thoughts also to other

fields of enterprise, and thus the farming of some towns has actually declined, although the total production of the state is probably equal in quantity and in total value to what it was in the best days of its agriculture."

Speakers maintained that the farm land of Connecticut would give as good returns as farm land anywhere; that farming was the most independent of occupations; that it was preferable to live in the East on a farm than in the more fertile but more lonesome farms of the West. One speaker in 1892 said, "Last summer we spent a forenoon on a six hundred acre Massachusetts farm. Our host, son of the owner, manages these acres. He assures the young men of his town that although he has spent twenty years of his life in Boston and Washington in professional and public life, he never saved money so rapidly, never enjoyed life so well as now. Through me he speaks to you.

"It is as grand a work to save as to found a nation. If America be saved it will be by her healthy, careless children, by her honest, pure young men and women, by her staid, substantial, enterprising, older folk, children that play together, youth that woo and wed, husbandmen and matrons that go down life's slope together, always and ever the best product of her New England farms."

Many remedies are offered for improving conditions. One speaker advocated raising sheep, veal, horses, poultry, eggs, squabs, trout, carp, honey, mushrooms, beef, with mixed farming, not all of course on the same farm; he was but listing the things which can be profitably raised. They must cater to the wants of the local market, they must coöperate in buying and selling all other things just as already was done in buying milk and in making butter and cheese.

The character of our farming was sharply criticized: their fruit did not prosper because they did not spray sufficiently, and they did not market it with the care that Westerners did. "Imagine a Connecticut farmer wiping each apple before placing it in a box for market." They indeed have abandoned the idea of raising scrub cattle but still refuse to stock with thoroughbreds. They did not sufficiently exploit the desires of their little local small town and city markets. Roads were bad, general adoption of wide tires would greatly help, but few adopted them, and the farmer seemed to think that good roads would benefit chiefly city dwellers. They try to reassure themselves. About 1890 Professor Brewer declared that Connecticut agriculture was now about to improve. "Fortunately for our institutions, as well as for our native citizens, the good lands are now about all given away. The fertile lands are now owned to the very edges of the deserts; indeed, ownership extends in belts across every desert that a government-aided railroad crosses.

"That phase of competition has spent its force, it has done its worst. Hereafter the New England farmers, whose land cost them something, will not have to compete with fresh hordes tilling land which has cost them nothing. This recent phase of competition is passing away; New England farms must rise in value."

In 1904 the governor of the state said that the decline had now ceased and better times were ahead. The tone of all these declarations was that of a weakening industry. The average farmer could do better elsewhere, either on a farm or in the city. So we have the striking paradox—better markets and better means of communication along with the decline of agriculture in New Haven County.

At the present day, therefore, New Haven County is primarily a producer of milk, poultry and eggs, small fruit and vegetables. Diversified farming, as it was known in the nineteenth century, has gone. Cultivation has become intensive. In 1880 there were 3,932 farms and the amount of improved land was 184,394 acres, or an average of 46 to 47 acres per farm. In 1925 there were 65,821 acres of crop land, and 2,761 farms, or an average of about 24 acres per farm. We know however that there are now many smaller farms than this, for the Census Office has had to define a farm,—it consists of three acres that is directly farmed by one or more persons, or yields products to the value of \$250 per year. Such a definition would have been meaningless in 1880.

The census reports the value of farm property in 1924 as \$28,890,448 as compared with \$15,900,000 in 1880. In 1924 there were 19,000 milk cows, 465 beef cattle, 4,189 horses, 905 sheep and lambs, 3,795 pigs, and 250,000 chickens. In 1880 there were 6,159 horses, 3,218 working oxen, 12,739 milk cows, 9,258 other cattle, 4,675 sheep exclusive of spring lambs, 6,997 swine and 122,316 poultry. The disappearance of oxen and beef cattle is striking; the increase of milk cows is not so great as we might expect. However they produce more milk per cow today than in 1880. The reduced number of swine corresponds with the exit of pork as a sales article. Sheep, as we have said, are today a negligible factor. The importance of poultry is reflected in the doubled number kept today. While horses have declined by 30%, they remain important because on them still falls the bulk of the farm labor. The mechanically propelled vehicle mainly supplements horse labor, particularly for transportation purposes.

Of fruit, there were 120,000 apple trees, of bearing and 66,000 young trees not yet of bearing age, an expanding industry. There were 80,000 peach trees, a decline since 1919 of 100,000 trees. There were also 180,000 grape vines. Apples are the most significant fruit.

In 1924, there were cultivated 2,512 acres of potatoes, 1,830 acres of sweet corn, 513 acres of tomatoes, 309 acres of cabbage, 167 acres of strawberries, and 46 acres of onions. The experts from Storrs Experiment Station report that this county produces about 20% of the potatoes in the state, and about 40% of other vegetables.

Another important industry is seed growing, especially of beets and sweet corn, centered in Orange and Milford. "The Connecticut sweet corn seed," says Dr. E. H. Jenkins, "is in demand as a 'stock' seed from regions in the West and South where home grown seed degenerates in a few years." Waterbury, however, has become a great competitor in the seed business.

The census takers of 1880 estimated the total value of all farm produce sold, consumed, or in hand for 1879 at \$2,416,763, or only about one third of the estimates for 1920. By far the greatest part of this return of 1880 came from the hay, grain, cattle and pork that were sold. Wood sold or consumed was valued at \$212,283; 845,902 dozen of eggs were produced but the value is not set down separately; 392,986 bushels of potatoes produced are not priced separately. But the "value of all orchard products of all kinds sold or consumed in 1879" amounted to \$89,107; and the value of all garden products sold in 1879 came to \$107,097. In 1919 its agricultural products (sold) were as follows (in round numbers) :

Dairy products (sold)	\$2,200,000
Eggs and chickens (sold)	494,000
Cereals (value)	567,000
Hay and forage (ensilage, value)	1,526,000
Vegetables (value)	1,666,000
Fruits (value)	475,000
All other crops	3,608
<hr/>	
Total (including certain small omitted items)	\$7,431,608
In 1925 the census reports	
Dairy products	\$2,547,000
All crops produced	2,196,000
Eggs and chickens raised	1,372,000
Wool	1,876

Thus the value of fruit sold has been multiplied by over ten, and the value of vegetables by over fifteen. In these two lines is where the greatest addition has been made. The returns from the old standard crops of the farmers may be seen in this table compared with the returns already cited for 1880.

1919			
	Acres	Bushels	Bushels per acre
Corn	4,796	237,418	49.5
Oats	760	21,115	27.7
Potatoes	3,005	255,220	84.9
Rye			
Buckwheat			
Barley			
Wheat			
Hay	40,184	45,419 tons	1.13 tons

1880			
Corn -----	5,898	249,305	42.2
Oats -----	2,925	76,144	26
Potatoes -----	4,210	392,986	93.3
Rye -----	4,905	78,256	16
Buckwheat -----	1,052	13,609	12.9
Barley -----	61	1,348	22
Wheat -----	259	4,659	18
Hay -----	66,323	69,191 tons	1.04 tons per acre

The most noteworthy changes are the marked decline of oats and rye, and considerable decline of hay and corn. Buckwheat, barley and wheat were already negligible in 1880. The other striking point about these figures is that the return per acre is not markedly different from that in 1880, despite the advance of scientific farming, and the expectation one would hold that the poorer lands would by now have been given up.

The growth of New Haven, Waterbury and smaller towns has raised the price of farm land throughout the county because farms are being bought for summer residences. As a result such lands are abandoned by the cultivator, who instead works land that may be less fertile, but farther from town and so priced at a lower rate. The county can produce much more than it does at present. Only a fraction of the farmers have silos. The number steadily increases and will result in an increased volume of milk as the population grows. Not a single product of the county but meets outside and distant competition, hay the least because its bulk makes transportation expensive. But the demand for hay except on the farm itself is constantly declining with the disappearance of the horse in the cities. Fresh eggs meet only local competition though of course "eggs" come from far away. Fresh fruits and vegetables, even the most perishable, lettuce, asparagus and spinach, with refrigerator cars are brought from Florida or California or Mexico. The carefully sprayed, picked and packed apples from the Pacific coast still have the call over most of the local fruit. Spraying and the like are expensive. Perhaps the small size of orchards here prevents adequate care because the small orchard farmer cannot afford the expensive equipment. Here is a case where coöperation is necessary.

Potatoes are a valuable crop and can meet any competition. Peaches, says Mr. Hale, are a speculation in Connecticut. It would seem so when we note that the number of trees fell from 180,000 in 1919 to 80,000 in 1924.

The total agricultural population in New Haven County in 1925 was 12,870, of whom 2,480 were children under ten years of age. The number of farmers in 1919 was 2,687 and the number of people "gainfully employed" was 4,933. This term "gainfully employed," used by the census statisticians, means people that work for wages or that receive the proceeds of the farm. It does not include work done by housewives, for of the number (4,933) only 271 were female. These figures show the insignificant part played in the economy of our county by agriculture.

The influx of foreign immigration has not been confined solely to our villages and cities. 1,083 farmers or 40% were in 1919 of foreign birth, a proportion higher than that of the county as a whole, which only reached 28%. Under the term "farmer" are included naturally truck gardeners, vegetable farmers. This inclusion tends to increase the proportion of foreign born agriculturalists, for this branch has fallen largely into their hands. Yet the immigrants have gone everywhere into the county. Bethany with 29%, Orange with 26%, Southbury with 28%, Branford with 32%, are the lowest. Of 1,083 farmers of foreign birth, 144 were from the British Isles, (60 Irish, 32 Canadians, chiefly French); 124 Rumanian; 68 Polish (no distinction being made of the Jews); 290 Germans and Austrians; 54 Swedes; and 217 Italians. The farmers of British origin were quite uniformly distributed throughout the county. Slavs seem to have settled somewhat more thickly in the western part; the Italians are located around and north of New Haven city; the Germans are rather generally spread throughout the county as a whole.

In 1915 there was organized a new departure by certain aggressive farmers, to spread the most recent scientific ideas concerning methods of farming and equipment, both for the fields and barns, and also for the farm-house. This was the New Haven County Farm Bureau. In 1919 the Legislature promised financial assistance providing the farmers raised a minimum of \$1,000. This body has a paid expert staff which visits the farms, and has drawn approximately two-thirds of the farmers into the organization. It aims to make farm life more pleasant and financially far more profitable. It helps to improve stock and their care, to market goods, to advise about drainage, to interest the children in farm work, to advise concerning choice of seeds and fertilizers, and the introduction of new crops. It holds meetings for demonstration besides making personal visits to the farms. It assists to combat diseases of both plants and animals. This bureau therefore supplements admirably the work of Storrs College and the Connecticut Agricultural Experiment Station.

Ever since the decline of farming population and farming lands began, the prophecy has been made, as we have noted, that this period of retrogression was drawing to a close. That prophecy has never yet been fulfilled. But it is interesting to note that it is again made in the Storrs Agricultural Experiment Station Bulletin issued in 1925, which reads as follows: "It is conservatively estimated that the population of the United States will be 150,000,000 persons by about 1950. The general effect of this population increase will be to raise the value of farm lands, increase population and consumption in regions supplying eastern markets with foodstuffs, and to bring the time nearer when the better Connecticut lands once abandoned, will again be needed for crops.

"When that time will come is a question. The present crop lands of the United States can be used more intensively; an acreage, 61,000,000 acres, can be diverted from production for export to production for home consumption:—and changes in consumption habits possess great possibili-

ties as means of conserving acreage. The time is probably near when the acreage of improved land in Connecticut will cease to decrease and the day may arrive when lands once abandoned will be recalled to use by the demands of an increasing population."

Meanwhile the struggle continues between the New Haven farmer and his competitors in all parts of the United States.



SECTION XIV—COMMERCE AND BANKS

CHAPTER I

COMMERCE IN NEW HAVEN COUNTY

After the early efforts at foreign and coastwise trade, as we have related, commerce declined. The colonists lacked capital and had of necessity to turn to agriculture, which thus became their main economic interest. There was however a steady though minor interest in shipping and trade till 1740, when the first age of expansion began.

Trowbridge in his "Ancient Houses of New Haven" notes Thomas Morris, "one of the early settlers of New Haven by trade a ship carpenter and he selected this property (at Morris Cove) on account of the numerous oak trees to be found there, and also for its superior ship-building facilities: at this Cove was built the first sea-going vessel owned in the town." In Milford, Alexander Bryan shipped furs to Boston in 1640. He built a wharf which later became the Town Wharf. He, William East, and Miles Merwin owned two brigs and a sloop in 1675 and traded with the West Indies, exporting horses, cattle, beef, pork, flour, corn meal and timber and importing rum and molasses and European articles. They engaged in the coasting trade, operating as far south as Virginia and as far north as Nova Scotia. They also traded with England and the Azores.

Nicholas Augur of New Haven traded with Boston and Plymouth. At his death in 1677 his estate was appraised at £1,638. John Hodson died in 1690, leaving an estate of nearly £2,200. He owned a vessel, the *Speedwell*, and traded with the Barbadoes. William Rosewell, who died in 1674, was a trader and ship builder who came from New Haven to Branford. He engaged in commerce with the Barbadoes, built vessels at his shipyard, "now known as Hubbard's" and left a large estate at his death. His shipyard was in continuous use by others till as late as 1875, when a small vessel was built there. In New Haven there was some ship-building industry before 1740 which suggests that some commerce was going on. Trowbridge notes that about 1740 "William Greenough, the ship carpenter, had a ship yard at the foot of Meadow Street where he built several vessels. He was a prominent man of the town."

Another indication of expanding trade is that from 1736 to 1738 the Long Wharf at New Haven was, after much talk and effort, for the first

time developed so that it extended about twenty-six rods into the harbor. Most of this construction was made during these two years, for in 1736 nine-tenths of the wharf was sold for £10 while in 1738 a twentieth part was sold for £26 10s. By 1744 it was about 500 feet long. Increased trade must have caused this expansion.

In Guilford, Steiner states that "a ship yard seems to have been at Jones' Bridge as early as 1744. Bradley's ship yard was there in 1806." In 1710, Josiah Stone of Guilford had a sloop engaged in the coasting trade and in 1730 four sailing ships were owned in that town.

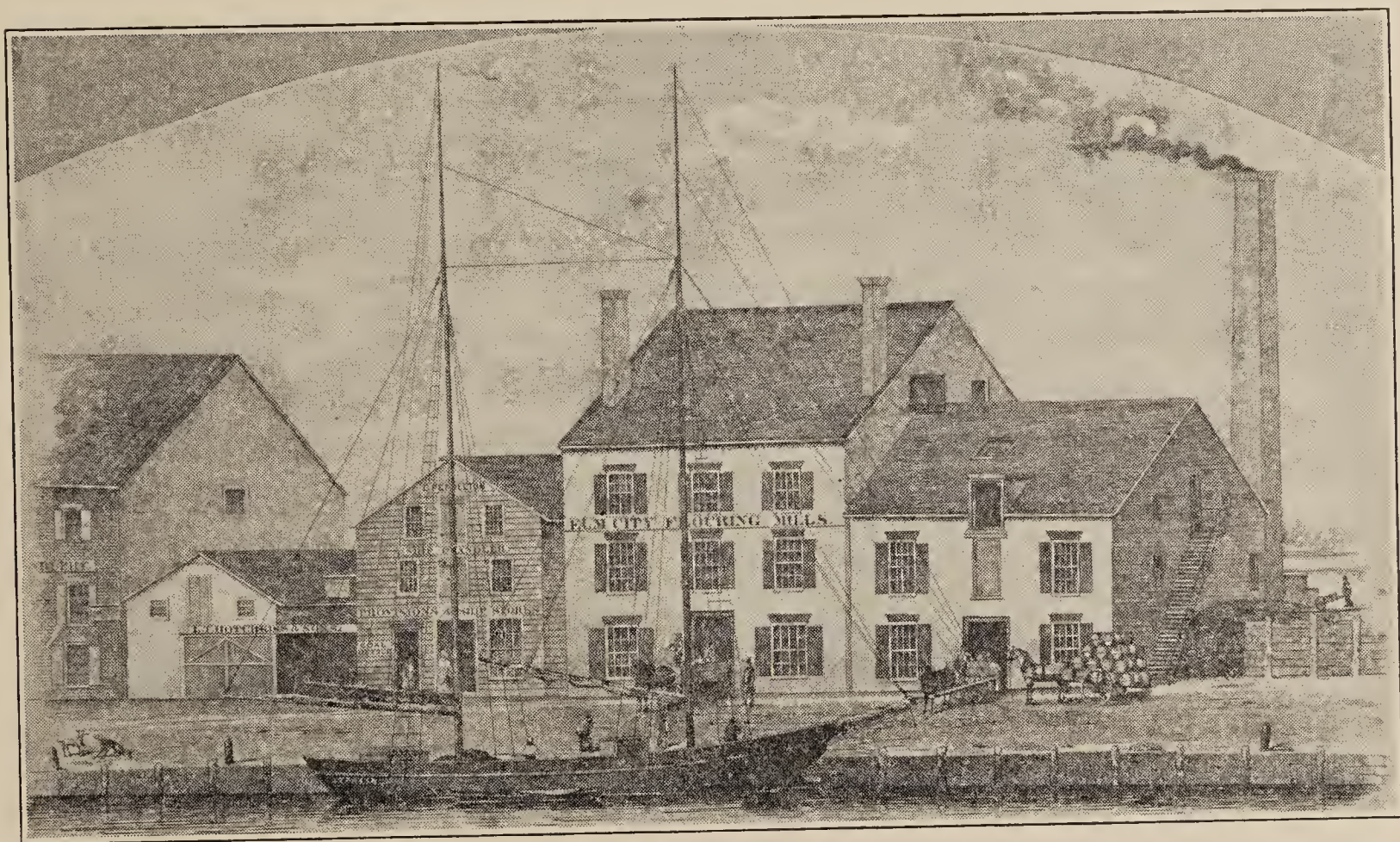
In 1730, a Frenchman, named Peter Pierett, located in Milford. He built a wharf and sent ships to Bordeaux for wine. In 1740, Louis Lyron, another Frenchman, was an important merchant in Milford. John Gibbs also carried on a trade with Holland.

About 1700, sealers of weights and measures and of leather were appointed in Derby, an indication of local trade at least. Before this date, provisions were made concerning meat packing, the sale of cattle and fish for shipment to foreign countries.

The number of vessels that engaged in foreign trade was therefore not large down to 1740. Notices of arrivals from the Azores and Barbadoes are scanty. So Trowbridge concludes a little too sharply, "There is scarcely anything to show that besides a small and unimportant coast-wise trade there were any undertakings of note." Small indeed as contrasted with early dreams no doubt, or compared with the traffic in New York or Boston harbor, because of the want of the stimulating fur trade. Yet let us not in this day of mammoth undertakings despise that stream or trickle of trade creeping along the shore to Boston and probably to New York, and reaching out now and then to the Caribbean and to Europe, even though it may be true that "the whole navigation (in 1740) consisted of two coasters and one West India vessel." Some experience had been gained, some local shipping built, in various localities, some sailors trained.

The records of Capt. Francis Browne and his sloop, *The Speedwell*, that plied between New Haven and Boston present a vivid picture of the trade of the county from 1707 to 1716. During this period of ten years there is a record of 25 voyages, sometimes extended to Derby and once as far as New York. The captain acted as factor for about 200 men and women from New Haven, East Haven, West Haven, Woodbridge, North Haven, and Hamden, about twenty inhabitants of Derby and a smaller number from Wallingford, Woodbury and some towns outside the county. These persons delivered the goods to the skipper and he negotiated the exchanges for the desired articles in Boston.

What had New Haven to barter for the goods outside? In the main, they were the standard agricultural products: wheat and flour, Indian corn, rye, bacon and salt pork, butter, flax and wool, and a considerable quantity of furs,—wolf, bear, fox, raccoon, mink, otter, marten, beaver and wild cat. In addition there were occasional consignments of a great



(From the collection of the New Haven Colony Historical Society)

VIEW ON "LONG WHARF," NEW HAVEN, 1858

variety of country products,—some beef, “peas and beans,” “honey bees-wax and bayberry wax or tallow; hazel nuts, butter nuts and chestnuts, once or twice a basket of eggs, and equally rarely a bag of mustard seed and a bushel of oysters * * * tow cloth, sailcloth, and shoe thread, barrel and hogshead staves and lumber (in boards).” Truly only an embryonic commerce; one that reveals not a great merchant class, but fairly poor farmers who desire clothes, crockery and food products. There was not enough exchange to make it possible to accumulate capital. Their slight surplus was given in return for some desired product. On this foundation no great merchant class could arise.

The method by which this trade was carried on reveals the paucity of the class of middlemen, business men. The skipper carried on a kind of barter in Boston. The goods desired both in kind and quantity too reveal a simple community. The stores of New Haven must have been poor things, indeed. Single purchases were a silver spoon, a pair of silver shoe buckles, a silk handkerchief, a quire of paper, a small Bible, an ivory comb, a brass kettle, a black gauze fan, a small pair of shears and a jack knife, a silk gauze handkerchief, a pound of whalebone, 500 pins. A consignment for the Collegiate School at Saybrook consisted of $2\frac{1}{4}$ yards of blue calico, a hair sieve, a brass skillet, a steel candle-stick, and an ounce of lace thread. In 1707 a citizen of New Haven bought two pounds of white sugar, two of raisins, two wine glasses, a pound of allspice, a piece of tape, an ounce of treacle, an ounce of mithridate (medicine), a little saffron, half an ounce of mace, a yard and a half of ribbon, and 1,000 pins.

New Haven had some stores. Deacon Punderson must have been proprietor of one, for he imported “jack knives and ink horns, and ivory combs and alchemy spoons by the dozen, and molasses by the hundred gallons.” Another storekeeper was Jonathan Atwater who was probably part owner of the boat. His purchases indicate mercantile pursuits: in 1708 “three dozen jack knives, two dozen thorn-hafted knives, three dozen combs, and 600 gallons of rum; in 1711, 60,000 nails, 15 scythes, two dozen large scissors, 300 flints, six pounds of pepper, and a dozen primers; and in 1713, three dozen more primers, at three pence apiece, and 1,000 pounds of sugar. As an example of his mode of payment, he is credited on the voyage of these last purchases with bulky items like 42 barrels of pork, which sold for £157, and over 400 pounds of bread, bringing about £5.”

Another inhabitant, Richard Hall, “did some business as a general trader. How else can be explained such wholesale exports from Boston as a dozen jack knives at a time, repeatedly, half a dozen hour glasses, half a dozen catechisms, half a dozen pounds of alum, and half a dozen bottles of elixir?” In Derby, John Weed “imported all kinds of needles and pins by the hundred and the thousand, basins and porringers by the dozen, and other goods in like proportion.”

Imports were in the main foodstuffs, manufactured articles for the farm, house and ship; clothing and cloths; sugar, molasses, salt, spices,

REGULATIONS

Chamber of Commerce

NEW-HAVEN.

AT a Meeting of the CHAMBER OF COMMERCE OF NEW-HAVEN, 29th March, 1826, the following Rules and Regulations were recommended by a Committee, appointed for that purpose, and were adopted and established, as the custom of Merchants, where no special agreement exists to the contrary.

Merchandise Charges.

COMMISSIONS on Foreign Consignments	per cent.
Do. on Inland do.	2 1/2
Do. on Purchases	2 1/2
Do. on Guaranty of debts for Sales	2 1/2
Do. for effecting Insurance, on Premium	5
Do. for Disbursements of Vessels	5
Do. for procuring Freight	5
Do. for Collecting Freight	2 1/2

Storage of Goods.

RATES OF STORAGE FOR ONE MONTH AND UNDER	
Hogsheads Sugar	30 cts. Bales Cotton, square
Do. Tobacco	20 " " " round
Do. Rum	20 " " " per cask
Do. Molasses	20 " " " " "
Do. Meal	17 " " " " "
Barrels Rice	12 1/2 " " " " "
Do. Flax Seed	10 " " " " "
Barrels Potatoes	5 " " " " "
Do. Flour	4 " " " " "
Bags Coffee and Cocoa	3 " " " " "
Fishies Butter and Lard	1 1/2 " " " " "
Dock Russia, per butt	1 " " " " "
Do. Russia	1 " " " " "
Iron Steel, &c. per ton	50 " " " " "
Heavy " "	1 00 " " " " "
Dry Woods	20 " " " " "
Crate Groceries	25 " " " " "
Do. Soap and Candles	1 " " " " "
Do. Lemons & Oranges	3 " " " " "
Do. Glass, per 50 ft.	1 " " " " "
Do. Tin-plate	2 " " " " "
Do. Cheese	1 1/2 " " " " "

Goods remaining in Store more than one month, to pay, for every succeeding month, or part of a month, one half the above rate of Storage.

All Goods re-packed while in Store, to pay one month's additional Storage.

Proprietors of all Goods to be at the expense of putting in, storing, and taking out of store.

Commissions and Perquisites

To Masters of Vessels employed in the West-India Trade.

Commission on Sales of outward Cargo, after deducting therefrom: Duties, Brokerage, and other charges applicable to the Cargo.	5 per cent.
Do. on net purchase of Goods, for homeward Cargo, exclusive of Duties and other charges.	2 1/2 " "
Do. for procuring homeward Freight.	5 " "
Do. on collection of Debts from former Sales, when not contracted by the same master, if brought home in Cash.	1 1/2 " "
Do. if brought home in produce.	2 1/2 " "
Do. on subsequent Sales and Purchases, on the same Voyage.	1 " "

Brokerage to be paid, one half by the Master, and one half by the Shipper, unless in a port where such Brokerage is paid in lieu of a transient tax, actually levied, in which case shipper to pay it.

No Commissions to be charged on Cash or Bills of Exchange returned.

Master's or Supercargo's Commissions, to be in the same article, that are received in payment for the Cargo, and to be taken by lot.

Wages of Masters receiving Commissions, seven dollars per month, they to furnish Cabin Stores, and to enjoy one-third passage

money, when passengers had their own small Stores, and one half when Masters had them in small stores.

Wages of Masters that go consigned, forty dollars per month; to have their Cabin Stores furnished them, and to be allowed their privileges, but not entitled to any other perquisites.

Supercargoes to pay extra wages to Masters, and subject to the same regulations as Masters acting as Supercargoes, but no entitled to wages or privileges.

Duty of Masters.

It shall be the duty of the Master to attend on board his vessel while fitting, loading, or discharging, to give such orders and directions to the Mate and Crew as may be necessary.

Mate's Duty

to take special care and charge of the vessel, and to be responsible for all ship's furniture that may be lost by his neglect, either the name of each day labourer and the time of service on board, and the time of entry of each mariner, for every neglect of duty of seaman or mariner, render accurate accounts of the expenditure of ship's stores, and not to leave the vessel by night or day, except on necessary duty, without the consent of the Master, and in no case whatever after the vessel is on board. In discharging in foreign ports, it shall be the particular duty of the Mate to examine and take account of all and every article delivered from on board, by any of the crew, and make entries thereof, and exhibit the same to the master.

Privilege of Masters Out.

In Vessels of 120 tons or upwards, carrying Stock.

One Horse, or Ox,
Fifteen Barrels, or the bulk thereof.

Privilege to Masters Home.

In Vessels as above named.

Ten Pouchons, or the bulk thereof. For every ten tons under one hundred and twenty, there shall be deducted one Pouchon, or the bulk thereof.

On return Cargoes of Salt, 2 per cent. on amount of Cargo, subject to an equal proportion of loss and wastage.

Mate's Privilege Out.

In Vessels as above named.

One Horse, or Ox,
Eight Barrels, or the bulk thereof.

Mate's Privilege Home.

Three Pouchons, or the bulk thereof. If the vessel is less than one hundred tons, 2 pouchons, or the bulk thereof.
1 per cent. on Salt, subject to loss and wastage.

Seamen's Privilege.

Out and Home.

Four Barrels, or the bulk thereof.

Rate of Freight to the West-Indies.

Pouchons,	25 00
Barrels,	2 00
Boxes and Bales, per cubic foot.	20
Passage out or home, not including small Stores.	40 00
Do. do. including small Stores.	60 00

wines and liquors, salad oil, salt mackerel, figs, raisins, currants and tobacco. Tea and coffee were as yet unused.

Farm tools and household furnishings were important. They included "iron and steel bars, powder and shot, oakum, tar, nails, knives of all sorts, scissors, razors, sheep-shears, scythes, grindstones and rub-stones (the equivalent of whet stones), fish hooks, pots and kettles, pans and basins, platters and dishes of pewter and earthenware, and implements for weaving and for navigation. Glass and lead, evidently for windows, are mentioned but once."

Of cloth for clothes and the house there are named sail cloth, bed ticking, bunting, and linsey woolsey. "For coarse, heavy clothes there were stuff, friezes, fustian, buckram, drugget, cantaloon, twist, serge, sagathy and kersey; and finer grades in broadcloth, camlet, calamanco, russel and tammey. The most coveted manufactures of fine linen were cambric, garlits, holland, and kenting, and of the coarser linens, dowlas, and osnaburgs. Besides were calicos and muslins, Scotch cloth (a cheap sort of lawn), and shalloon for linings. Of silks there were the heavier and coarser grograms and poplins, ordinary black silk for gowns, the glossy lute string, the thin light alamode (the favorite summer wear), crape for mourning and for the clergy, and damask and plush for persons of extra style. The luxuriance allowed in men's dress appears in the item of buttons, which were regularly ordered with the material for coats and waist coats at the rate of three or four dozen for each garment." Drugs and medicines were commonly ordered. The amount spent on books was not large.

How great was the commerce with the West Indies we cannot tell, but it was going on. One handicap in the development of trade was the lack of good money. From the outset, wampum was used, the colony endeavoring continually to maintain a rate of exchange between it and hard money. Now the government fixed a rate at four the penny, now at six the penny. In 1645 the New Haven colony declared "that Indian wampum shall passe, the white at 6 a penny, and the blacke at 3 a penny and some men being at present loath to receive the blacke it is ordered that in any payment under 20s halfe white and halfe blacke shall be accounted current pay, only if a question arise about the goodness of the wampo, whether white or blacke, Mr. Goodyeare, if the parties repaire to him, is intreated to judge therein."

The growth of trade due to the presence of the English colonists created a demand for wampum, which perhaps led the Indians to produce an inferior article because the demand exceeded the amount of good wampum that could readily be produced. Consequently regulations were established to fix the grade of wampum "that no peace, white or black, bee paid or received, but what is strung, and in some measure strung sutably, and not small and great vncomely and disorderly mixt, as formerly it hath beene."

Wampum remained a subsidiary currency till some time in the eighteenth century. The trade with Boston described above also shows

the lack of a suitable currency. Only occasionally did Captain Browne bring back coined money in return for the products which he carried to the emporium of Massachusetts. Taxes had to be paid as well as trade carried on and the inhabitants continually sought a more satisfactory medium of exchange than mere barter. Consequently they chose certain products for which a uniform demand existed, and used them as a medium of exchange. Such articles were beaver skins, wheat, rye, oats, Indian corn, peas, flax, wool, beef, pork, live stock, bullets, and codfish. The rate of exchange was much higher than hard money prices. People paid their taxes in these goods; the payments were deposited in store-houses, erected for this purpose till the goods were desired. Bills of credit gradually took the place of farm products in paying taxes to the colonial government. Towns and churches as well as the colonial government used this kind of exchange medium. The best and the most available kind of currency was beaver skin.

In 1641 the colony fixed a tariff of prices for goods and labor. "Seven hours, diligently improved, were to be accounted a day's work of a team; and nine pence a day was to be paid for a steer, twelve pence for a grown ox or a bull, sixteen pence for a horse or mare, and six pence for a cart, furniture and man. Master carpenters, plasterers, brick layers, mowers, thatchers, rivers of clapboards, shingles, lathes, &c. were to have two shillings in summer and twenty pence in winter. Those not 'allowed master workmen' got but eighteen pence for summer and fourteen pence for winter. If men sawed by the day, the top man who was supposed to guide the work and find the tools, was to be paid as a master workman, the pit man as those not master workmen; but if their skill were equal, they received, each, twenty-two pence in summer and eighteen pence in winter. 'Dyett' for a laboring man with lodging and washing was fixed at four and six pence a week. Fat venison might be sold for not over two and a half pence per pound, lean, for two pence, and so on. These prices were to be paid in corne, work, cattle, beaver, &c."

Now how was payment to be made? Why did they use these substitutes for hard money? Certainly not because they preferred them. All their experience at home had been with hard money. It was lack of sufficient coinage; after all what they wanted in trade with the West Indies and Europe via Boston was the goods which were not available at home. Thus we find Captain Browne hardly ever bringing home hard money to his patrons in the colony. Hence there were no means by which hard money could be drawn into the colony, so the employment of substitutes for internal trade and payments was logical and inevitable. Bronson states that "our fathers complained * * * that foreign traders gathered it (coined money) all up and carried it to other lands. Thus the people were left destitute of a currency and were compelled to resort to clumsy expedients." He thinks that this is absurd, and suggests that all the colonists had to do was to insist on hard money in payment for their exports, and thus it would return. What he does not realize is that the

foreign traders preferred hard money to most of the products of New Haven, and that the people of New Haven preferred the manufactured products, sugar, molasses, and the like, which were not available here. Thus gradually hard money drifted away. The natural desires prevailed over what might have been philosophically wisest and what could only be accomplished if at all by deliberate united action. Critics forget that even today a satisfactory medium of exchange is determined in the main by the natural desires of the mass of people who buy and sell. Thus commerce was handicapped, first, by the small amount of goods produced, and, second, by lack of a satisfactory medium of exchange for foreign trade.

The early money was that of England, crowns (5s), half crowns, shillings, sixpence, and smaller pieces, all silver. There were copper pence, half pence, and farthings. This stock of specie was what colonists brought with them. Trade with the outside world, as we have said, constantly drained it away. Gold did not circulate. The trade with New Amsterdam and the West Indies introduced foreign coins,—the ducatoon of Holland, the rix dollar and the “ryal-of-eight”; the value of each was fixed by legislation, the first at six shillings, and the last two at five shillings each. In the middle of the seventeenth century, a colonial coin was added to the number, the “Pine Tree shilling,” minted in Massachusetts. As the new shillings weighed $22\frac{1}{2}\%$ less than English shillings, they helped to drive English hard money out of the colony, according to the action of Gresham’s law. So, too, pounds, shillings, pence in New England came to have a different meaning from sterling, and the piece of eight and the Spanish dollar were equal to six shillings instead of 4s 8d. While the colonial mint ceased to operate in 1685, the coinage was in circulation down to 1776.

In the Connecticut code of 1702, the value of money was fixed as follows: “the money coined in the late Massachusetts Colony hath passed currant at the rate or value it was stampd for; and good Sevil pillar, or Mexico pieces-of-eight, of full seventeen penny weight, have also passed currant at six shillings per piece, and half pieces at proportionable weight, at three shillings per piece, quarter pieces of the same coynes, at sixteen pence per piece, and reals of the same coyne at eight pence per piece * * * all and every the coynes before mentioned, shall still be and continue currant money within this Colony, and shall be accepted, taken and received at the respective values aforesaid, according as hath hitherto been accustomed—Provided always, That such of the said coynes as pass by tale, be not diminished by washing, clipping, rounding, filing or scaling.”

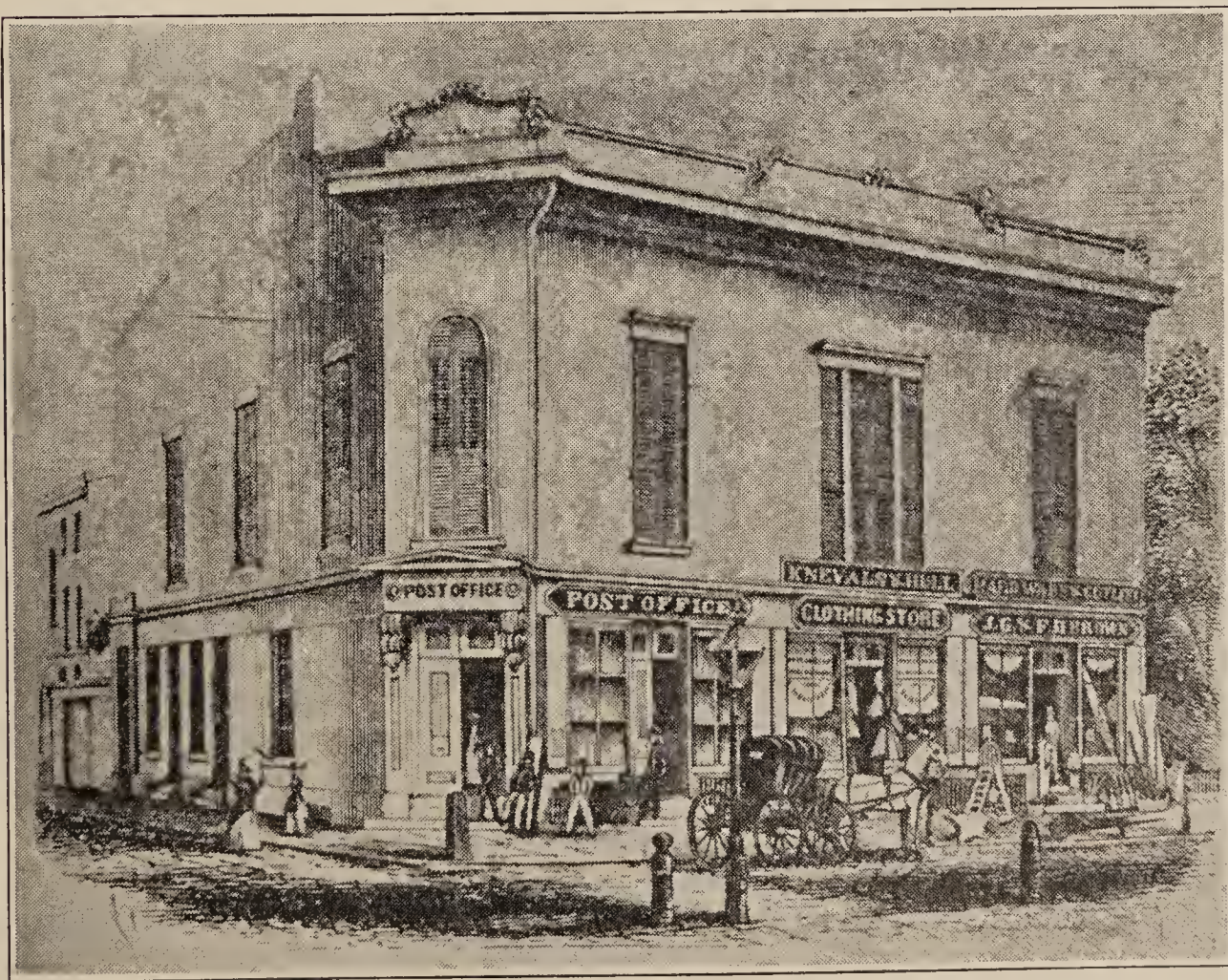
This was the common metallic currency of Connecticut from 1702 for more than a century. In 1704 a traveler, Madam Knight, spent several weeks in New Haven and records in her journal the money in use in ordinary local money transactions:

“They (the people) give the title of merchant to every trader who rate their goods according to the time and specie (kind) they pay in,



(Courtesy of H. M. Bradley, Jr., Derby)

STEAMER "MONITOR" AT DERBY DOCKS, 1868



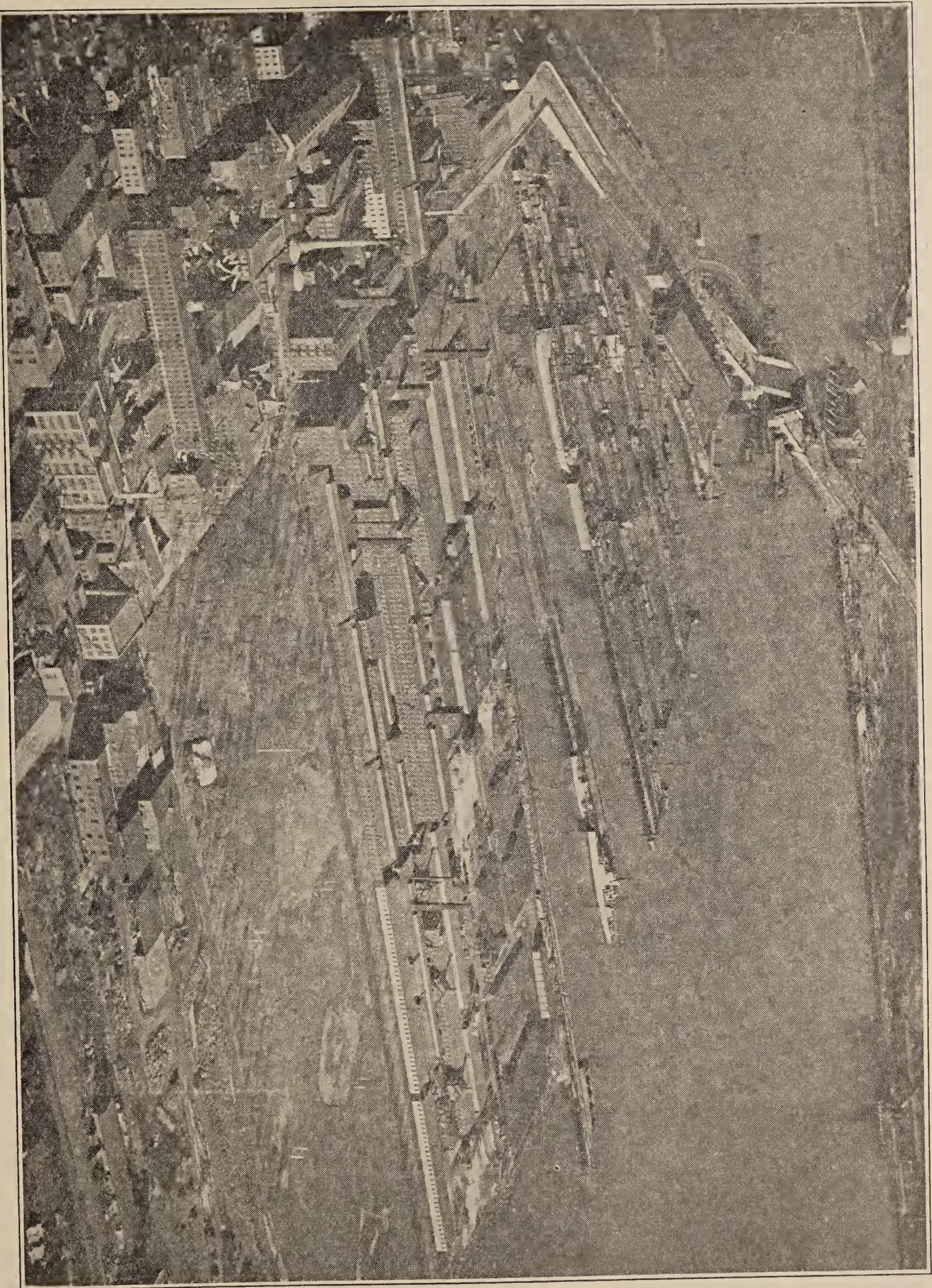
A BUSINESS BLOCK IN NEW HAVEN, ABOUT 1850
Opposite the Railroad Station

viz: pay, money, pay as money, and trusting. (That is, they have a *pay* price, a *money* price, a *pay as money* price, and a *trusting* price.) *Pay* is grain, pork, beef, etc., at the prices set by the General Court that year. *Money* is pieces of eight ryals, or Boston or Bay shillings (as they call them) or good hard money, as sometimes silver coin is termed by them; also wampum, (viz: Indian beads) which serves for change. *Pay as money*, is provision as aforesaid, one-third cheaper than as the Assembly in General Court sets it; and *trust*, as they and the merchant agree for time. Now when the buyer comes to ask for a commodity, sometimes before the merchant answers that he has it, he says, 'is your pay ready?' Perhaps the chap replies, yes. 'What do you pay in?' says the merchant. The buyer having answered, the price is set; as, suppose he wants a six penny knife; in *pay*, it is twelve pence; in *pay as money*, eight pence, and in *hard money*, its own price (value) six pence. It seems a very intricate way of trade."

An additional obstacle to trade arose from the use of paper money or bills of credit. Beginning in 1709, the colony issued from time to time definite amounts of bills of credit which were to be accepted as legal tender in payment of obligations owed to the government. On account of the demand for a convenient currency, these bills circulated also as a means of discharging private debts. By 1740, so many had been put forth that they had depreciated to about one third of their face value. It required 28 shillings in paper to buy an ounce of silver, worth in metal 8 shillings. The increase in use of bills of credit suggests a growth of capital and an increasing amount of trade.

From about 1750, trade expanded with great rapidity. Partly it was due to the increase in population of the colonies, and partly to the growth of the Hinterland. We are approaching the date when all of New Haven County that can be cultivated was brought under tillage, and consequently the amount of agricultural products suitable for exchange has greatly increased over the surplus available earlier. From 1760-1770, thirty vessels left New Haven annually on foreign voyages. Trade with the West Indies and with Great Britain developed,—all this in addition to coasting traffic. President Stiles of Yale College says, "Before the war or A. D. 1775 there were forty sail of vessels belonging to the town of New Haven."

The steady growth of Long Wharf testifies to this expansion. In 1753 the gross income from the Wharf was £160 17s 11d. Work continued on it during the rest of the eighteenth and the early part of the nineteenth century till it attained its present length of 3,480 feet. The other sea ports of the county developed. The West Indies trade of Guilford was important. One Captain Parish said, probably with exaggeration, that "during most of the 18th century there was more navigation and more business done in Branford than in New Haven. Imported West India goods were often carried from Branford to New Haven. There were large storehouses at Dutch house, Landfare's Cove, Page's Point, Hobart's Wharf, Plantsville, and other places for receiving, storing and shipping goods."



(Courtesy of New Haven Chamber of Commerce)

NEW HAVEN HARBOR

Rockey says, "About 1760 Eli Gunn came to Milford and had a ship yard near his residence," later, the chief "ship yard was on the east side of the harbor." There was another yard on the west side. A trader ordinarily built his own ships and contrariwise the shipper was the trader. Orcutt says that in a single day, 60 hogsheads of rum might be landed at Derby. After the Seven Years War (1756-1763), the trade of this town expanded rapidly and declined at the outbreak of the American Revolution.

They had commerce with the West Indies, France, England and Portugal. Among the traders was Benedict Arnold who with Adam Babcock was the owner of three ships that voyaged to the West Indies,—the *Fortune*, 40 tons; the *Charming Sally*, 38 tons; and the *Three Brothers*, 28 tons. In 1774 the value of exports from New Haven amounted to \$142,000 as follows: flax seed, 150,000 pounds; wheat, 15,000 bushels; rye, 20,000 bushels; Indian corn, 33,000 bushels; 2,000 oxen; 1,400 horses. The imports were of about the same value, and consisted of sugar, molasses, rum, wines and liquors, manufactured goods, salt and tea.

The Revolutionary War practically brought this thriving commerce to a close. President Stiles says, that the trade of the town of New Haven was "reduced by the War (of the American Revolution) to a single sloop of 75 tons belonging to Captain Fairchild (and no coaster left) A. D. 1781."

Adventurous ship masters went to the West Indies where fabulous sums were realized if they succeeded in arriving. But the British fleet was too vigilant for success in general. Some illicit trade also was carried on with the British on Long Island, but it was all a matter of little account. The war practically ended the maritime commerce of New Haven County.

During this period occurred marked vicissitudes of the currency. Great quantities of paper money were issued, so great that it became notably depreciated. The new issues called New Tenor came to be worth $3\frac{1}{2}$ times Old Tenor, the older series. In 1749, an ounce of silver, worth in coin 8 shillings cost 55 shillings or 60 shillings Old Tenor. Such a condition embarrassed trade. The Seven Years War and the American Revolution caused similar difficulties, while in the latter struggle the additional issues of Continental currency created further complications.

The conclusion of the American Revolution led at once to a renewal of commerce. Ships began instantly to sail directly for England and Ireland, though the West India trade was found the chief prize. Oxen, horses, pork, beef and lumber were sent thither in return for sugar and molasses. In 1784, Dexter says that thirty-six American vessels, one British ship, and one Danish entered the port of New Haven. Thirty-three ocean going vessels were owned here that were engaged in foreign and West India trade. From 1783 to 1793 the arrivals and departures from the City of New Haven of ships that were in the foreign trade averaged 70 per annum. The registered tonnage was over 7,000 tons.

Prosperity returned quickly. President Stiles says, "There were seven or eight shops (in New Haven) in the war, three of which traded considerably and might have £600 or £800 sterling worth of goods in each. Now, 1784, June, they have counted 56 shops in the city, half a dozen of which have two to three thousand sterling worth of goods and the rest £500 down to £200 and £250." New firms were established to trade abroad and three shipyards were busy building. For the first time a full rigged ship of 100 tons was launched in New Haven. In 1797 the Olive Street shipyard built a ship, the *Mohawk*.

The growth of business is reflected in the establishment of the first bank in 1792, the New Haven Bank, with a capital of \$80,000. In 1790 the growth of trade led to a movement to enlarge and lengthen the Long Wharf to accommodate the increased number of ships. During the open season, a line of packets ran in 1784 between New Haven and New York, and another between New Haven and New London. In 1784 New Haven, with an estimated population of 3,350, was made a city. It was a port of entry. About 1792 the New Haven Marine Insurance Company was chartered with a capital of \$50,000, and in 1794 was organized the New Haven Chamber of Commerce.

Another storm of war broke which lasted nearly a generation, 1793-1815. These European wars centered around the colonial and commercial rivalry of France and England, and affected powerfully our commerce. As two-thirds of the commerce of New Haven was with the West Indies, the war vessels of France and England inflicted serious damage upon our trade. In April, 1794, there were 152 American vessels in the West Indies awaiting the decision of the British Court of Admiralty. Eleven of these were from New Haven. At Martinique and Guadaloupe at the same time were 102 American vessels awaiting the decision of the French court and eight of these were from New Haven. The demand for American products, cereals, and meats was inordinate and continuous, during the war, because of the large numbers of soldiers and sailors of both nations that were stationed in the West Indies or operating there; at times the number exceeded 100,000. Despite the losses, the amount of shipping owned in New Haven increased so that in 1800 there were registered here about 10,000 tons, as compared with about 7,000 in 1787. There must thus have been activity in the local ship-building industry. From Europe ships came to New Haven from Marseilles, Bordeaux, Cadiz, London, i. e., from both the Mediterranean and the Atlantic coasts. From 1800 to 1803 there were imported into New Haven:

Tea	781,620 pounds
Coffee	518,000 pounds
Sugar	5,805,000 pounds
Rum	1,596,983 gallons
Wines	197,681 gallons
Gin	38,600 gallons
Brandy	81,000 gallons

On a single cargo of wines and silk from Bordeaux a duty of nearly \$9,000 was paid.

The trade of Derby during this period rose to its height. Thence sloops of from 80 to 100 tons carried exports of live stock and foodstuffs to the West Indies, and imported wines, fruits, and manufactured goods of European origin. An important trade was also carried on with the north shores of the Mediterranean by the Derby Fishing Company. This organization picked up codfish from the drying grounds at Newfoundland and the vicinity and went directly to Southern France, Spain, and Italy, importing in return the products of those countries. In addition to rum, brandies, sugar and molasses were imported and passed to the interior or to New Haven. Exports comprised grain, pork, butter and cheese from Woodbury, Waterbury, New Milford and other towns. Flax seed was imported, made into oil and exported to New York and Boston. Kiln dried meal was made and sent to the West Indies. So great was the trade that Orcutt declares that "sailing vessels in number from the docks of Derby and Huntington Landing were more than equal to those plying between New Haven and other places." But the construction of turn-pikes, one from Derby to New Haven, and another from Bridgeport to the interior proved disadvantageous to Derby. Merchandise that had formerly stopped there now went on to Bridgeport and New Haven. Their harbors were larger and were open for a longer period in the winter. So Derby declined.

Despite the interference of French and British the trade of New Haven city long maintained itself. Mr. Trowbridge relates that one New Haven citizen had counted thirty New Haven vessels moored in the harbor at St. Eustatia at one time at the beginning of the century. St. Eustatia was the headquarters of the illegitimate trade carried on by the Americans in the West Indies.

In addition to the trade along the Atlantic coast and with the West Indies and Europe, there existed for a while an important Pacific trade. For about a decade from 1796 to 1806, this was carried on by about twenty ships called the "New Haven South Sea Fleet." The business of the crew of each ship was to kill the seals, and load the ships with them in the South Seas, and dry them on the coast of Patagonia, on the "New Haven Green." Thence they sailed via Hawaii for the Far East where the skins were sold and a cargo of tea, silk, china, pepper, spices and similar goods was purchased, and the course was followed westward around the world to New Haven again. Such a voyage lasted from twenty to thirty months. The ships were from 200 to 350 tons, carried a crew of about forty with surgeon, supercargo, carpenter, blacksmith and cooper. They were armed with small cannon up to twenty six-pounders, and had a sufficient store of muskets, cutlasses, pikes and so on. The crews were for the most part from the county, and many had a share in the cargo. Not all the voyages were of course profitable. The most noted cruise was one made in 1799 by the brig *Neptune*. It was a ship of 380 tons



(Courtesy of H. M. Bradley, Jr., Derby)

DERBY DOCKS AND RAILROAD TRESTLE



(Courtesy of New Haven Chamber of Commerce)

LIGHTHOUSE POINT, NEW HAVEN, 1924

armed with twenty twelve-pounders and carried a crew of forty-five men from New Haven. In 1799 it made the voyage in thirty months, sold its cargo of skins, 80,000 in number, in Canton for \$3.50 each and took on a load of tea, nankeens, silks and chinaware which sold at home at a good profit. The ship owner made a profit of \$100,000; the super-cargo, his son, \$50,000, and others interested received proportionate sums. The duties to the United States government amounted to about \$75,000.

From 1806 to 1817 the commerce gradually declined and finally ceased altogether. Broadly speaking, the profits were not great. It is noteworthy as showing the commercial interests and activities of New Haven. The last ship to attempt this commerce with China was the *Zephyr* which lost a large amount of money on the voyage and marked the end of such ventures.

In 1822 a group of merchants fitted out two ships to try a go at the whaling industry in the North Pacific. They soon returned with a good cargo of oils and whalebone, but prices were so low that the partners made little or no profit. In face of formidable competition from New London, New Bedford, and Stonington, the New Haven merchants sold their two ships, and this venture ended.

In 1807 the exports and imports of New Haven County had fallen somewhat, but were still high. In 1794 New Haven had exported goods valued at \$170,000; the duties on imports amounted to \$47,000, which on the basis of prevailing prices would give the value of imported goods of about \$300,000. Despite war and seizures, in 1807 the imports were valued at \$950,000 and the exports at \$650,000, a figure never again attained. In 1805 the imports came to \$821,000 and exports to \$608,000. The duties amounted to about \$150,000 annually, and every year about 150 vessels sailed for foreign ports, this in addition to the coasting trade. The city had a population of about 6,000. The Embargo and Non-Inter-course Acts which were in force from 1808 to 1810 practically ended this thriving trade.

In July, 1808, there were lying at New Haven embargoed seventy-eight ships. "Here in our own city great distress was immediately observed. 'Month after month passed away and not a sail was allowed to be unfurled in our lately cheerful and busy harbor. Not a ship was to be seen discharging her cargo at our wharves. The stores and warehouses of our merchants were well nigh deserted and empty. Their merchandise was valueless. The cheerful voice of the sailor and the hammer of the shipwright were to be heard no more. Their figures, as they scowled upon the wharves, or wandered listlessly along the streets told too plainly, that their occupation was at an end.' "

Real distress was caused, for the majority of the citizens were dependent on foreign trade. There were about 100 shipwrights, 82 vessels engaged in foreign trade, and 32 commercial houses. Hence arose great discontent in the city.

In 1809 the anniversary of the passage of the Embargo Act was observed with mourning. Flags on the shipping were at half mast. At

9 A. M., a procession was formed led by a young man in mourning, mounted on a black horse. Many seamen marched with crape on their left arms. Six carried a boat with the flag at half mast, covered with mourning, emblematical of the United States Constitution. When the Green was reached, it was estimated that 1,400 people were in line, a quarter of the population of the city. There they listened to an address and then dispersed. The removal of the embargo was greeted with joy and business boomed at once. "From that period till the war with Great Britain in 1812, a constant and rapid appreciation in the maritime interests of our city was to be observed. We can have no stronger evidence of the enterprise and activity of the old New Haven merchants than the fact, that in a few months after the embargoed vessels were released the American ensign was flying from the gaffs of New Haven vessels in the ports of St. Petersburg, Cronstadt, Hamburg, Lisbon, Cadiz, Bordeaux, Liverpool, London, Cork, Mogadore, along the Spanish main, and in the far distant ports of Batavia, Canton, and Polo Penang. Some of the vessels visiting these ports were employed in carrying freight for New York merchants; but far the greater number were making their weary voyages under the direction of their owners in New Haven."

The non-importation and non-intercourse acts which succeeded the embargo hampered, but did not stop our commerce, which remained fairly prosperous till the outbreak of the War of 1812. Then it gradually declined until the British blockade, combined with our own embargo act, closed the port. Thenceforward the internal trade overland greatly increased, so much so that many turnpikes paid dividends for the first and last time.

Milford too had its more glorious maritime period from about 1790 to 1820, since when there has been but little foreign trade. The merchant had to be also a ship builder and a warrior. Capt. Charles Pond had been a privateer during the Revolutionary War. In 1790 he formed a company to trade and build ships. The family was well known in foreign commerce for a generation. There were sixteen ships and brigs in Milford, besides a dozen or so schooners and as many sloops.

The news of the Treaty of Ghent by which peace was made was greeted with cheers. "Within one hour after the news reached New Haven, the church bells were rung. Cannon fired on the Green. Citizens shook hands and congratulated each other as they met on the streets. The ever busy schoolboy marked the word Peace on the doors, fences, pavements. The cannon from the fortifications on Beacon Hill and Fort Hale proclaimed to the surrounding villages the joyful tidings that peace was once more to reign over our land.

"Such a tumult of joy (an eye witness once told me) was never before seen in our streets."

"At night the city was illuminated; not a house but had its candle at every window. Candles were placed on the tops of the posts of the fences surrounding the Green and the colleges. The streets were filled

with happy multitudes; and, if report be true, most of the rum which had weathered the gales of non-intercourse, the embargo act, and the blockade was consumed during the joyful night of February 13, 1815. The rejoicings extended in various ways for nearly a week."

The return of peace in 1815 started the trade of New Haven at once. Twenty-four sea-going vessels were taken to the wharf in a single day. Ships started for Europe, the West Indies, and the Southern states. At this time a hundred ocean-going vessels were owned in New Haven, nearly all commanded by New Haven captains and manned by local seamen. Back of the ships and commerce lay the ship-building industry which flourished in Milford, Guilford, Branford, and Derby as well as in New Haven city.

One might expect that the close of the war would have instituted a more prosperous era of trade even than before. We must remember that the most flourishing period of trade that New Haven County ever had was on the whole the period of the European War 1792-1815 and that also three fourths of our tonnage (of New Haven city) of 8,000 tons was in the foreign trade. Governor Baldwin points out that from January 1, 1801 to January 1, 1814 the receipts of the New Haven Custom House were over \$2,300,000. The exports from this customs district from October 1, 1805 to October 1, 1816 were over \$4,700,000 in value. The close of the European War which synchronized with the close of our War of 1812 with Great Britain checked our foreign commerce. Part of it had been the carrying trade between America and Europe which fell to us as neutrals during most of the great war. The peace opened the sea to the ships of all nations and Americans lost their monopoly of the carrying trade. We were hampered too in trade with the West Indies because of a failure of the United States and Great Britain to agree upon a satisfactory commercial arrangement. Our vessels were excluded from the British West Indies until 1830, when the United States admitted British vessels to our ports upon the terms accorded the most favored nations, and the British thereupon opened their ports to vessels flying the American flag. Of course, this controversy did not affect trade with the West Indian possessions of other European powers.

Peace therefore was not a harbinger of increased foreign trade. In 1816 the tonnage of the ports of New Haven amounted to 6,697 tons, of which 5,266 tons were in the foreign and 1,431 in the coasting trade. The exports for the previous ten years had averaged \$427,000 per annum. In 1826 ten years later, they averaged a little less, and in 1835, they amounted to \$429,000; there was practically no increase in 20 years of peace. In 1794, as we have seen, the imports might be valued at \$300,000 and in succeeding years much more. In 1835 the imports were valued at \$375,000, a slight increase in 40 years. Overseas trade directly through New Haven thus remained stationary while the population and the wealth of the county were slowly increasing.

From this decline in foreign commerce, the county never recovered. The harbor of Milford filled with mud, and ships ceased to ascend until

in 1877 the United States government had it cleaned, and made it possible for small ships again to enter. Derby continued some ship-building till 1868, but it was all for local or coastwise trade. The trade of Branford withered. Guilford had two shipyards that built some ocean-going craft till about 1830, but none since. The last builder in Madison of craft for the West India trade was Jonathan Hoyt who ceased building about 1856. Foreign trade ended with the decline of shipbuilding. The foreign commerce of New Haven had a longer life. It was a greater city, a center of railroads, and had a better harbor than the other ports of the county. Yet it steadily decreased. From 1869 to 1874, the imports averaged about \$234,000, the exports for the period 1869-1874 averaged \$330,000. From 1875-1880 imports averaged \$981,000 annually, due however to the special circumstances (comments Atwater), that E. S. Wheeler & Co., were receiving cargoes of iron and steel from abroad. Atwater regards such imports as abnormal. The exports during the period 1874-1879 averaged \$3,532,000, one year rising to \$7,590,000. The cause of the increase were the shipments of Winchester & Co., to the Turkish government. In 1880 exports were chiefly of grain, butter, flour, cheese, and lard.

By 1894 this foreign trade had declined to such an extent that Governor Baldwin could say that the last merchant had been banished from the Long Wharf and our (New Haven's) trade by water had been destroyed. He continues, "I know, of course, that an occasional cargo of molasses or salt may come to one of our State Street merchants; and that a foreign flag is still sometimes seen in our harbor, flying over some ancient bark laden with rags from Egypt, or possibly over a vessel with an outward cargo of our own manufactures. But the real foreign trade of New Haven has gone, never to return, unless the railroads entering here make this a distributing port."

It was a slow decline during the century and then a sudden disappearance. For Atwater writing even in 1887 says "The shipping business of New Haven is now carried on with ports in Europe, South America, the gulf of Mexico, as New Orleans and Galveston, and the West Indies. * * * The Cuban freights are in sugar, molasses, brought us in return for coal and cooperage most carried out. Lumber and cotton enter into the Gulf trade with ice, coal and railroad iron. The New Haven trading craft are sailing vessels, mostly three masted schooners." These were built in New Haven which then retained a ship-building industry. They ranged from 500 to 1,000 tons burden and the chief constructor in 1887 was H. W. Hanscomb who began his business in 1879 and in ten years had built ten of these speedy vessels. There was no other ship-builder of consequence left.

All through the 19th century, merchants were carrying on important export business. Capt. Charles H. Townshend made his first sea voyage to the West Indies in the *Hyperion*, a bark of 219 tons, launched at the Quinnipiac shipyards in 1848. Charles Peterson after ventures in various lines, turned to the shipping business and from 1854 to 1859, says Atwater, gained a competent fortune and then retired. In the quarter

century, 1841 to 1866, Henry S. Dawson (born 1813) was engaged in the West India trade with vessels running to Porto Rico and San Domingo. His business increased from \$30,000 per annum to \$800,000 yearly, though part of it was done through New York. Even in 1887, Stoddard, Kimberley and Stoddard, a great wholesale grocery firm, sold several thousand hogsheads of molasses that they annually imported from Porto Rico. Throughout the 19th century the Trowbridge family had important trade relations with the West Indies. "Thomas Rutherford Trowbridge," says Atwater, "entered the counting house of his father in 1826 and till now (1886) he has been with occasional absences in the West Indies or elsewhere always at his office in the unpretentious hereditary counting room of 'The Trowbridges of Long Wharf.'"

It is not astonishing, as we look back on it, that such a thriving foreign trade decayed at a time when it seemed so necessary to a growing city, a decline that progressed as the population of the county and the territory back of it increased, and as means of communication, the railroads, connecting New Haven with all parts of the interior were multiplied. Hundreds of similar cases may be found in the 19th century. The cause is the changes in transportation by sea and land that characterize the 19th and 20th centuries. On sea, we have the gradual introduction of steam, the screw propeller, the iron and the steel ship. The result was a great increase in size of the boats and there followed infallibly the concentration of imports and exports at a small number of points, with good harbors, where communication with the inhabited districts was easiest. In the early part of the century, therefore, the foreign commerce of New Haven was stationary and the coastwise commerce grew, especially from New York. New Haven became a point of distribution subsidiary to New York, because our city was on the sea coast, and had easy communication with New York by water.

The development of railroads completed the change. As their network covered New England (as well as the rest of the country) and their management became perfected, and as ocean steamers continued to increase in size, it became the rule to export and import through New York, primarily, and to some extent through Boston, and distribute by railroad or by coastwise trade. Consequently New Haven's coasting trade has increased because it is a great industrial city with a great industrial Hinterland. So in 1894 there were 314 vessels enrolled in the New Haven custom house with a tonnage of over 75,000 tons. Today, the amount of goods that come into New Haven harbor is greater than ever before. Most of the shipping however which carries it is not owned here, it has passed into the hands of companies located in the great distributing centres.

An important branch of shipping owned locally is employed in an old industry of New Haven, the largest oyster steamers in the world coming into the harbor. These boats, of the H. C. Rowe Company, bring from their growing beds the oysters shipped to the Far West and Canada. Something of the romance of the old sealing ships, as well as the modern

romance of business, sounds in these words: "In bitter storms our ice-breaking steamer, Rowe, breaks her way through the ice to our packing house from our deep water oyster grounds sixty to eighty miles distant. This steamer is more than twice as powerful as any other oyster steamer in the world and has forced her way up to our dock with salt ice caked on her pilot house thirty feet above the water-line after pushing through a north-easter which sent solid green water over a twenty-four foot bow."

Mr. Henry C. Rowe, pioneer in this industry, head and founder (1868) of the firm, has kindly prepared a sketch of this important article of commerce in New Haven County, with suggestions as to sources of further information.

THE OYSTER INDUSTRY OF NEW HAVEN COUNTY

By Henry C. Rowe

Former President of the Oyster Growers & Dealers Association of North America and for nineteen years President of the Connecticut Oyster Growers Association also of the New York and New England Oyster Growers Association.

Author of Chapter upon the Oyster Industry, "History of New Haven, 1887," also Oyster Industry in "History of Connecticut, 1925," and of various papers upon the oyster industry published in transactions of the American Fisheries Society and The International Fisheries Society, etc.

New Haven County and Fairfield County deserve a prominent place in the records of the oyster industry of the United States and of the World. There are many other places where oysters have grown naturally and more extensively than in Connecticut waters, but there is no place where oyster farming—that is, the artificial propagation, cultivation and production of oysters, was developed so early and upon so large a scale as by the oyster producers of the State of Connecticut.

The gathering of wild oysters, which grew naturally, was pursued very extensively by the Indians for many centuries. There have been found upon the Atlantic and Gulf Coasts, vast mounds of oyster shells left there, which must have required many centuries for them to accumulate, but we have no knowledge that the Indians practised the propagation and cultivation of oysters as they did that of corn and tobacco.

From 1865 to 1890, Connecticut cultivators and planters of oysters, led the world in the development of the oyster industry. By 1878, a great industry was established which produced millions of bushels of oysters annually and furnished employment for thousands of persons.

For many centuries there has existed in France, Italy, Great Britain, Japan, and the waters of other countries, the artificial production of oysters, but upon a comparatively small scale, and by very retail methods as compared with the great operations in oyster culture which were originated and practised by Connecticut oyster farmers—particularly those of New Haven County between 1875 and 1880.

The operations of the oyster growers of New Haven County far exceeded, in efficiency and volume, those of any of the countries mentioned, either in ancient or modern times. As early as 1878, some growers, including the writer, shipped Connecticut oysters in large quantity to the Paci-

fic Coast, to Great Britain and to Germany. Official representatives of Japan, sought to learn from the writer and others, the methods of the industry for use in Japanese waters. In this department of economic development, this wonderful people sought to assimilate useful information as they did in so many other departments of practical production.

Mankind compete for supremacy in many fields of effort, but Connecticut and particularly New Haven County, was, before 1880, the undisputed leader of the World in oyster culture upon a large scale.

Huxley studied the problem of oyster production in Great Britain, and the principles which he enunciated are equally applicable to oyster production everywhere. He said, "The only hope for the oyster consumer lies in the encouragement of oyster culture." He says also that:—"Oyster culture can eventually be carried on only by private enterprise, and the problem for legislation to solve, is how to give such rights of property upon those shores which are favorable to oyster culture as may encourage competent persons to invest their money in that undertaking." Every intelligent student of this industry has reached the same conclusion.

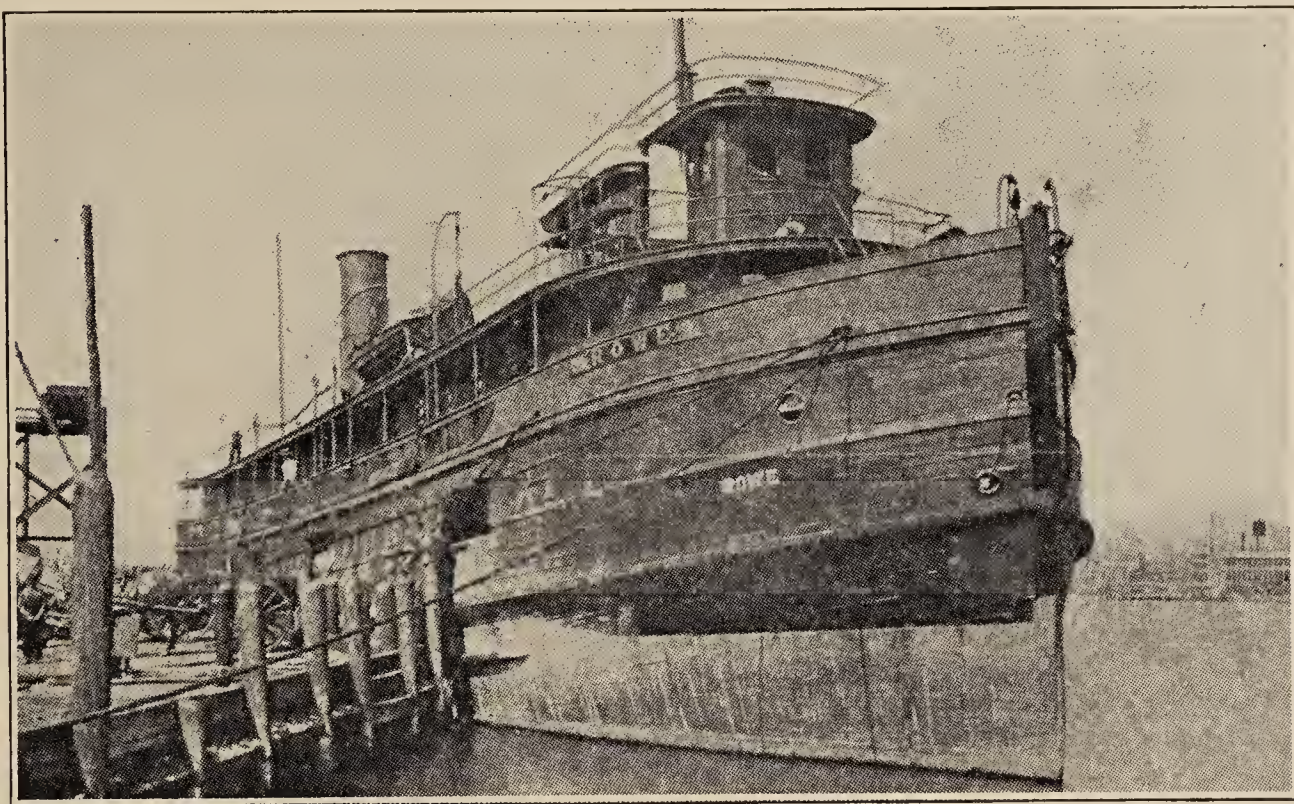
The Encyclopedia Britannica adds a footnote as follows:—

"Connecticut has greatly benefitted its oyster industry by giving to oyster culturists a fee simple title to the lands under control by them," but truth will require the admission in the next edition of the Encyclopedia that Connecticut has reverted to ignorance in its legislation upon the oyster industry and has passed a law whereby instead of hereafter giving to the oyster culturist a title to the land, it now only gives a lease. However, most of the submerged land suitable for oyster culture, was granted in what was practically a fee simple many years ago, so that the recent mistakes of legislation have not injured the industry as much as they otherwise would have done.

Very few intelligent people need now to be told that the principle of renting uplands to farmers instead of their permanent ownership, is a calamity to any nation where such system exists. Great Britain and other countries are making vast and expensive efforts to abolish this injurious system and get the title to land into the hands of those who cultivate it. It is to be regretted that any legislature should revert to the method of rack rentals which was for centuries the cause of the miseries of Ireland and was an underlying cause of the chaos in Russia.

After the white man came to Connecticut, the oyster fishery was conducted for nearly two hundred years in much the same manner as by the Indians. Planting on a small scale probably began about 1800. The artificial propagation of oysters was not prosecuted on a large scale until 1874, and its most rapid and greatest development occurred between 1875 and 1881.

It is impossible, within the limits of this article, to give any more than a glimpse at the oyster industry, but if further information is desired, the reader is referred to the comprehensive article upon the Oyster Industry contributed by the writer to the "History of the City of New Haven,"



(Courtesy of Henry C. Rowe, New Haven)

OYSTER STEAMER "ROWE"

Twice as large as any other oyster steamer in the world. Capacity
8,000 bushels per day in water forty feet deep

edited by Edward E. Atwater and published in 1887. Also to a similar article in the "History of Connecticut," volume 4, edited by Norris G. Osborn and published in 1925, in which the history of the industry is brought down to date. Also to other contributions from time to time, by the writer to the transactions of The American Fishery Society, The International Fishery Society, and other publications.

CHAPTER II

BANKS—CONNECTICUT COINS

We have seen salaries of ministers and schoolmasters paid and business transacted in early days with "provision pay." But as business increased and there came to be more capital to care for and invest this situation could not continue. It was awkward and sometimes dangerous. When Lyman Beecher went from New Haven to Litchfield to buy a house he said, "Carried my \$1,800 in my pocket. Never had so much money before. Was so afraid of being robbed, that when I got within fifteen miles of Litchfield, I stopped and spent the night with a brother minister, and rode into town the next day." It may be added that here he found another man who was inconvenienced by the absence of banks, and who was assisted by the arrival of some one with \$1,800. "Judge Reeve was in want of money then, so he gave his notes to the man from whom I bought the house, and paid interest on them." James Hillhouse once drove his horse "thirty miles after twilight without stopping; having been dogged by two ruffians, in a desolate part of the country, who attempted to deprive him of his trunk. It contained, unknown to them, twenty thousand dollars of public money." Even after the New Haven Bank was opened, there were transportation difficulties. Thaddeus Beecher in 1803 was paid \$4.00 for carrying \$6,413 in his vessel to New York. The writer in Atwater's History tells of a business man of New Haven who was asked to take a package of bank notes to a bank in New York, and handed them to a stranger on the street, of whom he was asking the way to the bank. The notes were safely delivered by the obliging stranger. Another New Haven bank in 1830 sent \$30,000 to a Boston bank by a private individual who was making a trip to that city.

Anderson, in his History, describes how business was done before there was a bank in Waterbury. "There were no regular monthly or weekly payments of wages in the factories. A running account was kept with each workman. Usually there was a store connected with the factory where the workmen bought what they needed, the purchase being entered on a pass book, and when he wanted money he asked for it. Accounts were settled once or twice a year. The balance, whichever way it might stand, was carried to a new account." What money Waterbury had at this period was being invested in its own business enterprises, and banks were not needed for that purpose. James Brewster, the New Haven carriage manufacturer, followed the usual custom of paying his workmen in trade.

The first bank in the county was the New Haven Bank, chartered in 1792, opened for business in 1795, capital stock \$100,000, in 500 shares, chartered on condition that the state should be allowed to subscribe. No person could have more than sixty shares, and as a matter of fact the highest number held by one person was thirty, two men holding that number, and one man having twenty shares. It was hard to place that amount of stock, and the bank was allowed to reduce the required capital to \$50,000, and to follow a more liberal policy in the voting privileges attached to the ownership of shares. There was discrimination in favor of the small share holder in the original plan, holders of one or two shares having one vote, but only one vote for every six, if a person held more than thirty shares. The newly created Chamber of Commerce appointed a committee to promote subscriptions to the stock. Four hundred shares were taken by eighty-three persons, subscriptions to be paid in four instalments.

The original subscribers were naturally the people of property who were looking for a good investment. We may call them the progressive business class of the city. Among them were Eli Whitney, Elizur Goodrich, Pierpont Edwards, Simeon Baldwin, David Daggett, Dyer White. The first president was David Austin, one of the two holders of thirty shares, member of the Standing Order, deacon in the North Church, member of important committees, and collector of customs for the port. He was connected in many ways with other members of the order,—his son married the daughter of Roger Sherman, and his step-daughter married Elizur Goodrich, who succeeded him as collector of the port, until Jefferson turned him out. Perhaps it is not surprising that the bank was accused of discriminating against Republicans, and was referred to as the "Old Federal Bank" in a publication which the directors resolved was indecent and improper, "replete with misrepresentations and unfounded insinuations."

The charter made provision for increasing the capital to \$400,000. In 1803 the capital was increased \$40,000, and in 1805, 900 new shares of stock were issued; the bank was enjoying a healthy growth, and the capital of the community was enlarging.

The bank did business in rooms in the house of the cashier, fitted up at a cost of less than twelve pounds, and bought a small iron box or chest, three feet long, for a vault. Power was given it to issue circulating bills without restriction, which for a time were received with reluctance and distrust. Amos Doolittle printed its notes. They were simple in design and easy to counterfeit, which was done,—and so well done that once the counterfeits were received and paid out by the bank itself. In 1814 this bank became the repository of the United States customs and of the internal revenue and direct tax. It was prosperous, and in 1797 paid its first dividend of 8%, and one of 4% the following year. In 1805 when its capital was increased by 900 shares, the premium charged new subscribers gave the old stock holders \$15 a share. In 1809 a lot was bought for a building on the corner of Church and Chapel streets. In 1865 it



UNION & NEW HAVEN TRUST COMPANY,
NEW HAVEN

organized under the National Banking Law, and apparently then first accumulated a surplus fund against possible losses. In 1929 its capital was \$1,200,000, surplus the same amount.

"What were the customary bank investments of those early days?" asks Professor Woolsey in his article on "The Old New Haven Bank." Says he, "A few hints appear in the minutes. Our bank bought \$50,000 worth of stock of the City Bank of New York in 1815; it took \$10,000 of New York City seven per cent loan; and the same amount of United States seven per cent stock; it petitioned the legislature for liberty to subscribe to United States Bank Stock; it lent money on real estate; in 1819, it lent money on the Bank of America stock at 85; it lent 15,436 Spanish dollars (now in the City Bank, New York) to Benjamin Huntington at eight per cent, this being a special deposit; it lent money to the Episcopal Church; and finally, alas, it lent money to the Farmington canal, but of this later." One or two incidents illustrate the simplicity of the transactions of the time. In 1827, Charles Lines, aged twenty, needed \$175 to set up in the furniture business as a cabinetmaker with Chauncey Treat. He went to Judge Daggett who "said that he had no money, but very kindly drew a note for the amount and when we had both signed it, he sent me to Dr. Aeneas Munson, then the president of the New Haven Bank who let me have the money." Again, "Very soon Mr. Treat wished to go out of business and beset me to buy him out. I went to James Brewster and he signed a note with me at the New Haven Bank for \$500. and I became sole proprietor." Again, "I never had a relative in my early business experience who could be of much service to me financially and yet I was under the necessity of seeking aid frequently. Once soon after building a house, I needed \$2,000 and was advised to apply to Capt. Simeon Hoadley and was at the same time informed that he required first class personal security. I went to him with four notes of \$500. each, indorsed one by Roger S. Baldwin, one by Dennis Kimberly, one by Dr. Jonathan Knight and one by Capt. Benjamin Beecher. Captain Hoadley opened his eyes wide. 'That security', said he, 'could not be improved. How did you get it?'"

In the early years of the nineteenth century two other banks were incorporated in the county, as a result of prosperity, both of which came to a disastrous end, the Derby and the Eagle Banks. The Derby Bank was incorporated in 1809, and flourished for a few years with the Derby Fishing Company, which subscribed for much of its stock, and with which it had close relations. Orcutt, in his History of Derby, says that the New Haven banks were jealous of it, and that at one time the Eagle Bank tried to start a run on it, but its president, William Leffingwell, gathered up \$30,000 in Eagle Bank bills and presented them in payment. The Derby bank failed a few years later, with the Derby Fishing Company, though it paid its obligations in full. Its charter was kept, and the bank was revived in 1824, but after about a year's management by financial adventurers, and losses in the Eagle Bank catastrophe, it failed again. Its charter was revoked by the Legislature, and Derby had no bank until 1846.

The Eagle Bank in New Haven was founded in 1811, \$600,000 of its \$2,000,000 capital stock subscribed by citizens of New Haven. It was apparently flourishing, in fact was putting up a new stone building designed by Ithiel Town, in 1825, when without warning it failed. It had loaned everything on insufficient security, mostly to a single out-of-town firm, one of whom was sent to jail on a criminal charge. The effects of the failure were disastrous, for besides individuals all sorts of institutions had money involved. The state owned \$30,000 of its stock; the Bishop's Fund of the Episcopal Church among others lost \$5,000, and the endowment fund of the Episcopal Academy at Cheshire lost several thousand dollars. Other Connecticut banks were involved; panic followed in New Haven, and, what was perhaps quite as unfortunate, the absolute confidence in which this bank had been held caused a feeling of distrust which long hampered business. The state was discredited, and New York banks voted to receive no Connecticut bank bills except those of the New Haven Bank and the Bridgeport Bank.

The Mechanics' Bank was incorporated in 1824, with James Hillhouse as president, followed by Nathan Smith, Charles Atwater and Aeneas Munson, Jr., who had been for several years president of the New Haven Bank, and was, said Professor Woolsey, "perhaps the ablest of our presidents, though he fell upon trying times." The capital stock was \$500,000, in 5,000 shares at \$100 each; and two-fifths of the capital must be subscribed to the Farmington Canal. This was done at two different times, 1,000 shares in 1825, and 1,000 in 1827. It also loaned money to the Canal Company on condition that the other bank do the same. Atwater says, "The list of New Haven subscribers shows the names of nearly every prominent business firm and almost every man of note in the several professions of law and medicine." Yet the fact that so large a proportion of the stock was held in New York despite the manifest interest of New Haven capitalists in the enterprise, indicates that the supply of free capital in New Haven had been exhausted. Of the 5,000 shares, 3,480, nearly four-fifths went to New York, the rest were taken in New Haven and the adjoining towns. This became a "pet bank," that is, a depository of government money, and it is now the one State Bank in the county, and one of two in the state. It was one of the banks to offer money to the Governor of the state at the time of the Civil War. Its capital as reported in the *Connecticut Manual and Register* January, 1929 is \$300,000, surplus the same amount.

During the next decade four banks were opened in the county,—the City Bank in New Haven in 1831, the New Haven County Bank in 1834, the Meriden National Bank in the same year, the New Haven Savings Bank in 1838; and the experiences of the panic of 1837 were felt here as elsewhere.

New Haven did not seem to need another institution of the sort when the City Bank was started, really to help the Farmington Canal. As has been said, the supply of free capital would seem to have been exhausted. The bank subscribed \$100,000 to the capital stock of the Canal Company,

but the first dividend was not declared until 1834, and the stock was not all taken up till many years had passed. It nearly lost its charter in 1837 as a result of an investigation on the charge that it was loaning money in New York at usurious interest. The recommendation to the Legislature by its committee of investigation to revoke the charter was vetoed by the Governor, and the measure could not be passed over his veto. The opponents of the bank had to relieve their feelings as had been done in the time of Jared Ingersoll of Stamp Act memory by burning the effigies of the Governor and the president of the bank on the Lower Green. This was a state bank.

The New Haven County Bank, organized in 1834 was also obliged to pay a bonus,—this time to the General Hospital of Connecticut. Payments amounting to \$5,000 were spread over a period of three years, and a similar bonus to the Canal Company was similarly arranged. The capital stock, \$500,000 was sold in shares of \$25 each.

This decade saw the opening of the first Savings Banks. Many banks have Savings departments, but that is not a savings bank in the original sense of the term, for they were intended in the beginning somewhat as philanthropic institutions for the benefit of wage earners and small depositors. Consequently there was a limitation on the amount of the deposit that would be received from an individual. In order to convey the idea that they were intended for the deposit of small sums, they were often called Dime Savings Banks. Two in New Haven County are at present so called, one in Waterbury and one in Wallingford. Thus a Savings Bank in New Haven was advertising, about 1860, two departments, general and sixpenny. "In the '*General Department*' deposits are received from Five Dollars to One Thousand from one person during one year. "In the '*Sixpenny Department*' deposits are received from Five Cents to Five Dollars, and is intended for *Children and Persons of small means*, who can make their deposits at any time, and receive them upon demand."

The Guilford Savings Bank in 1894 reported 880 depositors of less than \$1,000; 29 between that amount and \$1,000, and 5 of over \$2,000.

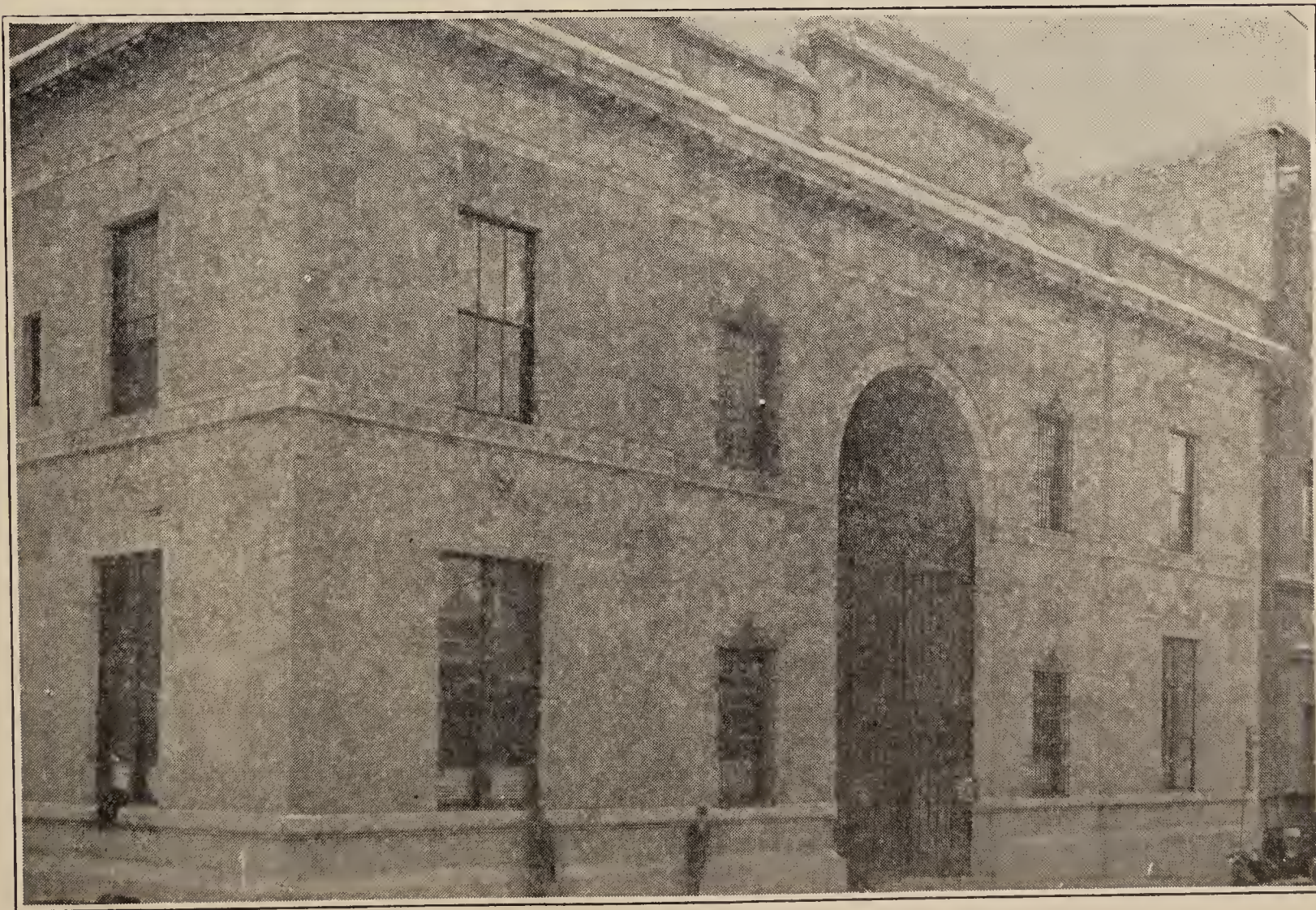
The incorporators of the New Haven Savings Bank (1838) belonged to the same group of active and prominent men who were starting many enterprises. Among them were Simeon Baldwin, who was made president, Ralph I. Ingersoll, James Brewster, the second president, Henry White. January 1, 1839 a dividend was declared at 5%. When Savings banks were started some people laughed at the idea that \$100,000 could be secured by deposits. This bank in January, 1929 reported \$30,329,107.59 in deposits, a surplus of \$2,000,000, and \$1,879,281.88 in undivided profits; it accepts \$10,000 from one depositor.

"Edward C. Beecher, in his "Reminiscences" in the *Connecticut Magazine*, said "The Connecticut Savings Bank was incorporated in 1857, because it is said, of the trouble that Democrats experienced in obtaining loans at the former [New Haven Savings] bank, Treasurer Pardee being an old line Whig and most opposed to dealing with the opposite party."



(Courtesy of Waterbury Chamber of Commerce)

WATERBURY NATIONAL BANK, WATERBURY



(Courtesy of Waterbury Chamber of Commerce)

THE CITIZENS AND MANUFACTURERS NATIONAL BANK, WATERBURY

This sounds like the criticisms of the "Old Federal Bank" at the beginning of the century.

At the time of the panic of 1837 all the banks suspended specie payments except the City Bank, whose circulation was small. Specie payment was resumed January, 1838, eight months after the New York banks had suspended payment. This, of course, was not a local panic, like that of the Eagle Bank failure in 1825, and recovery was slow.

The decade from 1840 to 1850 saw four more banks added to the equipment of the county, two in Derby, and two in Waterbury, the latter town thus opening its first bank. The Derby banks were the Manufacturers, chartered in 1848 and re-organized in 1865 under the National Banking Act as the Birmingham National Bank. In January, 1929, this bank had in capital \$300,000 and \$200,000 surplus. The Derby Savings Bank, chartered in 1846 had January, 1929 in deposits, \$8,715,387.52, surplus \$350,000; undivided profits, \$70,096.89.

The Waterbury National Bank was chartered in 1848, capital stock, \$200,000, with the privilege of increasing it to \$350,000. The idea of a local bank was popular and the amount received in subscriptions was \$240,150. There were 4,000 shares and of the 140 subscribers 62 were from Waterbury and the rest were distributed among near-by towns, mostly in the county. The first president was Bennet Bronson, lawyer, farmer, manufacturer, deacon. A special act in 1850 increased the capital to \$500,000, and in 1851 it was again increased. In 1865 it became a National Bank, with A. S. Chase as president. Its capital January, 1929 was \$500,000 and surplus \$400,000.

In 1850 the Waterbury Savings Bank was chartered. F. J. Kingsbury got the charter and was secretary and treasurer from the beginning until 1909. He then served as assistant treasurer until his death in the following year. This bank has always been in the same place and put up a handsome building in 1896. Its deposits January, 1929 were \$17,334,864.59; surplus, \$1,000,000; undivided profits, \$1,205,776.10.

The law restricting the amount that a person might deposit in a savings bank in a year to \$400 caused a number of Savings and Buildings Associations to appear. "These institutions were permitted to receive deposits in the form of stated payments on shares of stock not exceeding \$1,000 in one year from one person. They were permitted to loan to members on real or personal security and in addition to the regular rate of interest on loans they were permitted to charge 'such a bonus as the parties in each case may agree upon.' They were also permitted to invest their funds in stocks of the cities and banks of this State, or in the United States or in the States of New York or Massachusetts." These institutions lent their money to the highest bidder, getting enormous interest, but with the temptation to take poor security in order to get the high interest. The result was the booming of land values, cheap building operations, and the undertaking of obligations by people who could not carry them out. There were several of these institutions in the county, but the law was



E. M. BRADLEY BUILDING, NEW HAVEN

repealed by which they came into existence (1858), and they were required to bring their affairs to a close in the summer of 1866.

The First National Bank of New Haven was the first one started in New England under the National Banking Law in 1862, by which, in order to get money for the war, the National Government offered special privileges to banks buying government bonds. This bank offered financial aid to the Governor of Connecticut in the Civil War, and perhaps was organized partly for that purpose. Its capital was \$300,000, and it was organized by five men (the minimum number required by the law). They were men prominent in the life of the state. H. M. Welch was the first president and on the first board of directors were James E. English, Daniel Trowbridge, Amos F. Barnes, and E. N. Welch. This bank was united with the Yale National Bank, which in turn was the organization under the National Banking Act of the Quinnipiac Bank (organized 1853). To-day this is one of New Haven's five national banks, with a capital, January, 1929, of \$1,050,000, surplus the same amount.

Another development has been the formation of Trust Companies. Originally designed for that purpose alone, they were allowed by a law of 1893 to accept deposits. The growth of their savings departments has been very rapid, and such departments have also been developed in national banks. The Trust Companies are therefore of a later date than other banks, the oldest in the county, the Meriden Trust and Safe Deposit Company, formed in 1889, the fifth oldest in the state. With the exception of four,—The Home Trust Company of Derby, 1893, the Union and New Haven Trust Company, 1895, and the Citizen's Bank and Trust Company, 1897, of New Haven, and the Colonial Trust Company of Waterbury, 1899,—the Trust Companies of New Haven County have been formed since 1905.

New Haven County also has three Morris Plan Banks, a form designed especially as a popular institution for loaning money to those in need of immediate funds in small amounts, and thus to protect them from loan sharks. One was opened in New Haven in 1914, in Waterbury in 1915, and in Ansonia in 1917.

There are nearly seventy banking institutions of various forms in New Haven County. The fourteen National Banks are distributed as follows,—one each in Ansonia, Derby, Naugatuck and Wallingford; two in Waterbury; three in Meriden; and five in New Haven. The fifteen Savings Banks are located as follows,—one each in Ansonia, Branford, Derby, Guilford, Milford, Naugatuck, Wallingford; two in Meriden; three in Waterbury; and three in New Haven. The twenty-four Trust companies are (one each) in Cheshire, Derby, Guilford, Hamden, Madison, Milford, Naugatuck, Seymour, Wallingford; two in Branford, Meriden and West Haven; four in Waterbury; five in New Haven. The three investment companies are in New Haven; the eight Building and Loan Associations are, one in Naugatuck, two in Meriden, two in Waterbury and three in New Haven.

The oldest bank is the New Haven Bank, 1792, (which is now a combination, made in 1915, of the old bank, with the City Bank and the New Haven County National Bank); the newest is the Branford People's Bank and Trust Company. All, except the New Haven Bank, are less than one hundred years old.

Several towns have no banking facilities, but modern means of communication and methods of banking enable them to use those of near-by towns without inconvenience. These towns are either in the immediate vicinity of a city, or have no great industrial enterprises.

The New England Almanack of 1843, (Daboll's), under the heading, "Things a Farmer Should Not Do" gave the following advice. "A farmer should shun the doors of a bank as he would an approach of the plague or cholera; banks are for men of speculation, and theirs is a business with which the farmers should have little to do."*

After the separation from England the United States went over to a different system of currency, and new coins must be manufactured. This was not done at once by the government, and there was great confusion because of poor foreign coins and those manufactured by the different states. In 1785 a company was formed in Connecticut to make copper coins, under permission of the Legislature of Connecticut. The company, made up of Samuel Bishop, James Hillhouse and John Goodrich of New Haven, and Joseph Hopkins of Waterbury, was authorized to make copper coins not exceeding the amount of £10,000, of specified weight and value. A proportion of the coins were to go to the state, and before being issued they must be inspected by a committee, on which were men from New Haven, Roger Sherman, David Austin, and Isaac Beers. The men who received permission to make the coins turned the manufacture over to a Company for Coining Coppers, containing two more members of the Standing Order, Pierpont Edwards and Elias Shipman, and later a lease was given to others. Coinage ceased June, 1787, nearly £4,000 of coins having been issued, and extensively circulated. So many were made that the market was overstocked, and they depreciated in value. They were made legal tender only for change and for sums not exceeding three shillings. Abel Buell, the third member of the company, was its mechanical genius and is said to have invented machinery which turned out one hundred twenty pieces a minute. He also helped Amos Doolittle engrave maps, but his skill was sometimes employed in less worthy ways, as in altering a five shilling bill of credit to one of five pounds for which as part of his punishment he was branded on the forehead with the letter C and lost his right ear.

The first coins manufactured by the authority of the United States were, it is thought, made at the New Haven Mint, in East Water Street, authorized by the government in 1787. These were copper coins, marked United States, and among devices expressing the flight of time, contained the words "Mind your business," doubtless meant in a Poor Richardian sense. The Connecticut coins had a more conventional device,

* For business men and banks see pp. 921, 938.

Liberty with an olive branch. The tradition is that some of the copper used in these coining operations was obtained near Mt. Carmel.

There were other local measures of this sort. Simeon E. Baldwin in his Historical Address before the Chamber of Commerce told of efforts of that body in this direction. "In November, 1794, the Chamber appointed a committee to frame a plan for issuing due bills, or currency. Upon their report, this short form was adopted: 'Due the Bearer * * * silver money by the Chamber of Commerce, New Haven, December 3d, 1794.' The Treasurer was to sign and issue them, when engraved, 'receiving other moneys therefor.' There were to be 3,000 bills of one penny, and 1,500 each of a penny and a half, two pence, three pence and four pence. A few more were afterwards authorized, making the total emission a little over £140."

Anderson's "History of Waterbury" gives the following account of tokens issued in or near that city from 1834-1841. Various names were given them, "Jackson tokens," "Waterbury cents," and "Hard Times tokens," and they were made of various metals, but mostly of copper. Issued for political, patriotic or personal reasons, they were in circulation as money, until forbidden by the government. It "was in a certain sense the test of a principle, that is, of the right of a republican people to issue personal coins, if conformed to standard in regard to weight and fineness. * * * That the question of the right of private individuals to coin money should arise is a natural result of the discussions which a free people is apt to indulge in * * * they were a most interesting series, and much more American in sentiment and in individuality than the current series of national coins." Waterbury was not the only town in the country issuing these tokens, but was "the birthplace of the greater number of them." Anderson gives a picture of a number of them and a description of many with their very interesting mottoes and devices, such as "My substitute for the U. S. Bank, My experiment, My currency, My glory."

SECTION XV—MANUFACTURES IN NEW HAVEN COUNTY

CHAPTER I

GENERAL CONDITIONS OF INDUSTRIAL EXPANSION

During the past two hundred years, the world has been profoundly modified by the application of mechanical power to machinery, the change popularly known as the Industrial Revolution. Combined with the advance in natural science, it has transformed the productive capacity of the globe, particularly in Europe and North America. The number, amount and variety of agricultural and manufactured goods produced, and the extent of the distribution, which are today commonplaces would have been deemed inconceivable a couple of centuries ago. The end of expansion is not yet in sight. Population has increased, the number and the size of cities and the accumulations of capital have never before been approached in the history of mankind.

The power employed in manufacturing was at first man power, horse, and ox power. This application goes back to pre-historic times. A stronger and a more constant force was sought and the great advance which made possible the impulsion of heavy and complicated machinery was the application of water power. With this came the factory. Then came steam, stronger than water power and with the additional advantage that it could be employed anywhere. At present there is a certain reversion to water power through the agency of electricity. Coincident with the expansion of power has been the development of the means by which it has been applied, by machinery. Hence first water and then coal and iron (for machinery) have been three essentials of the Industrial Revolution. A fourth is an adequate supply of capital and a fifth, proper organization for the distribution of goods. We ought to include a sixth when we are considering natural advantages in connection with a given district; that would be its location, its accessibility to the prevailing routes of trade.

What advantages had New Haven which might build up this county into an important industrial center? There was no native coal or iron, of consequence. Not far away in northwestern Connecticut, there was some iron and some copper, and both played a part in the nascent brass and iron industries. There was abundant water power in the hills and the lakes of the highland regions, sufficient to keep mills going throughout the year. The Mill and the West rivers, said President Dwight, in 1811, "are merely mill streams; the Mill River being a very fine one as being

plentifully supplied with water round the year." The Quinnipiac, a larger stream, furnished excellent water power in its upper part, in Wallingford, Yalesville and Meriden. Milford had a good mill stream in the Wepawaug, while the Naugatuck with its tributaries formed the most important stream for power in the county. There were many other brooks or small rivers which were used. The Housatonic on the western boundary of the county has been dammed a mile above its junction with the Naugatuck and has afforded an important supply of power. When steam became necessary, about the middle of the nineteenth century, coal could be brought by land or water without difficulty from New York and other points along the eastern coast.

Capital had been accumulated by farming and by trade, especially since 1740. Some of it went into manufacturing industries. We should however form a false impression of the age, if we concluded that, in general, such accumulations were invested in the rising industries; we must remember that our manufacturing had slow and modest beginnings. It did not invite investment in the spectacular manner that the canal, the turnpikes, the banks, and the railroads did. Broadly speaking, the capital invested in the early ventures in industry came from the pockets of men engaged in the undertaking, or their relatives, or friends; as the business grew, it was built up from the profits that were not withdrawn to spend. The influence of commerce therefore upon our early manufacturing seems to have been of a general nature, that of a wide awake community stirring up its citizens to do new things, rather than financing the new undertakings. Undoubtedly, too, commerce had familiarized business men with the technique of distribution, the acquisition of distant markets and the like. They had access to the sea and to great emporiums near at hand, Boston and, above all, New York. There buyers assembled from an ever-widening area; sales rooms meant contact with the purchasing western world. So we shall find firms which maintain from early days sales rooms in New York. The county had two good harbors, New Haven and Derby, though the latter never played much of a part. On land began the development of the turnpikes, that is, of improved roads. The attempts at canal transportation proved futile. With 1839 the railroads began to connect the county, first with the sea and then with New York and Boston by land, at rates and at speeds that have ever become more and more advantageous to buyers and sellers. This then was the equipment of New Haven County: abundant water power, some iron close by, some capital, a business atmosphere, and easy access to great markets. All writers, contemporary and modern, mention "Yankee ingenuity." We must of course include that vital personal element as a factor.

From the beginning of the settlement, there were certain industrial developments characteristic of a society that had to be largely self-sufficient. At first sight, these might seem to be steps toward the development of manufacturing. In a sense they are, for without them the manufactur-

ing age would never have come. They do not however necessarily lead to the modern development of manufactures for we find them in all parts of the old world as well as in the new; in localities that developed manufacturing greatly as well as localities that did not. They arise out of the needs of a society that is but little served by money and commerce. Among such developments perhaps the most striking were the grist mills, the sawmills, and the fulling mills that are found in all communities of the county. Occasionally these establishments more than supply local needs. Flour, barrel staves, lumber, and linseed meal were exported in the eighteenth century. There was some shipbuilding, and some distilling of rum. The manufacture of bricks should be especially noted for they were made very early and they remain one of the staple industries of the present. Nevertheless out of these did not arise the great modern age of manufacturing.

In his history of New Haven colony, Atwater has a chapter on "Industrial Pursuits," in which he lists the following crafts: sawyers, carpenters, ship carpenters, joiners, thatchers, chimney sweepers, brickmakers, bricklayers, plasterers, tanners, shoemakers, saddlers, weavers, tailors, hatters, blacksmiths, gunsmiths, nailers, cutlers, millers, bakers, coopers, and potters. Such a list means that these men who were primarily farmers practised one or more of these trades on the side, for the lines of division are not distinct. The same man, for example, might be a sawyer, a ship carpenter, a carpenter, and a joiner, as occasion might arise. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries all these crafts were practiced on the farms and in the villages and some men became quite expert. As population grew and there was opportunity for further specialization, some abandoned farming altogether and became artisans wholly. But it was a slow process. How proficient and how versatile some became is illustrated by the case of the blacksmith of New Britain cited by Miss Fuller. James North, blacksmith, made and sold the following articles to his customers: augers, brads, bridle bits, bails, chest locks, compasses, chisels, crowbars, bush scythes, grips, hoes, hooks, hinges, knives, keys, pitch forks, spikes, shovels, tongs, ramrods, spades, staples, sleigh irons, and wedges. This list was taken from an old account book of 1778-1780.

These were however features of life all over the West. Not out of these alone arose the great manufacturing age of the nineteenth century.

The Inventions

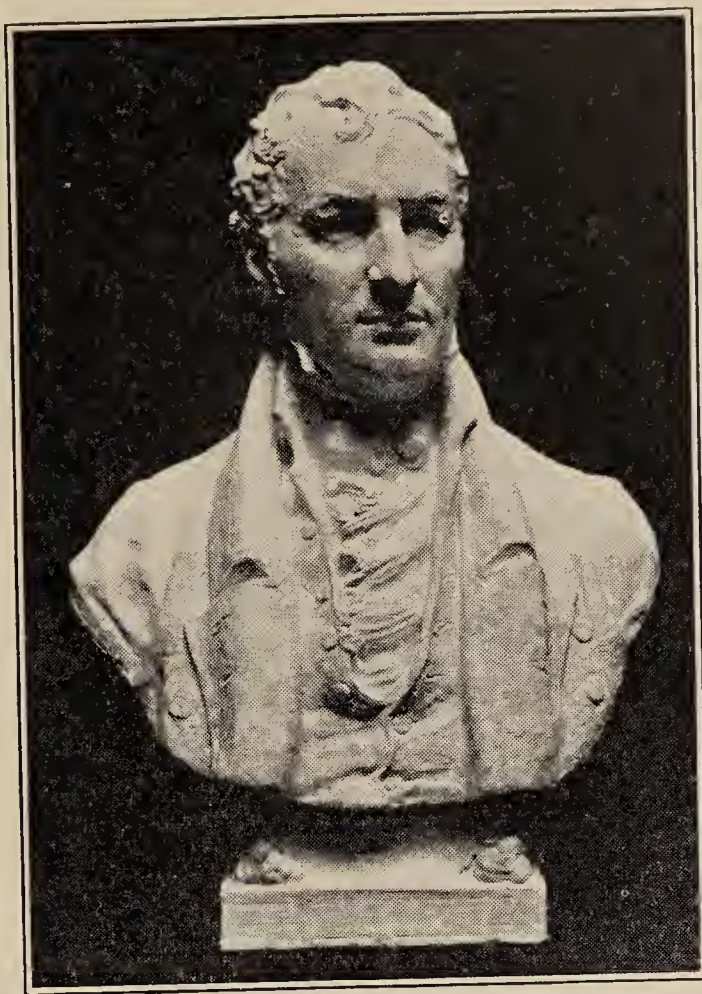
The Industrial Revolution of England in the eighteenth century centered around a certain number of inventions which when fully elaborated radically changed the production and the distribution of goods of all sorts. The development of industry in this county which occurred a little later than in England was built around invention, also, but there was no such series of revolutionary changes. For convenience we may divide our age of manufacturing into two parts: the first extends from the beginning

down to the decade, 1840-1850; the second part from that decade down to the present.

The first age was not characterized primarily by a large number of inventions. Such machines and processes as they employed were mainly foreign imitations of foreign devices. This is the period of the origin of our industry. We should expect that such would be the character of the age. America was primarily agricultural in life and outlook. Manufactured goods came mostly from abroad. When therefore they themselves began to manufacture, they made the same goods that they had been accustomed to buy and they tried to imitate the methods of fabrication, the processes and the machinery that were already known. Sometimes they acquired the information from some one in a neighboring district; sometimes an immigrant artisan in metal or wood settled here, practised his trade and taught others. These changes were not in general the work of great capitalists who gathered a body of experts about them; instead they were brought about by a long line of small manufacturers and workmen who made improvement after improvement. They supplied their own capital. After a while when an establishment had grown a little, the manufacturers sometimes sent abroad for machinery and workmen.

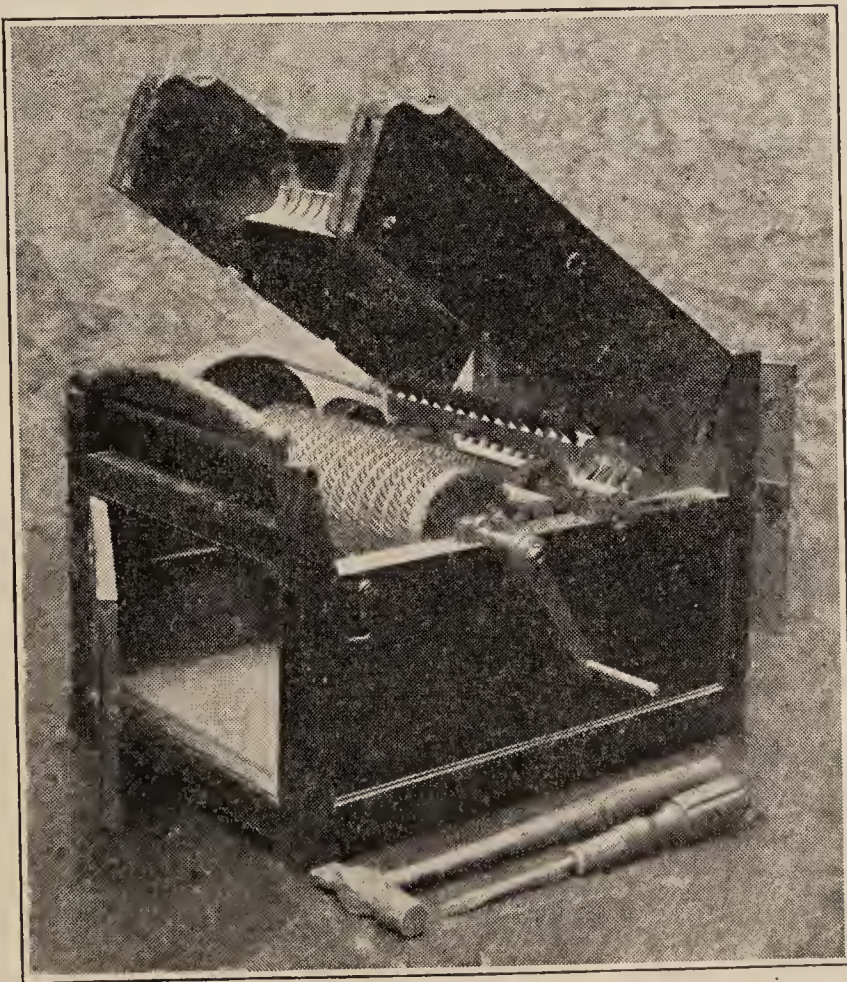
And so by the decade of 1840-1850, the age of preparation draws to a close and the second part of our period begins the age of invention, though, of course, most of the inventions were small adaptations and improvements. It was not caused entirely or even chiefly by new inventions. Other factors were vital. The Joint Stock Act of 1837 enabled managers of industry, after a little, to gather larger sums of capital to use in industry; enough progress had been made in manufacturing to make people confident that money could be made in manufacturing and hence they were willing to invest in the stock of factories; workmen began to come from abroad; railroads began to be built. That is, several movements occurred: machinery had been developed, capital had become available, workmen were at hand, transportation had made easy the acquisition of raw materials and the distribution of the products to a wide market, and more inventions began to be made. Hence the great companies and great industry commenced to arise.

Lathrop, in his able book on "The Brass Industry," reached the same conclusion concerning early invention as applied to Waterbury. He says: "It is no exaggeration to say that the brass industry was imported from England in machinery, processes and labor. Except for Jerome's application of rolled brass to clock making and the perfection of the pin machine and sticking device about 1840, there was no single radically improved machine or process of large importance invented by purely American skill until Mr. Hayden invented the spinning process for making round articles from sheet brass December 16, 1851. After this the advance in manufacturing processes inaugurated by native ingenuity was real and rapid. * * * The records of the Patent Office reveal the fact that



(Courtesy of the Yale Alumni Weekly)

ELI WHITNEY
1765-1825



WHITNEY'S OWN MODEL OF THE
COTTON GIN

the inventive ingenuity of Waterbury men was not in striking evidence until after 1850."

Before we take up the general course of manufacturing during the early period, let us recall certain of the most prominent inventions that were made in New Haven County.

They are the uniformity system of Eli Whitney, automatic wire machines, such as pin, pin sticking and hook and eye machines, brass clock works, carriage springs, the stone crusher, and vulcanized rubber.

While the cotton effected a revolution in the growth and manufacture of cotton and added to the fame of Eli Whitney, it made no contribution to the development of the industry of New Haven. Whitney then turned his talents to the manufacture of rifles with important results to this county. In 1798 he obtained the contract from the national government to supply 10,000 stand of arms within about two years. The contract took, however, ten years instead of two years to fulfill. Buildings had to be erected, machinery built, and workmen hired and trained in order to carry out this contract. At this time the ordinary method of manufacturing muskets was to assign the various parts of each weapon to different workmen, to one a lock, to another a stock and so on; when all the parts of a single gun were completed, they were put together, and then another gun was made and so on. From this system, which was practical, had been long in use and was still generally employed in 1850, Whitney devised an important advance, known technically as the uniformity system. Instead of assigning the various parts of a single gun to various artisans, he proceeded to make a great quantity of each of the parts, partly by hand and partly by new machinery that he invented, but so that each workman always worked on the same part. The aim was to make all the different parts practically identical so that when they were arranged in piles each kind by itself, one could, by choosing any one of the parts from each pile, assemble musket after musket. Thus the principle of the interchangeability of parts spread to all manufactures to which it can be applied; it is, of course, the principle that underlies modern mass production.

The construction of the requisite machinery took a long time and the agreement was not fulfilled till about 1810. Thereafter the firm received other contracts from the United States government and from some of the state governments. It long remained one of the important gun factories in this country. In 1840, the son of the inventor was reckoned one of the three wealthiest men in New Haven city.

The development of the brass industry meant the production of great quantities of wire. Many people had long worked at the problem of making pins from wire easily and cheaply. Between 1830 and 1840, three machines were invented to make pins automatically, one by the Fowler Brothers of Northford, New Haven County, one by Dr. John I. Howe of New York and one by Slocum and Jillson in Poughkeepsie, New York. In 1838 the Howe Manufacturing Company which had been organized in

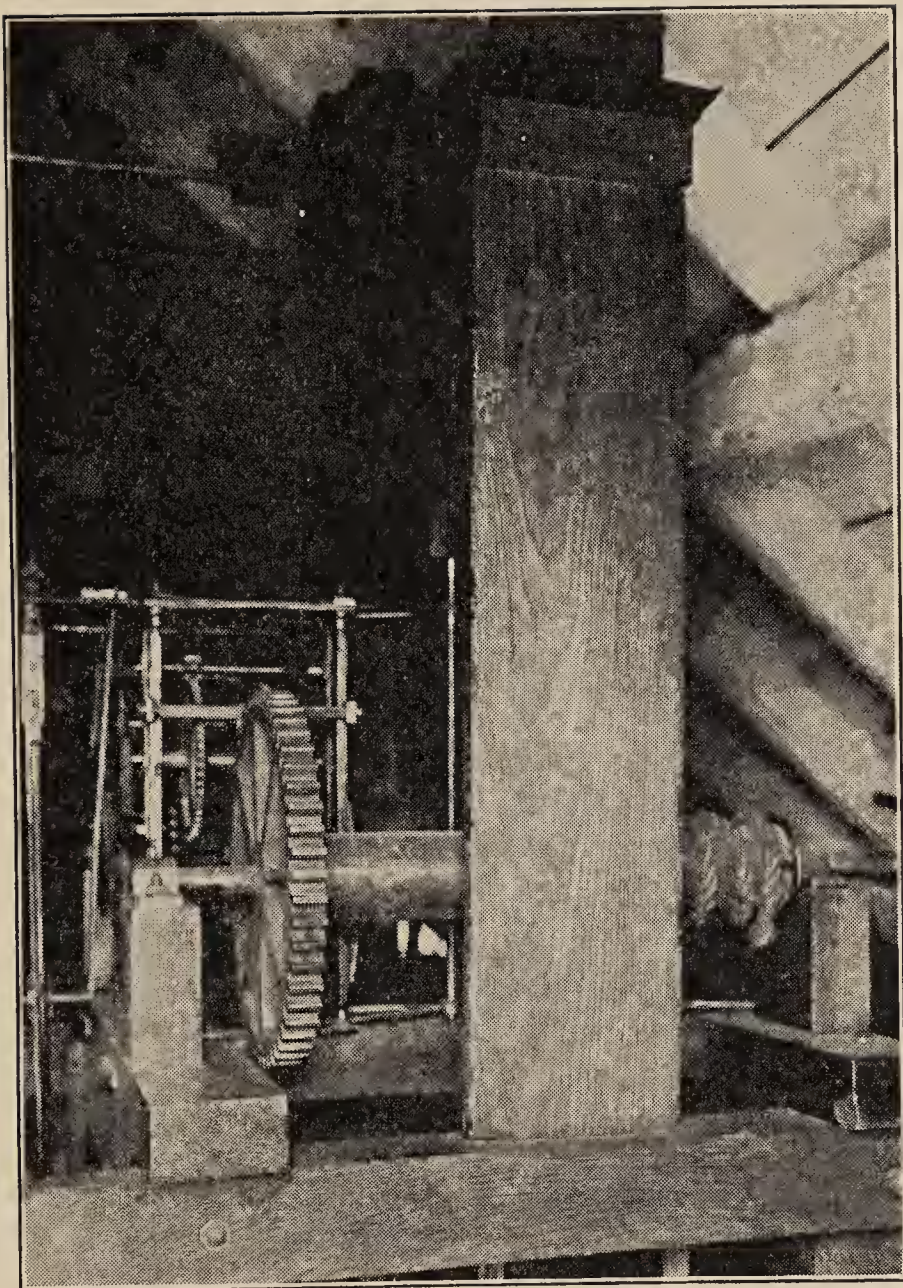
New York to exploit Dr. Howe's invention, moved to Derby under the influence of Anson G. Phelps. Thus two of the three factories of this improvement were located here. Then Doctor Howe in coöperation with Slocum and Jillson devised a machine to stick the pins in paper, an invention of equal value to the pin making machine. By hand, says Chandler, sixty female operators could fill ninety packs of pins a day, about 300,000 pins. With these machines, "one woman may pour into a hopper gallons of pins which come out neatly arranged on paper—'a mystery to all save the inventor and no one but the operator is ever permitted to enter the room.'" By 1846, both the pin making and the pin sticking machines came under the control of the Howe Manufacturing Company and the American Pin Company and so this county had for a time the practical monopoly of pin manufacturing in the United States. Another invention of this time that should be grouped with pins was that of making hooks and eyes by Charles Atwood in Derby. He sold the patent rights to Holmes and Hotchkiss of Waterbury.

The clock industry, today so important an industry in the county, began in Plymouth with Eli Terry. From him Seth Thomas learned the business and later Chauncey Jerome entered his service. These three men founded clock manufacture in Connecticut. Jerome made perhaps the most important contribution to the development of this industry when he devised a cheap and practical method of cutting clock works from sheet brass. Wooden works swelled when subjected to damp; iron and steel rusted. These characteristics interfered with the development of sales. Cast brass was tried and was successful, but the expense limited the sale to the wealthy. Clock manufacturers cast about for a remedy. In 1817 Jerome had opened a factory of his own in Plymouth making the ordinary clocks with wooden works; in 1821 he moved it to Bristol. In 1825 he made works cut from sheet brass, but though cheaper than those of cast brass, they were more expensive than wooden works. In 1837, he set up a branch in New Haven and thus began the expansion of the clock industry in this county. That year also marked his invention of a wooden clock with brass works that retailed for six dollars at first, and then five and, finally, four dollars, the cheapest clock in the world. It found a ready sale in both England and America. In 1844, his factory in Bristol burned and he moved the whole plant to New Haven. He was already making a clock that sold for \$.75.

The most important manufactured product of New Haven during the greater part of the nineteenth century was carriages; they had not been made anywhere on a great scale in this country, though John Cook was a coachmaker in New Haven in 1794. The improvement in the roads and the growth of wealth both are reflected in the growth of carriage manufacturing. The invention of springs was a great factor in this expansion. In 1807 Capt. Jonathan Mix obtained a patent for an elliptical spring which was to be placed parallel with the axle to which it was screwed in the center. Later, a spring of this kind came to be invariably used on carriages.

In 1858 one of the most important inventions was made, that of the "Blake Crusher," or the "Blake Stone Breaker," as the inventor preferred to call it. The inventor was Eli Whitney Blake, (1795-1886), the nephew of Eli Whitney, inventor of the cotton gin. Mr. Blake was a manufacturer, first in charge of the arms factory in Hamden that his uncle had founded and then after 1835 as a member of the firm of Blake Brothers in Westville, manufacturers of door locks, latches and other articles of domestic hardware. Throughout his life he was greatly interested in scientific problems, especially those connected with applied physics and mechanics, contributing papers to scientific journals all his life. Such was in brief the background of the invention. In 1851 Mr. Blake was appointed by the city on a committee to build about two miles of macadam road from Broadway in New Haven out Whalley Avenue to the Westville bridge. The only way known to break stone at the time was by hand. It took a workman two days to produce a cubic yard of crushed stone which was really too large for a good roadbed. In the scarcity of labor of that time, and the prevailing rate of wages then or since, it would have been impossible to build any great quantity of macadam road, without a change in method. After eight years of study he devised in 1853 a machine with "a pair of upright jaws converging downwards; the space between them at the top being sufficiently large to receive the stones to be broken, and that at the bottom small enough to permit the passage of such fragments as were broken to the required size; and then imparting to one of the jaws a short and powerful vibratory movement. * * * with the least amount of friction and sufficient power to crush trap rock by a pressure of 27,000 pounds to the square inch." The machine made its way slowly. Today, however, thousands are in operation. They have been of tremendous importance in three ways: in preparing crushed stone for roadmaking, such a mammoth industry today; in the expansion of mining, by the cheap and easy reduction of masses of iron ore; in the preparation of material for concrete, so essential a part of modern building construction. The invention made no special contribution to the manufacturing industry of the county, for the machines are not manufactured here. It is, however, part of the contribution of New Haven to the industrial development of the modern world.

Probably the most important invention made in New Haven was the invention of the vulcanization of rubber by Charles Goodyear (1800-1860). For over ten years he had been interested in the problem of hardening rubber so that it would stand the extremes of heat and cold. He bought from his collaborator, Nathaniel Hayward, the process of mixing sulphur and rubber and one day in 1839 as he was experimenting with some of this mixture, he spilled a portion on a hot stove and in this way discovered the process of vulcanization. In 1844, after five years more of research, he took out his first patent and began to issue licenses to manufacture. He never became a manufacturer himself. It is unnecessary to point out the extent of the industry that has arisen out of



MECHANISM OF OLD TOWN CLOCK, GUIL-
FORD (1727-1893)

Built by Ebenezer Parmelee and placed in First Church steeple. The first town clock in New England and probably the first in the United States. Now in Henry Whitfield State Historical Museum

this invention. It should be recalled, however, that it is in the period since 1900 that it has become a major industry, for example, in connection with automobile, electricity, medicine, sports and so on. In this development New Haven County has had a share, for rubber is an important manufactured product here.

CHAPTER II

THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

The inventions were extremely important because they were made when men were just beginning to turn from agriculture and commerce to manufactures. They illustrate the interest and capacity of the men of the county. Success stimulated further invention. Nevertheless of the goods produced according to the Survey of 1845, not over one-fourth were due to these inventions; the rest came from shops that had gradually begun to manufacture certain articles in the course of the preceding half century or more without any striking patented invention.

Our first age of manufacturing, from the beginning down to the decade, 1840-1850, is marked by two important documents which reveal the stages in development that have been reached. The first is the "Gazetteer of Connecticut and Rhode Island," compiled by John C. Pease and John M. Niles and published in 1819. It contains a survey of the manufactures of the county and thus makes it possible to note how great had been the expansion at that date. The second document was published in 1845 at the end of our first period. It was a survey of the industry of the state based upon a census made in 1845 by the state government. It was compiled town by town by Daniel P. Tyler, secretary of state, and is entitled *Statistics of the Condition and Products of Certain Branches of Industry in the State of Connecticut for the year ending October 1, 1845*. These two documents enable us to measure the expansion of industry quite effectively.

Let us first turn to the period that is ended by the *Gazetteer* and examine the character of the manufacture of that era, apart from certain of the inventions that we have already mentioned.

There were certain articles that played a great part in the evolution of this county as a manufacturing center, and that were for a long time made in a simple fashion. Among them were small hardware, buttons, articles made of tin, pewter and britannia ware; they might all be classed as "Yankee notions." We ought to discuss further clocks and carriages, apart from the inventions of springs and brass works.

The manufacture of tinware from sheet tin began with William Pattison, a tinner from Ireland, who came to Berlin about 1740. He built up a trade there and trained his sons and other young men in it. After the American Revolution, this manufacture spread to Wallingford and

New Haven. The wares were distributed at first by the maker and then, as the business grew, by peddlers, a method that many persons living can still recall and that is also familiar to students of Medieval and Modern European history. Thus a wider mart was opened up and an experience in disposing of their product that was of incalculable value was gained by the manufacturer. The peddlers did not stop with tin; they soon carried a varied assortment of goods: pins, needles, scissors, wooden, bone and ivory combs and buttons, children's books, cotton stuffs, copper and brass wares, hats, shoes, axes, saddlery and paper. At first they travelled on foot with a pack, then they got horses, and finally wagons. Eli Terry would make a dozen clocks and then market them, going through the country on horseback, with a clock in each saddle bag and one on his back. Chauncey Jerome went to Wethersfield to sell about a dozen clocks that he had made. "I hired a man to carry me over there with a lumber wagon, who returned home. I would take one of these clocks under each arm and go from house to house and offer them for sale. The people seemed to be well pleased with them and I sold them for eighteen dollars apiece. This was good luck for me. I sold my last one on Saturday afternoon." Special wagons were made for this traffic. They carried samples displayed prominently and they were sturdily built to stand the roughness of the roads. Sometimes the load cost one or two thousand dollars. These itinerant vendors seem to have covered the whole territory of the United States east of the Mississippi. "I have seen them," says Dwight, "on the peninsula of Cape Cod, and in the neighborhood of Lake Erie; distant from each other more than six hundred miles. They make their way to Detroit, four hundred miles farther; to Canada; to Kentucky; and if I mistake not, to New Orleans and St. Louis." Charles and Hiram Yale in Meriden manufactured metal buttons and tin ware and sent them about the country by peddlers. The proprietors furnished the horse, the wagon and the harness, paid the peddler a salary per month (\$30) and an additional bonus if he sold over and above a certain amount. The peddlers worked at least ten months a year. Trade expanded so that after a time instead of beginning to peddle from the home town, the goods and peddlers were shipped by water to Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia. Then they established themselves at points in the interior where the employer had a store. They peddled from this point as a basis, replenishing their stocks as the need arose. While at first the establishments did not operate continuously throughout the year, after 1800, the traffic had developed to such an extent that constant operation was advisable and the sales department of the industry was pretty well organized.

As far as the fabrication of articles of tin was concerned, Connecticut was in the lead and the towns of New Haven County played an important part in this. Nevertheless, even in Meriden, the number of workmen in a tin plate shop would not average ten. It was still the day of small industrial organizations. The clock industry which is today so important in



(Courtesy of Waterbury Chamber of Commerce)

MOVEMENT FACTORY OF THE WATERBURY CLOCK COMPANY,
WATERBURY, 1873-1876



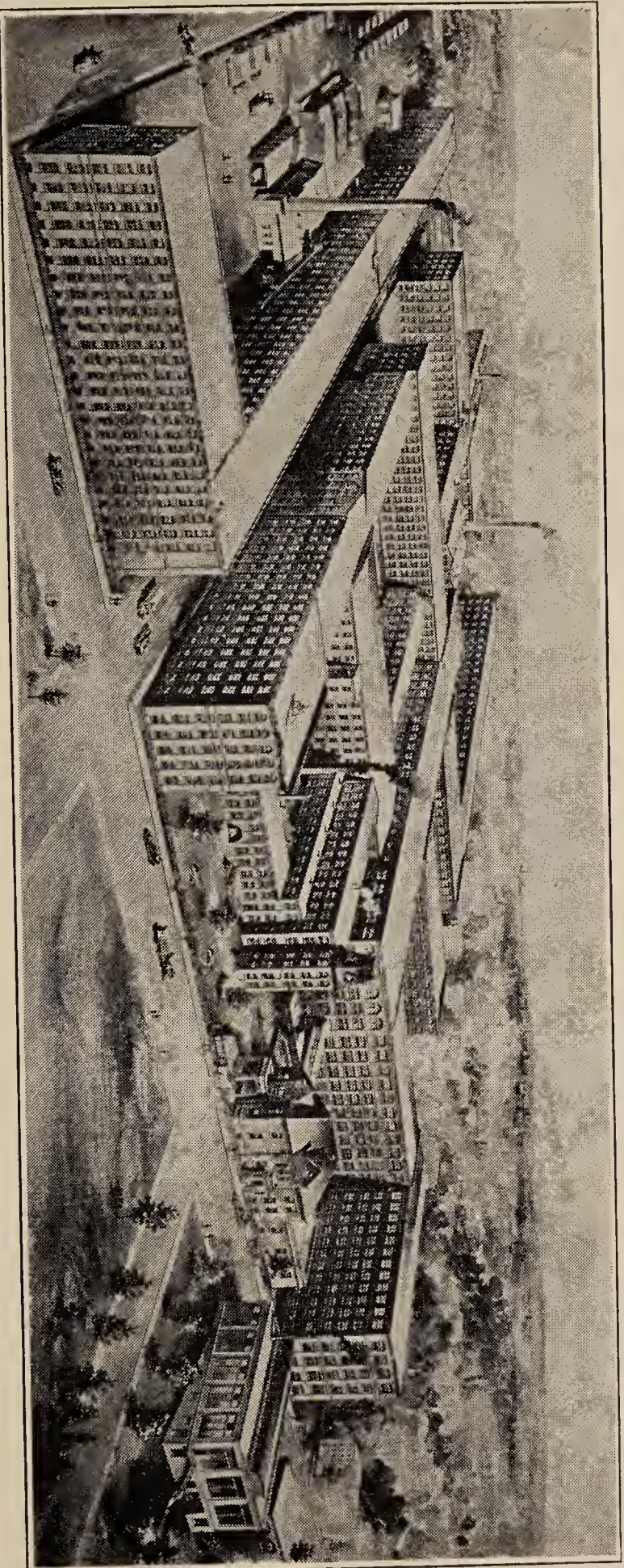
(Courtesy of Waterbury Chamber of Commerce)

CASE FACTORY OF THE WATERBURY CLOCK COMPANY,
WATERBURY, 1873-1876

New Haven and Waterbury began similarly in a modest way. In 1793 Eli Terry began to make clocks in Plymouth in a small shop with several workmen. For years he sold them himself, peddling as we have seen. Seth Thomas, who built up Thomaston, was a carpenter and cabinetmaker who worked for Terry and then became his partner. Chauncey Jerome was a carpenter who first worked for Terry and then branched out for himself. He moved his shop first to Bristol in 1817 and in 1845 to New Haven.

The great brass manufacturers of the Naugatuck valley commenced similarly on a small scale with the fabrication of buttons and buckles in colonial days. In 1750 James Allen was making brass buttons and knee and shoe buckles in Waterbury, a small town of some hundreds. Joseph Hopkins, a silversmith, was making silver buckles. Pewter buttons were being made by Henry Grilley in 1790 in his home. Abel and Levi Porter formed with Henry Grilley and his two brothers the firm of Abel Porter and Company. They began to manufacture buttons from sheet brass. Their factory was a private dwelling, another example of the household stage of industry. They had learned the process from an Englishman in Boston. At first they cast the button in a mould and put in the eye later by hand. These workers, however, soon devised a better way; they inserted a piece of wire to serve as an eye. They obtained copper by buying old stills, sugar boilers, kettles, and the like, cast this material in ingots, took them to Litchfield where they were rolled in an iron mill into sheets. In 1820 an English immigrant entered their employ. He was a skilled brass workman and introduced many improvements into the process. None of the partners had much capital. They employed nine workmen and labored themselves in the shop.

The metal button manufacture was of profound importance, for out of it grew the brass industries of the whole valley. Various other men, too, it must be remembered, were making buttons at the same time. The proprietors were not merely managers and directors as they are today. They labored with their own hands side by side with their workmen. They had in addition to organize the sale of the product, in person and through peddlers. They worked long hours, each day, twelve or thirteen in summer, eight or nine in winter. The hours were fewer in the winter season because artificial lighting was poor; they had no gas even and the lamp lighting was inefficient; it was also expensive. The difficulties of marketing on a great scale handicapped for years the expansion of industry. Often they had to arrange loans on only their personal credit. Banking facilities were wholly inadequate for the financing of industry. Often the manufacturers labored all day and then attended to financial details at night. Says Anderson, writing about Waterbury, "Mechanical pursuits had not then reached a success which commanded credit, and the financial difficulties of conducting business with a limited capital were very great and involved much hard work and constant anxiety. And for many years failure rather than success was the rule."



(Courtesy of Waterbury Chamber of Commerce)

THE WATERBURY CLOCK COMPANY, WATERBURY, 1929

In 1817 Daniel Hayden rented a room and therein began to manufacture lamps and other articles of brass. In 1795 Mark Leavenworth began to make axes, steelyards, ramrods, bayonets, at Waterbury and other small articles in steel and iron. About 1790, James Harrison began to make wooden clocks on a small scale. He made them in a single room where also he manufactured accessories for spinning wheels, window shades and chests of drawers. After 1800 he made the first application of water power to drive machinery in Waterbury. Its scale may be seen from the fact that the work shop was seven feet by nine. The water was carried in a log pipe. In 1814 there were four clock factories in Waterbury and the village came to be known as a clock making town. In 1784 there was a paper mill in the city of New Haven. In 1789 a cotton mill was established in Westville to which the state granted a subsidy of \$3,000, and there was, too, some calico printing. In 1794, John Cook was making carriages in New Haven, the earliest of whom there is a record. In the first decade of the nineteenth century several shops were engaged in this industry, but the total product did not exceed \$30,000 in value. There was also a carpet factory producing goods of excellent quality. Some of the weavers came from Scotland. It failed, however, because of foreign competition. There was an axe factory of some size; for it contained several forges for 12 forgers and 12 strikers. It had large grindstones and emery wheels. It, too, failed in the crisis of 1837.

Another article that began in a small way as a household industry was pewter and britannia ware. About 1750 amalgams of pewter and britannia began to be made in this county. In 1800 there were several shops producing pewter wares in Meriden and Wallingford. Spoons, plates, platters, porringers and the like were made. They were sold in adjoining towns and distributed further by peddlers. Pewter is a mixture of tin and lead in proportions of four to one. It had to be cast, for it could not be rolled in the form desired, and then it was smoothed and polished by the lathe and hand tools. The goods were sold first in adjoining towns and then were more widely distributed by the useful though maligned peddler. About 1808, Ashabel Griswold of Meriden began to manufacture pots and spoons of britannia ware. He had learned the trade from a Captain Danforth of Rocky Hill, who also taught it to Charles and Hiram Yale at Wallingford. Britannia is a mixture of tin, lead, and antimony, is capable of a high polish and thus presented an attractive appearance. In 1815 the Yale brothers moved to what is today the town of Yalesville on account of the water power, erected larger buildings and secured workmen and improved processes from England. While britannia was harder and took a higher polish than pewter, the antimony present sometimes formed a poisonous compound. The teapots were cast in two halves and then soldered together; similarly, the spout and the handle were cast separately and then soldered to the body. Often the solder melted and the pot fell apart. So pewter while not so good looking had certain other advantages that made people continue to de-

mand it. Meriden and Wallingford thus had shops producing pewter and britannia. Ivory and wooden combs were also made.

Maltby Fowler was a cooper at Northford and built the first four-wheeled vehicle in Connecticut. Later he began the manufacture of buttons and pocket combs, of bone, ivory, horn and wood. He is said to have kept four peddlers on the road.

Such was the way in which industry began in New Haven County.

Two other cases of early manufacturing must here be again noted because they are so celebrated and yet they are not typical of the beginnings of our manufacturing,—that is, the cases of General Humphreys and Eli Whitney. The former with his woollen factory in Seymour and the latter with his gun factory in Hamden had comparatively elaborate establishments for the time. These were set up by the investment of large quantities of capital, but no other early plants started in this manner, and it may be observed that neither was the organization out of which grew any of the greatest establishments of later times.

We have now considered the general character of the origins of the industry of New Haven County. Let us survey the progress that had been made by the year 1819, the date of the issue of the *Gazetteer*, compiled by Pease and Niles. Nearly forty years had passed since the British had retired leaving us free from their restrictions on our manufacturing. The artificial stimulus to our factories due to the War of 1812 will have disappeared and we shall view a normal growth. The population has grown but slowly, from 30,830 in 1790 to 39,616 in 1820. Broadly speaking, the impression received from a study of Pease and Niles is that while there is considerable household industry and manufacturing in a small way, the chief interest of the county was trade, not manufacturing. Lathrop reached the same conclusion with reference to Waterbury alone. Speaking of the peddlers, he says: "In 1850 their stock in trade was clocks, copper, tin and brass wares, hats, shoes, combs, axes, buttons, saddlery and paper. These wares were even then generally made in small quantities in small establishments with limited capital, but the aggregate of production was large." Undoubtedly thirty years before 1850 the aggregate of production would hardly be characterized as "large." Miss Fuller concludes for the state: "We have no figures in Pease and Niles as to the aggregate value of manufactures (for the state) and the figures of the census of 1820 are known to be inaccurate. * * * It must be remembered, however, that in those days many things were classed as 'manufactures' that would not now be so classed. We know in what towns manufacturing had begun. These were * * * and the towns of the center of the state, where industry was diversified: * * * Meriden, Wallingford, New Haven * * * Waterbury and Derby. Between Waterbury and Derby the Naugatuck valley, now almost completely given over to the brass and rubber industries, was purely rural. * * * Not preeminent in anything (in manufacturing) was New Haven. Within these towns there were doubtless a number of small vil-

lages where a considerable proportion of the people were employed more or less continuously at manufacturing for a market, but we cannot assert that in any town (that is, township) enough people were employed in manufactures to permit us to call it a manufacturing town." In other words, manufacturing was not, she thinks, the predominant interest.

The comments of the *Gazetteer* itself are in harmony with such a conclusion. "From the maritime situation of the county, its advantages for commerce are very essential; and its commercial interests are more extensive and important than those of any other section of the state." "The manufacturing establishments of the county are not numerous; yet there are some very important and upon a large scale; and there are various mechanical employments, or certain kinds of manufactures that are very respectable and carried on considerably extensively." These large establishments were "the extensive gun factory in Hamden and the large woollen and cotton factories in Derby"—(that is, the factory of General Humphreys at Seymour). The latter were indeed noteworthy for at periods they employed "nearly 200 workmen." Again, "The manufacture of tinware, buttons and clocks which is carried on extensively in the northern part of the county and the manufacture of shoes which receives considerable attention in several towns upon the Sound, are the most important there are in the county of New Haven. There are in the county of New Haven, 1 forge, 1 furnace, 1 extensive gun factory, (alluded to above), probably the largest private establishment in the United States, 1 powder mill, 3 oil mills, 4 paper mills, 2 cotton factories, 5 woollen factories, 33 fulling mills and cloth dressing establishments, 30 carding machines and 54 grain mills." When we recall that the fulling, carding, and grain mills were probably small and were used to assist the farmers to prepare their own spun and woven cloth for use and that the grain mills prepared flour and feed for local consumption, the list of manufacturing establishments does not seem imposing. It is striking that Dwight says (1811), "the agriculture carried on within the limits of this city is directed to most of the objects pursued in the husbandry of this country; wheat, rye, maize, barley, oats, flax and grass are the principal products." Now it is true that agriculture within a city is compatible with a considerable degree of manufacturing. But a few years later, Pease and Niles (1819) give an elaborate account of the commerce of New Haven and then remark: "The aggregate of mechanical industry of this town is very great and has always been encouraged; being justly regarded as an important auxiliary to commerce and as essentially contributing to the general prosperity." Such a description does not indicate that the chief interest of New Haven was manufacturing or even that it was a major concern of the citizens. These authors include a list of occupations, stores, businesses, and the like. As manufacturers, we might include 1 hat factory, 6 saddle and harness makers, 6 cabinet and furniture makers, 4 chair makers, 18 blacksmiths, 8 chaise and wagon makers some of which carry on the business upon an extensive scale, 2 leather

dressers, 2 morocco dressers, 2 distilleries, 8 tanneries, 1 nail factory, 1 cotton factory, 1 powder factory, and just across the line of Hamden the Eli Whitney Arms Factory. Not many in this list would manufacture goods for a market outside the town. This is primarily local industry. There are also 17 boot and shoe factories—probably cobblers' shops.

Besides New Haven there was Humphreysville, (today Seymour). It was primarily a manufacturing town through the initiative of General Humphreys. The whole village was built upon the woolen and cotton factories that he had created. Meriden is described by Pease and Niles as "a small village * * * consisting of a Post Office, a Congregational Church, about 30 dwelling houses and a number of mechanics' shops. * * * It has been estimated that there are from 20 to 40 persons that are constantly employed in vending the wares that are manufactured in this town." Manufacturing was therefore the heart and soul of Meriden, but the village and the scale of production were still in the formative stage. According to the same authors, Wallingford had "1 woolen factory, 2 tin ware factories, 2 button factories, 2 metal spoon factories. The tinware, buttons and other articles are mostly sent abroad for a market and not only promote industry at home but enterprise abroad." Yet the description betokens rudimentary industry, as does the report on Waterbury though the latter appears to be a manufacturing center, which is temporarily in eclipse. They remark, "The seeds of manufactures were sown in this country during the war; and however they may have since declined or may languish at the present time (1819) they cannot be exterminated. Hence the small manufacturing establishments of this town have maintained themselves. They consist of 1 woolen factory, 4 button factories, 3 of metal and one of ivory and 2 clock factories." Miss Fuller's conclusion concerning the state would seem to be justified as far as this county was concerned, that about 1820, the industry of the county was nascent, inferior to other occupations, merely outlined in its evolution, despite the existence of a prosperous cloth manufacturing center like Humphreysville and an important gun factory like that of Eli Whitney.

When, however, one turns to the survey, Tyler's Statistics of 1845, a different picture appears. There are four salient characteristics: firstly, the astonishing increase in the variety of goods that are now manufactured; secondly, the multiplication of the number of establishments that make the same product; thirdly, the increase in the total value of the product and fourthly, the increase of the capitalization of the companies. These four facts show the great growth that has occurred. Probably it is true as Miss Fuller concludes that New Haven County, like Connecticut, as a whole, was not yet primarily industrial in its interests. But its trade of the early nineteenth century type had declined; agriculture had begun to deteriorate while manufacture had steadily expanded and to manufacturing the future seemed to belong.

Another change that occurred between the dates 1818 and 1845 was the firm establishment of the factory system that made possible the large

scale production of modern times. This system means the large use of machinery, assembled in a building specially erected for this purpose; hence, too, the application of mechanical power on a considerable scale, the separation of the employer from the employee and the investment of larger amounts of capital. In 1818, it would be fair to say that the prevailing type of manufacturing was that of the "household" system. That is, there was the employer, five or six workmen or fewer, a little machinery, which was set up in part of the "capitalist's" house, or in a special building in his yard, with some application of mechanical power; the whole thing was on a very small scale. There was very little distinction between laborer and capitalist; they worked side by side. While technically such an organization was a factory, practically it belonged to the stage of household industry. A large and varied product can however be produced under these conditions. Such was the organization of industry in 1819. There were exceptions: Eli Whitney's gun factory; the cloth mills in Humphreysville; perhaps one or two of the carriage factories in New Haven. Their scale of production, the variety and amount of their machinery place them in a different class. But they were not typical of industry at this date.

In 1845 there was a new manufacturing world. There remained a lot of manufacturing on the household scale, with one to five employees and but little capital invested. They were all over the county. They made a great variety of goods: plows, hoes, axes, tin ware, eyelet rings, combs, steelyards, locks, wagons, harnesses, saddles, paper boxes, flynets, clock cases, furniture, leather. Ready-made clothing and boots and shoes were the greatest industries of this sort. Cobblers made all the boots and shoes. But the bulk of the goods produced in 1845 were made in establishments on a somewhat bigger scale. The factory buildings were larger, not to be confounded with a dwelling house or a shop in the yard; more machinery and more power were employed, the number employed in many factories was greatly increased, the capital invested was larger, the employer was less of a laborer and more of the entrepreneur. The gulf between him and his workmen had widened and deepened. Of course the number of employed in any factory was not yet high, measured by modern standards. Our statistics give only the number of establishments and the total number of employees. Ordinarily therefore we cannot tell the number of workmen in the individual shops. Chauncey Jerome, we know, had 90 in his clock shop; the copper mill in Derby had 40. Six factories of latches and door handles employed 145 workmen; 11 brass factories employed 233; 3 pin factories employed 140; 68 factories of coaches and wagons employed 580 workmen. The average was not high. Some of them must have had forty or fifty laborers. The average was so much higher than in 1819 that it is fair to say that a new system had supervened, the factory rather than the household system. Great changes impended: increase of capital invested, in machinery, in mechanical power, in scale of production. But the fundamental shift from the little

shop in the dwelling or the yard to the separate edifice which is the modern factory was made in the period 1819-1845. The factory system was established.

There is also a great increase in the number of manufacturing concerns. They were by no means all permanent; they indicate a growing interest in manufactures. The capital of firms increased. The firm that became later Benedict and Burnham in Waterbury was organized in 1812. In 1813 it had a capital of \$6,500; in 1827 its capital was increased to \$13,000; in 1829 to \$20,000; in 1834 to \$40,000; and in 1840 to \$100,000. The Scovill firm had in 1827 a capital of \$20,000. It remained at this figure till the reorganization in 1850, when it jumped to \$200,000. Brown and Elton, another great firm in Waterbury, had a capital in 1832 of \$9,000; in 1837 of \$40,000 and in 1838 of \$75,000. The American Pin Company was established in 1846 with a capital of \$50,000. In Meriden, which had a population in 1845 of about 3,000 (3,559 in 1850), the firm of Julius Pratt and Company had a capital invested of \$80,000, and Walter Webb and Company in the same town had a capital invested of \$60,000. Both of these firms manufactured ivory combs and produced annually goods valued at \$140,000.

New manufacturing centers were established. Through the special efforts of Anson G. Phelps and Shelton Smith manufacturing was developed at Derby-Birmingham. About 1836 factories had been established there as follows: one for making sheet copper and copper wire, one for augers, one for making carriage springs and axles, one for nails or tacks, one for flannels and satinets. In 1838 the Howe Manufacturing Company had begun to make pins; they also used the automatic device for sticking them in paper. This latter invention gave this company and the American Pin Company (organized in 1846) which used it also, control of the pin market. In 1845 the town of Ansonia was established by the transfer thither and further development of the great copper and brass interests of Anson G. Phelps. Thus new firms, new towns, additional capital appeared. Some influence of foreign processes of manufacture and of foreign skilled artisans should be noted. In 1824, Aaron Benedict, who was manufacturing brass buttons in Waterbury, began to roll his own brass. He imported English machinery, steel rolls larger than anything yet seen in this country. He was unable to compete successfully with the English because the process of gilding the button cost him three dollars a gross while in England it only cost six cents a gross. The Scovill firm, faced with the same difficulty, employed James Croft, an Englishman, who taught them the secret of giving the desired tint to the buttons at the cheap English rate. Croft was also sent to England and brought back improved machinery. He brought, too, an English tool maker. From this time the button industry had nothing to fear from foreign competitors and an era of expansion set in. The firms of Benedict and Scovill henceforth rolled their own brass and produced it in quantities at low rates. It became available for use in the development of allied in-

dustries, viz., tubing, wire, pins, buttons, hooks and eyes, and the like. The existence of cheap brass stimulated the development of new products of this sort. About 1840, William Smith and William Wallace, English immigrants, came to Derby. They were expert wire drawers. Later, Wallace with his sons set up a small brass company in Ansonia which in the course of time grew to mammoth proportions. During this period, also, about 1837, Chauncey Jerome established a branch factory of his clocks in New Haven city. After his factory in Bristol had been burned, he moved the whole plant here in 1845 and thus a new thriving industry was attracted into the county. The fabrication of German silver was also started. Robert Wallace was making spoons of pewter and britannia ware in Cheshire. He purchased a bar of new metal whose composition was unknown to him, had it rolled into a sheet at Waterbury and then made spoons from it. Later he bought the formula for the new metal from an Englishman for \$25.00. It was an alloy of zinc, copper and nickel and could be rolled. This was the metal which we know as German silver. It was produced at Taunton, Mass., at about the same time. The metal was harder and more durable than pewter or britannia; the materials composing it were easily available here as well as the machinery to roll it. Consequently it was not expensive and could readily be produced. Wallace at once established a factory at Wallingford to exploit his find and the factory soon grew to considerable proportions. In 1845, Wallingford produced 2,033 gross of German silver spoons that were valued at \$35,000. The capital invested amounted to \$15,000, and there were 18 employees. Of white metal spoons, 5,255 gross were manufactured, valued at \$15,710; the factory had a capital of \$2,700 and employed 13 men. Thus another closely related product began to be made from part of the same materials as brass and by the use of some of the same machinery. It increased the variety of goods and appealed to a wider market. In 1837 a legal element entered into the expansion of manufactures, the famous Connecticut Joint Stock Law. It has been pronounced one of the best, perhaps the best law of that kind ever enacted. The provisions have been widely copied by nearly all of the English speaking legislatures of the world. Edward Everett Hale said of it: "There is our modern system of associated work, organized in our several states under what we call general corporation acts; * * * It came to life in the state of Connecticut in 1837. It was copied here; it was copied there. It is now in force in some form or other in almost every state of the Union." The bill was drawn up by Theodore Hinsdale of Winchester. As he was a Yale man, part of the intellectual equipment was due to New Haven County, but it would be difficult to trace any of the provisions to his residence in New Haven. However, Green Kendrick, manufacturer of Waterbury, is said to have had a hand in framing that law. The statute made available for investment in manufacturing undertakings capital that was in the hands of hundreds and thousands of people that could not in the nature of the case take a direct share in the business. It

would be impossible to show how great an influence this law had on manufacturing before 1845 in New Haven County; no doubt it was but little. As time went on, however, its influence was profound. Without it, the expansion of industry that resulted from the addition of a continual flow of capital would have been impossible.

Let us now present some of the facts of the survey of 1845 for the county as a whole.

Number of Establishments in New Haven County, 348; Capital Invested, \$2,343,070; Value of Products, \$4,138,338; Number of Employees, 4,371.

There are certain other industries concerning which the *Statistics* of Tyler omit, sometimes the amount of capital invested, sometimes the number of establishments engaged in that industry. Such are boots and shoes, straw hats, woodenware, brooms, tobacco, building stone and some others. Including these we get a total valuation of the goods produced of \$4,743,826, with 5,932 employees.

The most important of the industries may be grouped as follows:

Industry	Number of Establishments	Capital Stock	Value of Products	Number Employes
Small hardware—				
butts, hinges, door latches, carriage springs, augers, bolts, tacks and brads, etc.	27	\$301,700	\$502,556	513
Miscellaneous Iron—				
machinery, pig iron, engines and boilers, implements, springs and axles, etc.	39	351,724	457,563	423
Cutlery	3	27,000	49,000	93
Cotton Mills	5	56,000	78,388	113
Woollen Mills	8	85,500	240,092	144
Copper factory	1	100,000	275,000	40
Brass factories	11	398,000	599,450	233
Fire arms factory	1	20,000	28,000	30
Britannia ware	15	35,600	91,157	88
Buttons	26	173,700	322,580	502
Paper	4	85,000	113,000	58
Clocks	3	43,500	117,240	106
Pins	3	40,000	160,000	140
Carriages, wagons, sleighs	50	343,700	643,530	577
Saddles, harnesses, trunks	34	28,660	76,741	75
Tin factories	23	85,600	172,850	152
Combs	7	154,200	191,389	110
Chairs and cabinet ware	25	46,000	87,080	109
Hooks and eyes	—	44,500	45,500	60
Paints	—	60,000	55,000	55

Ships (13 in number) -----	—	—	63,400	92
Tanneries	22	71,600	104,510	62
Flour mills -----	20	29,500	35,130	19
Boots (27,517 pairs)				
Shoes (241,621 pairs)	—	—	265,821	998
India Rubber (suspenders and shoes) -----	8	110,000	301,000	276
Clothing -----	—	—	265,950	566

The chief centers of production were as follows:

New Haven (City)—

	Number of Establishments	Capital Stock	Value of Products	Number of Employes
Small hardware -----	11	\$120,100	\$261,000	231
Miscellaneous				
Iron	15	91,574	119,790	123
Britannia and silver plated ware -----	5	11,000	36,200	45
Carriages, etc.	24	287,600	553,400	460
India rubber (suspenders) --	1	14,000	36,000	100
Saddle, trunks and harnesses --	—	24,500	66,053	59
Clocks -----	1	40,000	105,000	90
Chairs and Cabinet	9	26,050	64,800	71
Tanneries -----	6	29,600	54,500	27
Shipbuilding (1 ship, 100 tons)	—	—	6,000	16
Boots and shoes ----- (55,115 pairs)	—	—	153,111	548
Clothing -----	—	—	238,350	481

Hamden—

Fire arms factory -----	1	20,000	28,000	30
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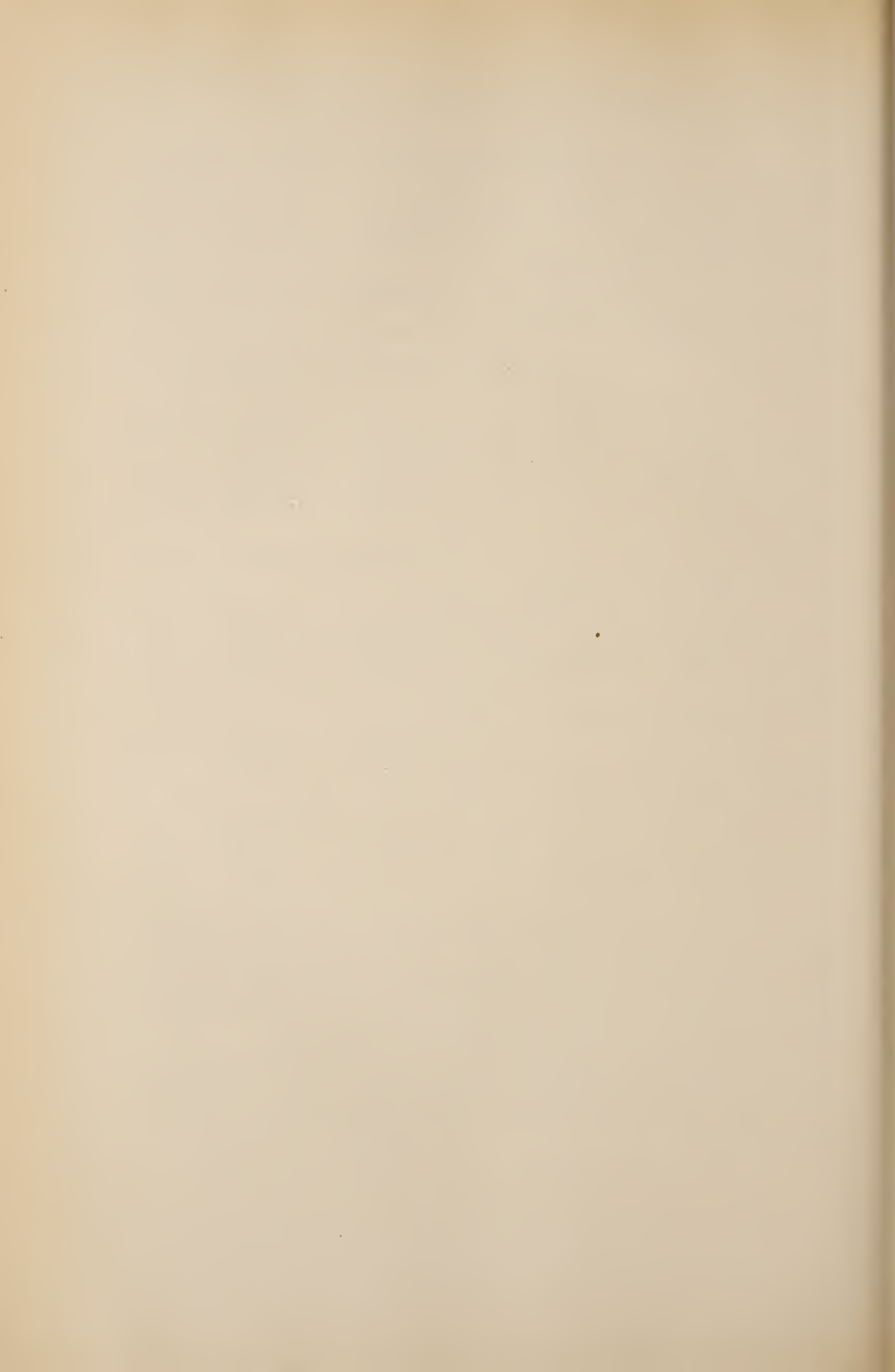
Derby—

Small hardware -----	2	99,500	95,500	112
(Tacks and brads)	1	35,000	35,000	28
Miscellaneous iron -----	4 (or more)	111,000	123,200	117
Copper factory	1	100,000	275,000	40
Pins -----	1	60,000	60,000	70
Hooks and eyes	—	45,000	44,000	70
Tanneries -----	3	18,000	24,880	12
Paper -----	2	20,000	28,000	18
A group entitled "All other articles manufactured" -----	—	171,200	168,765	244

	Number of Establishments	Capital Stock	Value or Products	Number of Employees
<i>Meriden—</i>				
Small hardware	8	\$26,700	\$47,400	65
Miscellaneous iron	6	34,600	65,000	75
Light metal wares, cutlery, tinware, britannia ware	14	78,500	186,600	183
Brass wares, brass founding, buttons, combs	6	160,200	220,750	120
<i>Naugatuck—</i>				
Machinery	1	9,000	12,000	17
Brass—Buttons, umbrella trimmings	10	20,150	33,640	90
India rubber	2	57,000	120,000	78
Cotton mill	1	20,000	23,500	23
Woollen mill	1	40,000	110,000	34
<i>Wallingford—</i>				
Miscellaneous iron	5	17,400	20,225	20
Light metal wares—cutlery, tinware, britannia ware, German silverware	4 (incomplete)	27,700	86,617	60
Brass—Pins, combs, etc.	4	21,800	24,839	50
Boots and shoes (11,095 pairs)—		4,000	10,770	38
<i>Waterbury—</i>				
Small hardware—Butts, hinges, spoons	1	25,000	45,000	25
Light metal wares—Cutlery	3	11,000	45,000	49
Brass—Brass and copper foundries, rolling and wire mills, buttons, pins, etc.	17	535,800	846,300	554
India rubber (suspenders)	2	—	63,000	31
Boots and shoes (3,050 pairs)—		—	7,920	22

These statistics show the prime importance of the following: Carriages, clocks, small hardware and iron goods, clothing and boots and shoes in the City of New Haven; of iron goods, copper and brass ware in Derby; of small iron goods, cutlery, tin, britannia and brass ware in Meriden; of buttons and India rubber in Naugatuck of plated ware, tin and the like in Wallingford and of brass and its products in Waterbury.

It is also noteworthy that the Whitney Arms Company has been overtaken by sundry companies that are much younger. It has not developed as its early organization, its capital and the encouragement would have led us to expect.



CHAPTER III

MODERN EXPANSION

The history of the county since 1845 has been characterized by expansion—both in the amount of capital invested and in the value and the variety of the goods produced. The growth has not been uniform in all industries; new ones have continually arisen, others have declined and some have even disappeared. A further development began about 1890 that is still in progress. It was the incorporation of companies of New Haven County in business organizations that had branches scattered about the United States. New Haven industry thus is losing its independence and becoming more a part of nation wide business. Coincident with these changes there has been a decided shift in the population of the county; so that today it is almost entirely urban. Agriculture has steadily declined. So the period since 1845 really has been revolutionary.

In 1845, only two companies had a capitalization that reached \$100,000; the copper factory in Derby of Anson G. Phelps and the Benedict and Burnham Company in Waterbury. But a great change was impending. In 1853, the New Haven Clock Company was formed out of the failure of the unfortunate Chauncey Jerome, with a capital of \$200,000. Leverett Candee and Company had a capital of \$9,000 in 1844 to manufacture under the license of Charles Goodyear. In 1852 the business had developed to such an extent that a joint stock company was organized with a capital of \$200,000 which by 1869 had increased to \$300,000. The Scovill Manufacturing Company was created in 1850 out of various smaller companies and had a capitalization of \$200,000. The Benedict and Burnham Company that had in 1840 the almost unique distinction of a capitalization of \$100,000 had increased it by 1856 to \$400,000. The great firm of Sargent and Company was incorporated in 1864 for \$300,000. These examples of expansion are typical.

The figures given in successive census enumerations tell the same story of expansion for the county.

	Number of Establishments	Capital Invested	Value of Product	Number of Employes
1870	949	\$29,500,000	\$45,000,000	24,000
1900	2,575	100,000,000	134,000,000	58,436
1920	1,601	(not given)	421,000,000	93,967

In addition to the growth of capitalization and of total value, there has been since 1890 an expansion of firms by consolidation, not only with

groups within the county, but also with great organizations without. One of the most important of these mergers was the American Brass Company. The movement which resulted in this merger originated in the Naugatuck Valley because of the concentration of the brass industry there. In 1895 there were six brass mills in Waterbury, and four others in New Haven County—the Ansonia Brass and Copper Company in Ansonia, employing 1,135 hands; Wallace and Sons, in the same place, employing 646 hands; the Seymour Manufacturing Company at Seymour, employing 220 hands; and the Birmingham Brass Company at Shelton, employing 206 hands. There were eight other companies in the United States—one at Torrington (the Coe Brass Company), one at Bristol and five others outside the state. The action that finally resulted in consolidation really started in 1853 when the mills in the valley made perhaps the first trade agreement in the United States to maintain certain prices. Then they went on to make agreements concerning production. From time to time these compacts were abandoned; later new pacts would be made. The next step in the direction of unification was to form a company that should include them all, a very difficult change. Efforts to effect it began as early as 1870. Finally in 1899, these endeavors were crowned with success and the American Brass Company was formed out of the Coe Brass Company of Torrington, the Waterbury Brass Company, and the Ansonia Brass and Copper Company. Within two years, it was joined by the Benedict and Burnham Company and Holmes, Booth and Hayden. Charles F. Brooker, head of the Coe Brass Company, was the first president. While this corporation did not embrace all the brass companies it was, said Lathrop in 1908, “the largest and most important brass making and handling company in the world. It makes more than two-thirds of all the brass used in the United States, besides it handles much brass and various alloys. It uses approximately one-third of all the copper used in the United States and is the largest single consumer of copper in the world. * * * About one-half of its output proceeds from Ansonia, one-third from Waterbury and the remainder from Torrington. * * * The center both of its corporate existence and of its industrial activity is the Naugatuck Valley.” It went on expanding. It bought the Chicago Brass Company in Kenosha, Wisconsin, and the Buffalo Copper and Brass Rolling Mills in Buffalo, New York. In 1917, it had 15,000 employes, a capital of \$15,000,000 and assets of \$40,000,000. It became, says George B. Chandler in 1925, “the largest brass producing organization in the world” and “Connecticut’s largest manufacturing corporation.”

Another big firm, the Scovill Company, became still bigger in 1923 by the purchase of the American Pin Company and the Oakville Company—two great concerns that practically dominated the manufacture of pins. They had both existed in Waterbury since about 1850. In 1925 the Scovill company had a capital and surplus of \$28,500,000 and carried on an annual business of \$35,000,000. The Chase Companies, Incorporated,



(Courtesy of Waterbury Chamber of Commerce)

SCOVILL MANUFACTURING COMPANY, WATERBURY



(Courtesy of Waterbury Chamber of Commerce)

CHASE COMPANIES, INC., WATERBURY

grew out of three companies controlled by the Chase family, all concerned with the production of brass. They had in 1925 a capital of \$10,000,000. Sargent and Company which in 1864 seemed huge with a capital of \$300,000, had in 1929 a capital stock of about \$10,000,000. The Winchester Repeating Arms Company had a working capital, net current assets, of \$7,000,000. These are only some of the largest firms. Consider that alongside them is a host of smaller organizations, each with a capital stock, some rising into the millions, all reflecting the stirring, industrial life of this county. One might mention the Plume and Atwood Manufacturing Company with a capital in 1917 of \$1,250,000; the Randolph and Clowes Company with a capital of \$500,000; the James Swan Company in Seymour, mechanic's tools, with a capital of \$125,000; the Farrel Foundry and Machine Company in Ansonia with a capital of \$3,000,000. The process of consolidation is evident from the decline in the number of establishments from 2,575 in 1900 to 1,601 in 1920.

A further development of consolidation and the most recent consists in the absorption of the companies of the county into larger aggregations of capital in the United States as a whole. The American Brass Company became part of the Anaconda Copper Mining Company and thus became part of an immense national corporation. The United States Rubber Company has absorbed the L. C. Candee Company of New Haven, the Goodyear Metallic Shoe Company and the India Rubber Glove Manufacturing Company, both of Naugatuck. The United Drug Company of Boston recently absorbed the Seamless Rubber Company of New Haven that manufactured hospital rubber goods, hard rubber combs and rubber sundries. The International Silver Company, with a capital of \$20,000,000, has absorbed a host of companies producing silver, silver plate, and britannia were in Meriden, Wallingford and Waterbury in this county as well as companies in places outside.

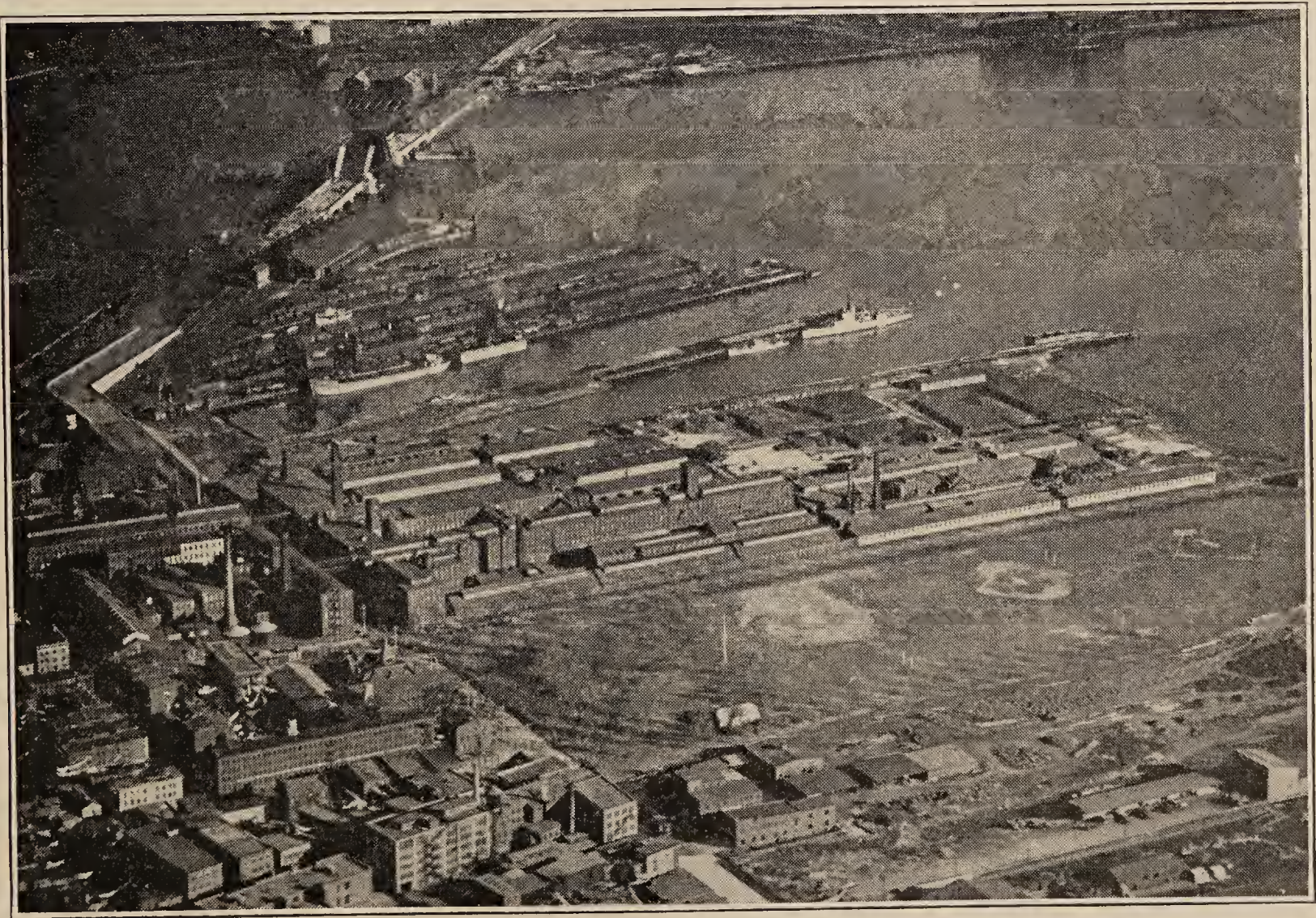
The Winchester Repeating Arms Company is controlled by the Mercantile Securities Corporation, with directors in New York, St. Louis, Boston and Chicago, as well as in New Haven. In this way the identity of some of our largest concerns is being lost in a larger unity. No doubt the local organization may be left in control; nevertheless the direction of policy has passed into the hands of a national body. These industries no longer represent the genius of New Haven County. Thus if the national board considers that the interests of the firm will be better served by closing down the New Haven plant (as happened in the case of the Candee Rubber Company) that policy will be followed. No doubt such a change may be beneficial for the industry as a whole; production and sales costs will be reduced and goods may be cheaper and better. It also means if continued the disappearance of the independent local producer and the dissolution of local government in industry. So consolidation in the economic world seems to precede and further the decline of local government in the political world.

Not all of the industries have been united by any means. Most of the companies continue the old tradition inasmuch as they remain free



(Courtesy of Waterbury Chamber of Commerce)

WATERVILLE PLANT OF THE CHASE BRASS & COPPER CO., INC.,
WATERBURY



(Courtesy of the New Haven Chamber of Commerce)

SARGENT & COMPANY, HARDWARE MANUFACTURERS WITH THE CITY
DOCKS AT THE BEGINNING OF NEW HAVEN HARBOR

from outside control. Such are Sargent and Company, the New Haven Clock Company, in New Haven; Plume and Atwood, the Chase Companies, the Scovill Company in Waterbury; Edward Miller and Company and the Charles Parker Company in Meriden; the Farrel Foundry and Machine Company of Ansonia. The list could be made much longer.

Consolidation and augmentation of capital are therefore the order of the day. It must not however be inferred that the small manufacturing establishment has disappeared. Far from it. Approximately half of the factories in cities of 10,000 and above in the county have a capitalization of \$20,000 and under. They produce, however, it must be admitted, two per cent of the manufactured products according to the census of 1920. If we increase the sweep of our survey to include establishments with a capital of \$100,000, we have (taking into account the depreciation of money) to include companies that possess a smaller real capitalization than those companies that were capitalized at \$50,000 in 1840. This group at present includes approximately 75% of all establishments. Their production ranges from ten per cent of the whole output in New Haven City to two per cent of the whole in Waterbury. It should be noticed further that in cities of 10,000 in 1920 the number of factories owned and operated by private individuals exceeds the number owned and operated by corporations (634 as against 481). The number of wage earners employed by the former is only about three per cent of the number in the employ of the latter (2,781 against 77,597). The relative value of manufactured products tells the same story; \$13,000,000 produced by factories owned and operated by private individuals as against \$364,000,000 produced by corporations, or less than four per cent.

The persistence of the small firm is significant. It shows that the opportunity to manufacture on a small scale remains, that the consolidation of business has indeed resulted in immense growth of output and of greater opportunity for employment of all sorts, but that there remains a place for the small independent producers, though relatively his importance has greatly declined.

Nor has the opportunity of growth been blocked. In 1887, A. H. Wells and Company began to manufacture seamless brass and copper tubing in Waterbury. The company was incorporated in 1907 with a capital of \$50,000. In 1916 this had increased to \$250,000. It employed 160 hands and has had an important expansion. The French Manufacturing Company organized in 1905 with a capital of \$25,000 had increased it by 1913 to \$100,000. It was operated by electric power, and employed 140 workmen. It manufactured brass, copper and aluminum tubing, gauges, piano player hardware and copper electric linings. Such cases are picked at random. They are typical. Any one can find abundant additional evidence of the constant rise of new firms within the covers of Pape's "History of Waterbury."

The growth of production in quantity and variety involves constant fertility in the development of new devices in manufacturing—the inven-

tiveness associated with the Yankee of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. This characteristic is even more true of the period since 1850 than before. For, as we have said, much of the inventiveness was merely the introduction of devices in use elsewhere; either by imitation, or by the employment of workmen from the British Isles. The expansion of production since 1850 is directly dependent upon a host of inventions. It would be futile to try to mention many of them, or even the most typical. We wish merely to illustrate the point by citing a few cases taken at random. These inventions have nothing of the dramatic character of Goodyear's creation of a whole new industry by his inventions connected with rubber; or Eli Whitney's uniformity system; or Howe's invention of the sewing machine, from each of which an entire new industry arose. Yet the group of the new inventions was absolutely essential to the development of our industry.

There was the invention of the Waterbury watch on which D. A. A. Buck took out twelve patents between 1879 and 1885. It was the first cheap watch and a whole succession of inventions led on to the development of the Ingersoll watch of the twentieth century. The American Pin Company originated many automatic processes employed in its manufacture of notions, brass goods, safety pins, and hooks and eyes. Note that the E. J. Manville Machine Company rests upon a series of inventions by Eli J. Manville and that later some automatic machinery for the Ford Automobile Company was designed by this firm. The Ludington Cigarette Machine Company, established in 1909 with a capital of \$50,000 manufactures cigarette and tobacco machinery invented by its founder, F. J. Ludington. Andrew C. Campbell made many inventions, among others, a split cotter pin, a machine to make "see that hump" hooks, in all thirty-six patents between 1880 and 1912. The Bristol Company manufactures all sorts of recording instruments, that are sold the world over. The business rests upon the inventions of W. H. Bristol more than one hundred in number. As Lathrop says, in the passage already cited in another connection, "The records of the Patent Office reveal the fact that the native ingenuity of Waterbury was not in striking evidence till after 1850." The statement would apply perfectly to the whole county.

The remaining parts of the county have also some manufacturing. Branford is noteworthy in this regard. In 1929 it listed malleable iron goods, steel specialties, wire goods and shirts; Cheshire mentions particularly, brass goods; Guilford notes school furniture, iron founding, canned goods and toilet articles. Hamden has a long list of products; like West Haven it is part of the industrial center of New Haven. Milford mentions strip steel, brass fittings, gas meters, windshields, "novelties," rubber substitute, ladies' wearing apparel, and drums; North Haven, carriage woodworking, brick making (an ancient industry) and card printing; Madison, school supplies; Southbury, steel traps, organ springs and tacks. Thus only Bethany, East Haven, Middlebury, North Branford, Oxford, Prospect, Wolcott and Woodbridge are listed in the "Connecticut

Register and Manual" as purely agricultural, and North Branford has important trap rock quarries. Most of these industries have developed because of the proximity of these places to New Haven, Waterbury and Bridgeport. The superb means of communication renders the whole district a single industrial center by making available raw materials, workmen, and selling markets. The villages have no longer the separateness that characterized them a hundred years ago. Manufacture, therefore, is the life of New Haven County. Nevertheless within this small area and with all the influences for uniformity that we have remarked, there remain great diversities.

Not all industries have remained and flourished. Some have not merely vegetated; they have died. The most noteworthy is the carriage manufacture. In 1845 it was by far the most important industry in the county, both as regards capital invested, and also as regards the value of its product. The carriage factories together with those establishments that manufactured accessories (springs, wheels, and carriage hardware) continued to expand till the opening of the twentieth century. A considerable proportion of the product was for export. Carriages were even sent to South Africa and Australia, in part because the New Haven wood would endure hot climates better than the lumber of Europe. The past thirty years have seen the destruction of this flourishing industry, ruined by the automobile, practically by 1910. Curiously enough, the manufacture of automobiles took no root here. At first, automobile bodies were to some extent built here, but the industry followed the manufacture to the West. Chandler quotes the remark of a former carriage builder: "With plenty of capital, no indebtedness, buildings and real estate unencumbered and a fine stock of materials, we are just easing out and, I guess, following the footsteps of many others in New England. A friend of mine once made the statement that manufacturing concerns were like individuals—they had an allotted time and then dropped out of line like human beings." One part of the old business remained; automobile hardware has developed an important firm, the English and Mersick Company. Consolidation of plants sometimes destroyed a local company. Thus the United States Rubber Company closed down the L. C. Candee branch in New Haven (city), a factory that had existed since rubber became a factory product. Boots and shoes had been manufactured on a considerable scale in Guilford and Milford, but that industry has long passed to other localities. Despite these reverses our industry as a whole has grown; testimony to the present industrial genius of the citizens of the county.

Our modern world demands increasing specialization in business, learning, organization. So in products, there is a constant differentiation of things needed, tools, ornaments, equipment of any kind. When a company makes any product on a large scale, it often finds that with an inconsiderable additional effort, similar goods can be produced. Thus, a brass factory fabricates countless things of brass, not a single one



THE ORIGINAL BUILDING WHERE
GEORGE AND MARK TIBBALS STARTED
BUSINESS IN 1828 IN MILFORD

alone. So the American Pin Company in 1885 began to make upholstery trimmings and brass and wire "novelties;" from that stage they went on to the manufacture of brass plumbing goods, bed springs, gas fittings and finally to electric fittings. Concerning the variety of products of the Scovill Company, George B. Chandler in his comprehensive "Industrial History of Connecticut" says, "The diversification of its products is striking. The company specializes in certain exacting products, such as its special bronze, platers' bars for jewelers, reflector brass, high speed free turning rod, improved muntz condenser tubing. Among the products regularly manufactured and carried in stock are various types of machine and cap screws and rivets; uniform and dress buttons and fasteners of every type and description; butts and hinges, wire buckles * * * sewing thimbles. * * * A large number of other articles are made to order for other companies: gas burners and parts of electric wiring devices at the rate of 8,000 pieces per hour; electrical motors for household electrical devices * * * spring motors; valves * * * toilet novelties and containers of every sort * * * bicycle and automobile parts; caps, shells, coins, and medals; screw machine products; munitions; brass and aluminum castings. That even this impressive list is far from comprehensive is shown by the company's estimate that for the last sixty years an average of about a hundred new articles have been added to the output annually."

The variety of the product of the Winchester Repeating Arms Company is equally remarkable. "Their present product," to quote Chandler again, "besides arms and ammunition, includes a wide variety of builders' tools, chisels, hammers, files, screw drivers, planes, saws, auger bits, axes, hatchets, pliers, punches, wrenches, automobile tool kits, pocket knives, kitchen and table cutlery, razors, scissors, roller and ice skates, fishing rods, lines, bait, flies, reels, athletic equipment, flash lights and batteries, and a line of paint and varnish." One could cite equally imposing lists from the records of the American Brass Company, Sargent and Company, the International Silver Company, of Edward Miller and Company and a host of others.

Why therefore did New Haven County not merely make a slight beginning in manufacturing in the first half of the nineteenth century, but also have such a marked development after 1850. In part it was due to the inventions. In addition, there was the other element in the character of the inhabitants because they had the desire and the energy to carry on manufacturing. Location, too, was a factor; not the access to the Atlantic and to the direct route to the markets of Europe, but nearness to New York, the city that became more and more one of the greatest emporiums of the world. Gradually a group of skilled workmen had grown up, who were well paid, who owned their homes and liked their work. The greater part of the special machinery was developed in the factories themselves and this machinery was essential to the manufacture of many of the products. We find, therefore, that the combination of special machinery, skilled workmen, contented employes, all helped retain the

industry in the place of its first habitat. The market was close at hand and the raw materials could easily be brought by rail or water, for the bulk was not great. Finally, the various industries supplement one another; rolled brass for example is essential to the manufacture of brass articles and there was abundance of the former here. These reasons help to explain the rise of industry; they also help to explain its retention in this district when competition had become stronger through the opening of all of the United States by the railroad.

The growth of towns and of manufactures has been at the expense of the rural worker. Ever since 1840, even earlier, we can note the decline of the purely agricultural towns. What increase in population there was in the county was chiefly in the villages and in the city of New Haven. So true is this that some historians have rather magniloquently spoken of the "drift" to the towns before 1840. When however we look at the size of these aggregations of population, such a phraseology seems extravagant. With the advent of the industrial revolution in the decade, 1830-1840, the statement becomes true. A career in the little cities became a possibility and attracted many a country boy. An examination of the life histories of important personalities in the evolution of any of the industrial towns shows that many of them came from the country.

The whole county grew slowly, increasing from 30,830 to 48,582 in the half century from 1790 to 1840, about 60 per cent. During the next half century, it increased to 209,058 or over 300 per cent and has gone on till in 1930 the population is 465,237 as compared with 43,847, just a century ago. These statistics demonstrate how small a factor the old commerce of the county really was. It was bulked large in histories because of its picturesque nature. Yet there was not enough of it to affect the county to any pronounced extent. Not till manufactures developed did New Haven County really begin to expand.

When the immigrants came, they did not congregate solely in the villages and cities. In 1920, 27.3% of the population of the six cities in the county were foreign born while the proportion in the whole county that were born abroad was 28.2 per cent. Consequently the country districts have a higher proportion than the cities. One appeal that the country has made to the foreigner has been truck farming in the vicinity of the towns. While immigrants form as high or higher a proportion of the country population as of the city, yet the city absorbs by far the greater part of the immigrants because of the greater population. Meanwhile the country farming population has been slowly declining since early in the nineteenth century as will be seen by the following figures:

	1820	1830	1840	1850	1860	1870	1880	1890	1900	1910	1920	1930
Bethany -----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	637	550	517	495	411	480
Madison -----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	1814	1672	1429	1518	1534	1857	1908
Middlebury -----	838	816	761	763	664	696	687	566	736	836	1067	-----
N. Branf'd, Branford -----	-----	-----	1016	998	1050	1035	1025	825	814	833	1110	1329
Oxford -----	-----	1763	1626	1564	1269	1338	1120	902	952	1020	998	-----
Prospect -----	-----	651	548	666	574	551	492	445	562	539	266	-----
Woodbridge -----	-----	-----	958	912	872	830	829	926	852	878	1170	1629
Wolcott -----	943	843	633	603	574	491	493	522	581	563	719	-----

These figures are interesting. In general the country towns declined till about 1900 when they again began to increase. Middlebury reached its lowest point in 1890. Bethany reached its low point in 1920 and the recent census shows an increase. Wolcott declined till the decade 1870-1880, and since then has grown.

In this decline, we see no doubt the lure of the city exercised against the difficult farming of these towns. The recent increase in population is not due to a revival of farming, but to the expansion of the urban population, at first through the expansion of the trolley lines and then chiefly by busses and the private automobiles, people going from the city, not alone for the summer, but also for a permanent residence. The magnificent roads, far superior to the famous highways of ancient Rome and better too than are to be found in contemporary Europe, kept free from snow all winter, make it easily possible to live five, ten or fifteen miles from a business center and go back and forth every day. Indeed one can get more quickly from the heart of Waterbury or New Haven to Cheshire today, than a quarter of a century ago he could have gone out to some of the residential districts of that day. Hence we have in part the cause of the growth of rural districts. One disadvantage of a home in the country was the lack of proper schooling facilities, near at hand. This disadvantage only applies to married people between, say, thirty and forty years of age. The children of younger folk are generally too young for school and those of older people are ready for the high or preparatory school and can go in and out of a center with their parent. Even to those who have children in the lower grades, the problem is becoming less acute. More and more districts are combining to have a central school, that has better teaching than could be supplied in the old district school. All children that live at a distance are transported by the school bus. Even in the cities there are school busses. In default of busses, people today carry their children themselves to the desired school, whether they live in the city or in the country. Hence the school problem no longer prevents urban expansion into the country. With hard roads, automobiles, telephones, radios, central heating, electricity with its multifarious mechanical appliances why should any city persons that desire it hesitate to go to the country to live? the question of servants? a hard problem anywhere; and friends? the car solves that problem. The whole shore of the Sound from Hammonasset to the Housatonic has been built up, sometimes five and six streets deep. While people originally went there for the summer only, an increasing number live there throughout the year. All the advantages, material, intellectual and spiritual, are now more easily within the reach of any inhabitant of the county than within the limits of New York City twenty-five years ago. So New Haven County becomes more and more urban. Let us express this fact statistically as a check on the accuracy of our observation. The census officials reckon a group of 2,500 as urban and less than that number as rural. The figures for the last three enumerations that are available illustrate the expansion of the urban population.

	1900		1910		1920	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Urban population -----	221,318	82	290,669	86	340,318	82
Rural population -----	47,845	18	46,613	14	74,896	18

Thus from 1900 to 1910, the rural population actually diminished despite the expansion of trolley lines. The automobile hardly yet played a part in spreading the population and the bus was yet in the future. From 1910 to 1920 the rural population increased 28,283 or 60 per cent. These are not farmers or market gardeners, but city workers that live outside the city, in houses of all sizes and descriptions along the main highways. It would seem as though this figure of 28,283 should for the most part be added to the urban population and raise their proportion to 88 per cent of the total number of inhabitants.

CHAPTER IV

INDUSTRY AND POPULATION

All statistics concerning the population of New Haven County before the first United States census are inexact as they are based merely on estimates. What seems to be true is that there was a gradual growth of population in town and country till about 1800 when all the land that was tillable was brought under cultivation. Emigration had begun before this date, to better lands, in New England, west of the Hudson, and to Pennsylvania, but the emigration did not equal the natural increase of the population. There was no movement of importance from country to city after the records began. The population of the city and the villages was too small to speak of a "drift" from the country to the city.

In 1790, the date of the first census, the county had a population of 30,830. It contained one city, New Haven, that numbered about 4,000. It was thus a county whose interests were primarily rural. From 1790 to 1840, the population increased to 48,582; in the next decade, 1840-1850, it increased to 65,558, a gain in ten years of almost the amount of increase of the preceding half century. During some decades before 1840, the county had hardly grown at all, if one excepted New Haven city, and one or two towns. Thus from 1830 to 1840, the population increased from 39,616 to 43,847, a gain of 4,231. The city grew during the same period from 10,678 to 14,390, a gain of 3,712. Practically the whole gain of the county is represented by the increase of its largest city and town. This increase of 35% in the population of the city is to be attributed undoubtedly to the expansion of manufacturing. The census of 1840 revealed the fact that 1,653 persons in the city were engaged in manufactures and trades, as compared with 180 in agriculture, and 474 in commerce. No doubt a large proportion of the 1,653 persons were connected with stores, or were artisans; nevertheless a look at the survey of 1845 will show a great relative increase in the variety and the amount of manufactured goods. The slowness of growth in the county as a whole reflects the fact that manufactures did not yet dominate the economic situation. The population grew slowly because there was practically no immigration. Immigrants did not come because there was nothing to attract them. So the increase was a natural increase only. At the same time there was emigration. Some towns had begun to decline. By 1800 all the available land had been brought under cultivation. Some of it was mighty poor land. For the young folk there was no new land available.

They began to depart. The census thus reveals the fact that manufacturing had not yet in 1840 advanced enough to offer many places to work to the youth of the county.

In certain towns the population was stationary or had even begun to decline.

	1820	1830	1840	1850
Madison -----	-----	1,809	1,788	1,837
Middlebury -----	838	816	761	763
North Branford -----	-----	-----	1,016	998
Oxford -----	1,683	1,763	1,626	1,564
Prospect -----	-----	651	548	666
Southbury -----	1,662	1,557	1,542	1,484
Wolcott -----	943	843	633	603

These are the pre-eminently rural communities.

From 1840 on, the population of the county grew by leaps and bounds as the following figures will show:

	Population of New Haven County	Percentage of increase of preceding decade
1840 -----	48,582	—
1850 -----	65,558	35
1860 -----	97,345	48
1870 -----	121,257	24
1880 -----	156,523	29
1890 -----	209,058	30
1900 -----	269,163	28
1910 -----	337,282	28
1920 -----	415,214	23
1930 -----	460,984	11

The increase was not uniform throughout the county. Down to 1910, it centered around three districts, New Haven, Meriden and the Naugatuck Valley. This may be illustrated by the following table:

	1840	1850	1860	1870	1880	1890	1900	1910	1920	1930
Bethany -----	-----	914	974	1135	637	550	517	495	411	480
Branford -----	1322	1423	2123	2488	3047	4460	5706	6047	6627	7015
Cheshire -----	1529	1626	2407	2344	2284	1929	1989	1988	2855	3263
East Haven -----	1382	1670	2292	2714	3057	955	1167	1795	3520	7808
Guilford -----	2421	2653	2624	2576	2782	2780	2785	3001	2803	3110
Madison -----	1788	1837	1865	1814	1672	1429	1518	1534	1857	1908
Middlebury -----	761	763	664	696	687	566	736	836	1067	-----
Milford -----	2455	2465	2828	3405	3347	3811	3783	4366	10193	12601
North Branford -----	1016	998	1050	1035	1025	825	814	833	1110	1329
North Haven -----	1349	1325	1499	1771	1763	1862	2164	2254	1968	3732
Oxford -----	1626	1564	1269	1338	1120	902	952	1020	998	-----
Prospect -----	548	666	574	551	492	445	562	539	266	-----
Southbury -----	1542	1484	1346	1318	1740	1089	1238	1233	1093	-----
Woodbridge -----	958	912	872	830	829	926	852	878	1170	1629
Wolcott -----	633	603	574	491	493	522	581	563	719	-----
Totals -----	19,330	20,903	22,961	24,496	24,975	23,051	25,368	27,382	36,657	-----

These fifteen towns increased only from 20,903 in 1850 to 27,382 in 1910. The growth should be slightly greater because part of East Haven was annexed to New Haven and part of Oxford went to Naugatuck, Seymour, and Beacon Falls. Even making allowance for those losses, the population advanced but slowly. From 1910 to 1920, the population of these towns increased by 9,275, more than in the preceding sixty years. This increase comes from the spread of the urban population into the rural districts, due to the hard roads and the automobile.

When we look at the other eleven towns, we see sharply the results of the industrial expansion.

	1840	1850	1860	1870	1880	1890	1900
Derby -----	2851	3824	5443	8020	11650	5969	7930
Hamden	1797	2164	2725	3028	3408	3882	4626
Meriden -----	1880	3559	7426	10495	18340	25423	28695
Naugatuck	—	1720	2590	2830	4274	6218	10541
New Haven -----	14390	20345	39267	50840	62882	86045	108027
Orange	1329	1476	1974	2634	3341	4537	6995
Ansonia -----	—	—	—	2749	3855	10342	12681
Beacon Falls (included because purely industrial)					379	505	623
Seymour -----	—	1677	1749	2122	2318	3300	3541
Wallingford -----	2204	2595	3206	3676	4686	6584	9001
Waterbury -----	3668	5137	10004	13106	20270	33202	51139
Totals	29119	42497	74384	99500	135403	186007	243799
		1910		1920		1930	
Derby -----		8991		11238		10790	
Hamden		5850		8611		19103	
Meriden -----		32066		34764		38452	
Naugatuck		12722		15051		14277	
New Haven -----		133605		162537		162612	
Orange		11272		16614		1527	
West Haven (formed from Orange) -----						25800	
Ansonia		15152		17643		19860	
Beacon Falls -----		1160		1593		—	
Seymour		4786		6781		—	
Wallingford -----		11155		12010		14283	
Waterbury		73141		91715		101107	
Totals -----		309900		378557		407811	

These data show that the population of these towns increased thirteen times from 1840 to 1920. There is clearly a drift from the country to the city. Instead of one small urban center, there are now two great ones, New Haven and Waterbury, and four other thriving centers, Meriden, Naugatuck, Ansonia, Derby, to say nothing of a half dozen smaller industrial towns. The rise of these centers has stayed the emigration to farm

lands outside the county, a movement characteristic of the first half of the nineteenth century, and attracted it into the cities of the county. This is the origin of part of the growth in population. In addition, the opportunities afforded by the new industries drew immigrants from other parts of the state and from outside the state as well. United States census statisticians were struck by this phenomenon and registered the number of citizens born within the state, and the number outside the state, but within the United States. The proportion of the increase that is due to each of these two sources cannot now be statistically determined. If one examines the biographies in town histories, he will find that many of those whose names are commemorated were Americans, but born outside this county. Naturally most of them would be of New England origin. The industrial expansion of New Haven County had therefore as one early result the strengthening of the American strain in the population.

Local immigration, however, was not enough. Some of the newcomers from beyond the sea began to find the way here. Apart from those skilled workmen brought by our early industrialists in the decades from 1820 to 1840, a few others came of their own initiative; some worked on the canal and the railroads. They were not very numerous. In the forties more came in such numbers that the census takers began to take account of them. The census of 1850 records that there were 38,518 inhabitants of foreign birth in the state at a time when the total population of the state was 370,792, more than 10 per cent. However, the statisticians did not consider the question of sufficient general interest to publish the number of this group in each county of the state. From that time on the number of foreign in this county has steadily increased, as will be seen from the following table:

	Population of the County	Foreign Born
1860-----	97,345-----	22,343-----
1870	121,257	29,842
1880-----	156,523-----	37,321-----
1890	209,058	57,730
1900-----	269,163-----	77,470-----
1910	337,282	105,580
1920-----	415,214-----	117,354-----

If we add the number of those that have one or both parents of foreign birth, we see two things: the very large proportion of our population that have foreign blood in them and the process of amalgamation of the newcomers with the original inhabitants. Thus in 1920, there were 171,288 persons, native born, with one or both parents of foreign extraction. Adding to this number the foreign born population of 117,354, we get a total of 288,642 persons out of a total population of 415,214, or 70 per cent that are of foreign birth or one or both of whose parents were of foreign birth. Such is the infusion of non-American elements into our society.

When the immigration began, it came chiefly from the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, Canada (the English part) and Germany; the other elements were negligible. Thus in 1870, the total foreign born were 29,842, divided as follows: Ireland 19,261; England and Wales 3,672; Scotland 711; Germany 3,906; Canada 1,089; France 219; Switzerland 140; Sweden and Norway 88; Austria 57; Denmark 24. Almost exactly two-thirds came from Ireland, the majority from the South. In 1920 a remarkable change had occurred. The total foreign born amounted to 117,354, four times the number recorded in 1870. They came from the following countries: Italy 32,696; Ireland 15,975; Russia 14,997; Poland 10,971; Germany 7,731; England 6,427; Lithuania 5,627; Sweden 3,563; Austria 2,910; French Canada 2,828; other Canada 2,828; Scotland 2,239; Hungary 1,754; Greece 921; France 831; Switzerland 435; Norway 371; Syria 293. The immigrants from Slavic countries (Russia, Poland, Lithuania) amounted to 31,595, about a quarter of the whole number of foreign born: from Italy, a little more than a quarter; from Ireland about a seventh; from Great Britain and the Teutonic countries (English Canada, Germany, Austria, Sweden, Norway, Denmark) there are 26,069, or about a quarter of the whole, and the rest scattering. The change consists, not in the reduction of the foreign born population from Northern Europe, for that has increased, but in the addition of a great influx of immigrants from Slavic and Mediterranean countries, so that they now constitute more than half of our foreign population. The records indicate only the country of nativity of the immigrant. A large proportion of the newcomers from the Slavic countries are of the Hebrew faith. The development of manufactures has therefore profoundly modified the character of our population.

The development of industry has also caused a great increase in the application of power to manufacturing. In the eighteenth century, man power and horse power were beginning to be supplemented by water power. The lathes that polished pewter and britannia ware were propelled by foot power or hand power. Charles and Hiram Yale were using horse power for this purpose in their factory at Wallingford about 1815. Soon this became inadequate with the growth of business and a new factory was erected at Yalesville to take advantage of the water power there. In 1832 Charles Parker began to manufacture coffee mills in Meriden, using horse power. About 1840, the Edward Miller Company commenced the fabrication of lamp trimmings and used foot and horse power. All through the early part of the nineteenth century, the employment of water was spreading. The era of the forties and fifties saw it supreme. The branches of the Naugatuck, the Housatonic, the Mill and Quinnipiac were the chief sources. Eli Whitney's rifle factory was run by water power. Seymour, Derby, Yalesville were all aided by the dams erected to create additional power. "So," says Miss Fuller, "there is excellent water power; there are steep drops; behind the rivers were inexhaustible reservoirs in wooded hills and lakes, so that the mills could be run by water power all

the year round." The experience gained in the customary grist, saw and fulling mills was valuable in the new factories.

The expansion of business outstripped the resources furnished by water power. The increasing facilities for transportation afforded by steam on land and sea opened a wider market and an increasing demand for the goods of this county. It stimulated greater production and men turned to steam for additional power. Moreover, steam had the advantage that a factory using a steam engine could be set up anywhere near a railroad which would transport the necessary coal. This evolution began in the forties. In 1844, Charles Parker introduced a steam engine into his coffee mill factory, substituting it for horse power. This was the inception of steam power in Meriden. In 1850 the Scovill plant added a steam engine of 125 horse power to its existing water power in Waterbury. In 1851 Brown and Brothers in Waterbury began to use steam power to roll brass. They were the first company in this country to use steam power for this purpose. George P. Newhall began the manufacture of carriages in 1851 in New Haven; for the first time in this branch of manufacturing, he employed steam power. In 1854 the New Haven Steam Saw Mill Company was organized with a capital of \$50,000 and an engine of 250 horse power installed. When sawmills that for generations had employed water power turned to steam, the age of water must indeed be passing. The census of 1870 revealed a great change. There were 253 water wheels reported with a total horse power of 7,252; there were 225 establishments using steam power that generated 8,000 horse power.

Since this date the use of both has expanded, but steam has outstripped water. New sources of power have come: gas and oil in the internal combustion engine and electricity, the latter also making some use of water.

The census returns of 1920 show the minor part now played by water power. The total amount of power generated in the county was 211,692 horse power. For the six cities of New Haven, Waterbury, Meriden, Ansonia, Naugatuck and Derby, power was produced as follows:

	Horse power
By steam engines -----	102,108
By internal combustion engines	2,914
By water power -----	2,747
By electric motor	98,725

CHAPTER V

THE INDUSTRIAL TOWNS

New Haven. One thinks perhaps at first of New Haven as one of the great educational centers of the world, the seat of Yale University. Its prime distinction in the world of learning has somewhat obscured the fact that it is an important industrial center. It has always been a prominent place. First, as one of the original settlements, and the mother of others; then, as one of the capitals of the colony and state, it played a distinguished part in politics and was the leading city of the state. In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, its foreign commerce and its shipping were worthy of remark. Part of this prosperity was factitious, due to the great European war of that time. The return of peace in 1815 dealt the trade of New Haven a deadly blow. The decline of the West Indian market was another unfortunate coincidence. The conditions therefore which had helped to build up the commerce of the city suddenly changed; it might have been expected that the little city would gradually lose step with the advancing march of trade and wealth in the state and nation. Its population, however, grew at a more rapid rate than that of the county as a whole. In the decade, 1800-1810, more than half of the increase of the county was in New Haven. Even in the bad decade, 1810-1820, when the war closed, the rate of increase continued. By 1840, it had 12,960 inhabitants in addition to 1,430 more in the town outside the city limits. How then shall we account for this continued growth? In part it was due to a continuance of some trade with the West Indies; in part too to its position as a shipping point for agricultural produce destined for the rising metropolis, New York, and in part to some development of a new source of wealth, manufacturing.

This last advance was of the utmost significance for this it was that made possible a new and greater New Haven; without it the city would have remained a small affair. It was not a city of a single line of manufacture. There flourished Jerome's clock factory; 24 coach, wagon, and sleigh factories and related to them 7 saddle, trunk and harness factories and 4 carriage spring, step and bolt factories; 6 tanneries, allied with them the manufacture of 137,349 pairs of shoes and 17,766 pairs of boots, employing 538 men and women; another line was that of ready made clothing, employing 246 men and 235 women, producing goods valued at

\$238,350. Then there were factories producing silver plated ware, india rubber suspenders, pig iron, hardware, and paper.

This variety has always characterized and still does characterize the industry of this city. Along with it seems to go the existence of an unusually large number of small independent manufacturing establishments. Thus in 1920 there were in all 769 manufacturing establishments in the city, employing 30,874 wage earners. Of these, 640 had a capital of less than \$100,000 and 129 had a capital of \$100,000 or more. In Waterbury, according to the same census, there were only 181 establishments with a capital of less than \$100,000, although the number of wage earners and the value of the product in both cities was about the same. The number of small establishments in New Haven was three times that in Waterbury. The proportion holds with reference to all kinds of manufacturing establishments, yet the total number of employees and the value of the product was about equal. The relatively greater significance of the small proprietor in New Haven as compared with Waterbury is revealed by other statistics of the census. In 1919 in New Haven there were 392 establishments owned by individuals and 245 owned by corporations; in Waterbury, 94 were owned by individuals and 127 by corporations.

For employees and value of products, the comparative figures are interesting.

	Number of wage earners in establishments owned by		Value of products in establishments owned by	
	Individuals	Corporations	Individuals	Corporations
New Haven ----	1,822	26,929	\$8,000,000	\$108,000,000
Waterbury -----	220	30,044	1,300,000	128,000,000

While the incorporated companies dominate the industrial situation in both cities, the small independent proprietor is far more of a factor in New Haven than in Waterbury. Nevertheless the great companies have the major part in the industrial evolution of New Haven. There were forty corporations each with a capital of \$500,000 or more. They employed in 1919 four-fifths of the wage earners and produced about three-fourths of the value of manufactured products (\$95,000,000 out of \$125,000,000). The history of this city therefore has seen the steady growth of certain firms. In 1840 all were about on a par. Judged by present standards, all were small companies. In 1843, Charles Goodyear made his successful invention of india rubber. He leased to L. Candee the license to manufacture rubber in the town of New Haven. Out of this company of Leverett Candee, Henry and Lucius Hotchkiss, with a capital of \$6,000 grew L. Candee and Company, till 1927, one of the great rubber corporations of the United States, and later part of the United States Rubber Company. In 1844, Chauncey Jerome set up a branch of his Bristol clock factory in New Haven and the following year, when the Bristol plant burned, he transferred the whole factory here. When this company failed in 1855, the plant was bought by a new company, that has become one of the great industrial organizations of the city, The New Haven Clock Com-



(Courtesy of New Haven Chamber of Commerce)

AERIAL VIEW OF NEW HAVEN

pany. In 1845, the most important industry of the city was the manufacture of carriages and accessories. Destroyed in the twentieth century by the rise of the automobile, the only remnant that has managed to adapt itself to the changed conditions has been the manufacture of automobile hardware by the English and Mersick Company. From the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Whitney Arms Company had a well recognized place though it failed to keep pace with the expanding industry of the city. About 1864, another company that was engaged in the manufacture of arms settled in New Haven, The Winchester Repeating Arms Company—a name now known the world over. Part of its growth has been the absorption of other firms, till finally in 1888, the Whitney Arms Company was acquired. Down to 1914, its sole products were arms and ammunition but since then they have developed in addition manufactures of general hardware and sporting goods. In 1925, the company produced goods to the value of \$16,000,000 and employed about 5,000 wage earners.

About the time that "Winchester's" began to develop, another firm engaged in the production of builders' hardware in a limited way. After a long period, Joseph B. Sargent acquired a controlling interest in the Peck and Walter Manufacturing Company of New Britain, changed the name to J. B. Sargent and Company and in 1864 removed the plant to more spacious grounds in New Haven. Sargent and Company have become, says George B. Chandler, "one of the most important producers in the United States of shelf hardware, including hardware for doors, windows and other parts involved in building." Its capital and undivided profits exceeded \$8,000,000 in 1925.

Connecticut is the seat of corset manufacturing in this country and New Haven ranks only after Bridgeport as a center. This development began about 1850, particularly with the acquisition of J. H. Smith and Company by Isaac Strouse in 1861. Strouse, Adler and Company, the largest of several concerns engaged in this manufacture, is also one of the most important manufactories of the city. The twentieth century is an age that pays especial attention to chemistry and to hygiene. The two lines are united in many things, e. g. in tooth paste. The Kolynos Company, manufacturers of a celebrated dental cream, sell it all over the world; they have a capitalization of \$12,000,000.

The growth of urban population, and of quick communication has made possible a greater development in the production of perishable goods like confectionery and ice cream. In 1919, 38% of the total amount produced in the state came from New Haven. These goods were made by twenty companies and had a total value of \$2,000,000, an increase in five years of 119%. These are simply some of the chief industrial organizations.

In the steady rise of New Haven as an industrial center, two wars have played a part. Some of the expansion of "Winchester's" arose out of the demand for war material in connection with the Civil War. The effects of the World War have been remarkable. In 1909, New Haven had 23,497 wage earners and the value of her manufactured products was

\$51,000,000. In 1914 there was only a slight increase; 24,993 wage earners and manufactured products valued at \$58,000,000. In 1919, only five years later there had been a marked advance: 30,874 wage earners and products valued at \$125,000,000. Eight years later, with the stimulus of the war removed, the city seems to have retained this position in the manufacturing world, according to the statistics published by the Chamber of Commerce. They are as follows:

Industries (1927 census)	424
Number of employees	25,096
Value of products	\$124,033,830
Annual payroll	\$31,136,141

Down to about 1850 the population was almost entirely of native stock. The construction of the canal and the railroads introduced some foreigners, in addition to the small number of skilled workmen that came at about the same time, such as the Scottish carpet weavers. It was the expansion of industry that brought in immigrants. As we have noted, the census of 1850 first records the number of foreign born in the state, but contains no statistics on this point for smaller political divisions. In the decade, 1850-1860, the tide of immigration began to rise and New Haven commenced to assume that character of a city whose population is primarily of foreign stock. In 1860, its population was 39,267, an increase of 18,922, or 93%. Nearly half of the increase consisted of foreigners, for in 1860, the census records for the first time the number of foreign born, or 10,645. No doubt some of these came before 1850, but not many, for in 1850 only ten per cent of the population of the state were foreign born. As the cause of the immigration was the expansion of manufactures, the rapid rate of that development is reflected in the swift growth of the population. The proportion of native extraction has steadily diminished. In 1920 we have the following:

New Haven City

	Total Population	Native White of Native Parentage	Native White of Foreign or Mixed Parentage	Foreign Born
1910	133,605	37,726	49,434	42,784
1920	162,537	44,401	67,729	45,686

We should note at least two things about this body of immigrants. At first they came chiefly from the British Isles and Germany. In 1860, of the 10,645 inhabitants of foreign birth in this city, there were 7,391 Irish and 1,842 Germans, almost the whole number. In 1920, the number of each of these peoples remains about the same: 7,214 Irish and 2,770 Germans. These figures indicate that there has been a steady flow of these two races to New Haven, though not so large a stream as earlier. In order to calculate the total contribution of these races to the population we should add all in whom flows some Irish or German blood who were born here. Besides these foreign born, there were in 1920, 15,084 Italians, 3,009 Poles, 8,080 born in Russia. About 35,000 of the 45,000 foreign in

New Haven came from these five countries. Practically every European country is represented from 1,955 of English birth to 100 immigrants from Czecko-Slovakia, 138 from Armenia, 69 from Wales and 46 from Syria. It is far more representative of Europe as a whole than it was in 1860. The greater variety of immigration began after 1880. The census of that year did not report any inhabitants of Russian birth and only 436 from Italy.

These peoples do not remain separate. They gradually merge with one another and with the native inhabitants. Thus the largest group in 1910 was the "Native born of foreign or mixed parentage."

How vital to the development of New Haven this immigration has been is seen clearly from the following statement concerning the number of those engaged in industry. All told, 69,992 persons of ten years of age and upwards were in 1920 engaged in some gainful occupation. Of these, 25,572, or over a third were foreign; 22,904 nearly a third were of foreign or mixed parentage. That is, two-thirds of the persons engaged in business in 1920 were wholly or in part of foreign blood. Undoubtedly, New Haven owes much of her growth and prosperity to the immigrant.

At first, the newcomers remained by themselves and formed the great body of unskilled labor. Their children were not satisfied to continue at such work. The change in the habits of the newcomers is shown by this table compiled by the officials of the census, of the males and females of ten years of age and upwards engaged in gainful occupations.

New Haven City

MALES

		Native White of Native Parents	Native White of Foreign or Mixed Parents	Foreign Born White
Total number	51,037	13,405	14,716	21,117
Trade	7,395	2,067	1,920	3,248
Bankers, brokers, moneylenders	176	116	28	32
Clerks	541	169	241	129
Professional service	2,682	1,375	804	459
Domestic and Personal service	2,828	344	508	1,355
Clerical occupation	4,633	2,115	1,892	565
Manufacturing and mechanical industries	26,629	5,626	7,457	13,007

FEMALES

Total for the City	18,955	5,468	8,188	4,395
Manufacturing and mechanical industries	5,781	1,112	2,993	1,601
Transportation	376	152	187	36
Telephone Girls	323	142	163	17
Trade	1,463	353	647	449
Professional services	1,079	578	359	121
Teachers	1,030	501	453	69
Domestic and personal service	4,061	704	842	1,738
Clerical (bookkeepers, stenographers)	5,144	2,062	2,703	372

(In these statistics there was a column for colored people who have been omitted here and so the column of totals is always greater than the sums of the three right hand columns).

Thus the ranks of unskilled labor drew much the largest share of the three groups from the foreign born. With experience and education the children seek other lines that require special training. Teaching, clerical work, professional services draw most heavily from the native born of native parents. The class of professional men (doctors, lawyers, ministers) is recruited in much greater proportion from native stock. The reason, no doubt, is in part the necessity of money for the education and also the desire for the career. The group that draws fewest from the foreign born is that of bankers, brokers and moneylenders, probably in part because of the requisite training and education and in part because in this line of business old, well-established organizations have an unusual advantage. Yet even here the foreign born and their children soon begin to force an entry. All these statistics show how soon the newcomers begin in every way to mix in the regular business life of the community. Nor do they stand aside from the political activity. The complexion of the board of aldermen illustrates how intimately they have entered into the responsibilities of citizenship.

According to the census of 1930, the city of New Haven has ceased to grow; a population of 162,650 being shown, as compared with 162,537 in 1920. The statement is true in appearance only. We must add to the increase of New Haven part of the growth of surrounding towns.

	1920	1930
West Haven (no return, part of Orange)		25,654
Orange	16,614	1,527*
North Haven	1,968	3,732
Hamden	8,611	19,103
Branford	6,627	7,015
Milford	10,193	12,500
East Haven	3,520	7,808
Cheshire	2,855	3,263
Woodbridge	1,170	1,629

* Decline due to separation of West Haven.

Including New Haven proper, this gives a population for "Greater New Haven" of 243,417. West Haven, East Haven and Hamden form practically an urban group with New Haven; Milford has grown by residents who work in New Haven and Bridgeport; the increase in Woodbridge and part of the growth of Cheshire are due chiefly to the influx of families whose business is in New Haven. Even where a manufacturing establishment has been set up in one of these centers, oftentimes its location there or its prosperity is due to the proximity of the greater city. The dispersion of inhabitants that really belong to New Haven is due to the trolley lines, busses, and especially to the private automobile.

Waterbury

Some of the traits of New Haven city are traits, also, of Waterbury: the expansion of its urban population beyond the city limits; the growth of foreign immigration in amount and variety; its gradual assimilation with the native stock; the dependence of the growth of Waterbury upon the immigration.

The increase of Waterbury was leisurely for many years. Situated inland, upon a river that was not navigable, its sole methods of communication with the outside world were by the dirt roads of the time. Its only natural advantages lay in the water power available in the Naugatuck River and its branches and access to the iron of Litchfield County. Plenty of towns in New England had as good water power as had Waterbury. Hence while New Haven, Derby, Milford, Branford and Guilford accumulated some wealth through commerce, Waterbury had not yet begun to develop.

We are forced back upon the conclusion that the development of this city, as in the case of New Haven and the other urban centers, depended in part upon the fortune that it counted among its inhabitants certain ingenious, energetic and able men, the Scovills, Aaron Benedict, Israel Holmes and many others who laid the foundation of its industrial eminence. New Haven built up a great variety of industries while Waterbury rests upon brass.

In 1920 Waterbury had 30,332 wage earners and the product was valued at \$130,000,000. Of this product, \$86,000,000 arose out of brass, copper and bronze manufactures. Just as a single product dominates the industrial situation, so we find that the great organizations control manufacture to a greater extent than in New Haven city. In 1920, in Waterbury there were 94 manufacturing establishments owned by individuals as compared with 127 owned by corporations. There were on an average 220 wage earners employed by these individuals as compared with 30,044 employed by the corporations; the value of the product of the former was \$1,300,000 and of the latter \$128,000,000. Again, establishments with a capital of less than \$100,000 numbered 181 in Waterbury; they employed 754 wage earners and produced goods valued at \$3,634,000; establishments with a capital of \$100,000 or over numbered 62; they employed 29,568

wage earners and produced goods valued at \$126,000,000. Waterbury seems to have more specialization than its older sister and fewer of the small independent manufacturers.

The stimulus of the World War affected Waterbury exactly as it did New Haven. In 1909, the average number of wage earners was 20,170 with a product valued at \$50,000,000; in 1914, there was hardly any change recorded, viz., 20,189 wage earners and a product of \$50,000,000. In 1919 a great change had occurred; 30,322 wage earners and a product of \$130,000,000. There was some decline by the census of 1925, but in general Waterbury seems to have held the advance that had been made. In that year, there were 156 establishments with 23,626 wage earners and a product of \$127,100,000.

In the early years of the nineteenth century, Waterbury was much the smaller of the two cities and grew more slowly. In 1820, it had 2,882 people and in 1830 it had 3,071, an increase of only 7 per cent, while the growth of New Haven was 42% and that of the county as a whole 9%. From 1830 to 1840, Waterbury increased from 3,071 to 3,668, or 19 per cent, while New Haven increased by 27 per cent and the county by 10 per cent. The figures for the next decade (1840-1850) show that the increase was due directly to the expansion of industry; despite the loss of several hundred inhabitants to Naugatuck, Waterbury increased from 3,668 to 5,137, or 40 per cent, double the increase of the state, though still behind the rate of New Haven's growth (56%). By 1860 Waterbury had grown from 5,137 to 10,004, an increase of 95 per cent, for the first time slightly surpassing the rate of New Haven's growth (93%). During the next decade, New Haven again led in rate of growth (29% against 8%), but from 1880 to 1920, Waterbury's rate of increase was far ahead of that of the older city, registering approximately 60 per cent each decade till 1920 when the rate fell to 25 per cent. New Haven went along more slowly, increasing each decade at a rate of between 20 per cent and 30 per cent, except in 1900 when the rate rose to 32 per cent. At the census of 1930, Waterbury increased by 10 per cent while New Haven within the city limits was stationary. We should rather compare the two urban districts because of the way in which population is spreading out from centers. Such a comparison shows that New Haven considerably exceeds Waterbury as an urban district and that it has grown faster during the past decade, even if we include the towns of the Naugatuck valley south through Derby as falling within the circle of the influence of Waterbury.

1920

1930

The urban district of New Haven (embracing New Haven, East Haven, West Haven, North Haven, Branford, Hamden, parts of Cheshire, Milford and Woodbridge)
Waterbury (including Waterbury, Naugatuck, Beacon Falls, Middlebury, Woodbury, Watertown, Seymour, Ansonia, Derby, and part of Cheshire)

214,095

243,417

155,731

Whence came this population? In great part from immigration, as may be seen from the following table.

	Total	Native White of native parents	Native White of foreign or mixed parentage	Foreign Born
Waterbury city				
1900	51,139	11,784	18,169	15,312
1910	73,141	18,238	28,590	25,498
1920	91,715	22,122	38,595	29,894

Thus in 1900, 65 per cent of the white population of Waterbury was wholly or in part of foreign origin; of New Haven city, 63.6 per cent. In 1910, the percentage in both places had increased, a little more in Waterbury than in New Haven: 73.9 per cent in Waterbury and 69 per cent in New Haven. In 1920, 32.7 per cent of the population of Waterbury was foreign born, as compared with 28 per cent of the population of New Haven.

Thus Waterbury has slightly more of the foreign element than New Haven. As we might expect, this component comes from about the same sources as that of New Haven.

The chief countries of immigrants and parents of immigrants	Persons of Foreign Birth	
	1910	1920
Ireland	5,838	4,507
Italy	6,567	9,232
Russia	5,600	3,209
French Canada	1,901	1,521
Germany	1,433	1,010
England	1,175	1,086
Lithuania	—	3,674
Poland	—	1,629

The chief contribution of foreign blood now comes from Ireland, Italy and Russia (including as Slavic, Poland and Lithuania). There is no essential difference in the character of the immigration as compared with that into New Haven, except for the larger proportion of French Canadians in Waterbury.

It is not necessary to labor the point further that the newcomers have gradually merged with the older population in every way. At first found chiefly in the ranks of unskilled labor, they themselves sometimes, more generally their children, turn away from that career, become skilled laborers, take up clerical pursuits, become professional men and women, and to the least extent bankers and brokers. They play their part in politics—they become naturalized and have already become an important element as office holders.

Located inland with no means of direct communication with great markets except by turnpike to New Haven, Derby, or Hartford, the com-

pletion of the railroad from Winsted to Bridgeport via Waterbury in 1849 marked an epoch in the history of the city. About 1835, the amount of metal handled in the brass mills of Waterbury and the environs rose to a ton a week. By 1843, the manufactures of "clocks, hooks and eyes, pins and kettles together with the demand for German silver increased the demand for metal to over five tons a week or 300 tons a year." A better method of transportation became essential and with the completion of this railroad, further expansion of factories became feasible. In 1855 a railroad was opened to Hartford which was continued to the Hudson River in 1882; in 1871 the Derby-New Haven Railroad was opened, thus affording another outlet for the Waterbury trade. None of the other roads had any effect on Waterbury compared with the road to Bridgeport which opened a quick, cheap and easy communication with New York. It was this railroad that made possible the modern expansion of both New Haven and Waterbury.

The widening of the market combined with the ever increasing quantities of cheap sheet brass and wire resulted in the expansion of other branches to consume the raw material and furnish a constant incentive to invention. Says Lathrop: By 1840 manufacturing of sheet metal and wire had the lead over all other industry in Waterbury. Then they began to foster and develop other branches of business to consume—"Pins, hooks and eyes, tubing, brass kettles, clocks, spoons and forks,—The thousands of articles that can be made of sheet metal and wire, were added to the list of manufactures, as well as the incidental industries of machine making, acid making, casting, forging, and supplying the other things used and consumed in the various processes of the main production. The effect of all this has been to stimulate in a remarkable degree the mechanical faculty and inventive power of the workmen employed, and incidentally to change by degrees the methods of manipulation; so that every process has a history of development and growth which would need many pages to record. Following the lines of the first success, the growth has been in the manufacture of metals rather than of textile fabrics, in copper and its compounds rather than iron and steel, and in sheet and other forms of wrought metal rather than in castings of finished forms."

Meriden

Early in the nineteenth century, some of the inhabitants of Meriden began to make tinware, buttons, and pewter. The products were distributed widely by peddlers. After 1818, in addition to the considerable quantity of tin, there was more britannia ware made in Meriden and Wallingford, than anywhere else. The scale was not, however, very large as yet; Meriden had eight shops, employing thirty-seven men in making britannia ware of a value of \$49,000.

Tyler's statistics of 1845 reveal the expansion of Meriden and illustrate the early growth of the great single industry.

Here are the chief industries:

	Capital	Value of Product
8 Britannia ware factories-----	\$ 19,300	\$ 49,100
9 Tin factories	44,200	112,500
2 Brass foundries -----	14,000	30,000
2 Button factories	6,200	10,750
2 Comb factories -----	140,000	180,000
2 Latch and door factories	12,000	18,000

An important component in the development of Meriden was the widening of its market. Although the Northampton canal went near by, one cannot detect in it any element in the growth of this city. With the completion of the railroad from New Haven to Meriden in 1838 and its continuation to Hartford in 1839 and later to Springfield where it made connections with the Boston and Albany Railroad, Meriden had access to the markets of the world. Consequently its population increased in the decade from 1840 to 1850 from 1,880 to 3,559; by 1860 to 7,426; by 1880, it had reached 15,540, almost the figure attained by Waterbury (17,806 in 1880). From that time Waterbury slowly forged ahead and while Meriden has continued to gain, it has been at a slower rate.

Today, Meriden and her mother, Wallingford, are built around a single industry, silver and silver plate. For some reason her citizens have not developed as many subsidiary industries as has Waterbury.

The small independent producer seems to play a more prominent part than in any other city except New Haven. In 1920, Meriden had 82 firms owned by individuals that employed 390 wage earners and produced goods valued at \$1,900,000; there were 32 corporations that employed 8,302 wage earners and produced goods valued at \$32,000,000. There were 124 establishments each of which had a capitalization of less than \$100,000; they employed on an average 719 wage earners and produced goods valued at \$2,400,000. Thirty-eight establishments, each with a capitalization of \$100,000 or over (10 had a capitalization of \$1,000,000 or over), produced goods valued at \$33,000,000. While there are a good many small producers, most of the business is in the hands of the large producer.

The Great War stimulated production at Meriden as it did elsewhere.

	1909	1914	1919
Wage earners -----	7,845	8,166	8,794
Value of product	\$16,300,000	\$16,700,000	\$34,200,000

Since the war period, the movement of consolidation of companies has continued, the number of workmen has diminished, but the value of goods produced has increased. In 1925, the number of establishments declined to 92 (162 in 1919 and 120 in 1909), and the number of wage earners to 7,882. The value of products rose to \$37,600,000.

“Meriden,” said a recent publication, “is a city of native born Americans.” There is an element of exaggeration in the statement. While the percentage of foreign born is slightly lower than in its nearest neighbors

in the county (New Haven and Waterbury), the difference is not great enough to place the three cities in different classes. In 1920, of a total population of 29,867 in Meriden city, the native born were 72.9 per cent and the foreign born 27.4 per cent (in Waterbury, foreign born 32.7 per cent and in New Haven 28 per cent). Of the native born in Meriden, 8,212, or 27.4 per cent of the population had both parents native born (in Waterbury, 24.1 per cent and in New Haven 27.3 per cent). There is thus no marked native character possessed by Meriden over its more populous sisters.

There are some noteworthy differences in the character of the immigration; the largest number have come from Germany and there are few from Italy and Russia. The chief groups are: Germany 2,269; Ireland 1,369; Austria 1,224; England 1,057; Italy 928; Russia 842; French Canada 685.

The Naugatuck Valley South of Waterbury

This valley from Waterbury south through Derby contains a series of industrial districts: Union City, Naugatuck, Beacon Falls, Seymour, Ansonia and Derby. Their total population in 1930 was somewhat over 50,000. From 1920 to 1930 there was very little change. It is tempting to connect the rise of these towns with the water power available in the river and its tributaries and the inference seems to be just. Union City and Naugatuck were originally part of Waterbury and had a long history as an agricultural settlement occupied by citizens of Waterbury about 1703. It was known as "South Farms." The commencement of the separation dates from 1765 when the farmers were granted liberty to have four months "winter preaching" because of the difficulty of attending church at Waterbury during the winter. In 1844 Naugatuck was incorporated as a town. Its development is due to the manufactures which arose from the water power in the Naugatuck and branches like Hop Brook. Their interests are buttons, cutlery, iron ware, and above all rubber. The construction of the railroad in 1849 assured to Naugatuck an outlet for its products and it then began really to grow. Industry had its first beginnings there about 1800 with the manufacture of nails and buttons. The great advance began with the establishment of plants for the manufacture of rubber goods by licenses under Goodyear patents in 1844.

At present the industry of Naugatuck is concentrated in the hands of larger corporations. In 1919 there were 19 firms that had a capital of less than \$100,000; they employed 76 wage earners and produced goods valued at \$400,000. There were 8 firms that had a capital of \$100,000 and upwards; they employed 4,954 wage earners and produced goods valued at \$19,500,000. Naugatuck is therefore the home of great industrial plants. The Great War caused its industry to expand. In 1909, there were 3,464 wage earners producing goods valued at \$11,000,000. By 1914, there had been very little change: 3,539 wage earners, goods valued at \$9,600,000. The census of 1920 saw a marked increase: 5,030

wage earners producing goods valued at \$20,000,000. The recent census has seen a decline in the population of Naugatuck; in 1920, it numbered 15,051 and in 1930, only 14,277. Part of the decrease may be due to the spread of the inhabitants beyond the city limits as in the case of all cities today. Perhaps another factor may be that industry had expanded to a degree during the war that could not be maintained under peace conditions, for since the close of the war, Naugatuck has also receded from the high point in manufacturing. In 1925, there were fourteen establishments, employing 2,910 wage earners, and producing goods valued at \$15,500,000.

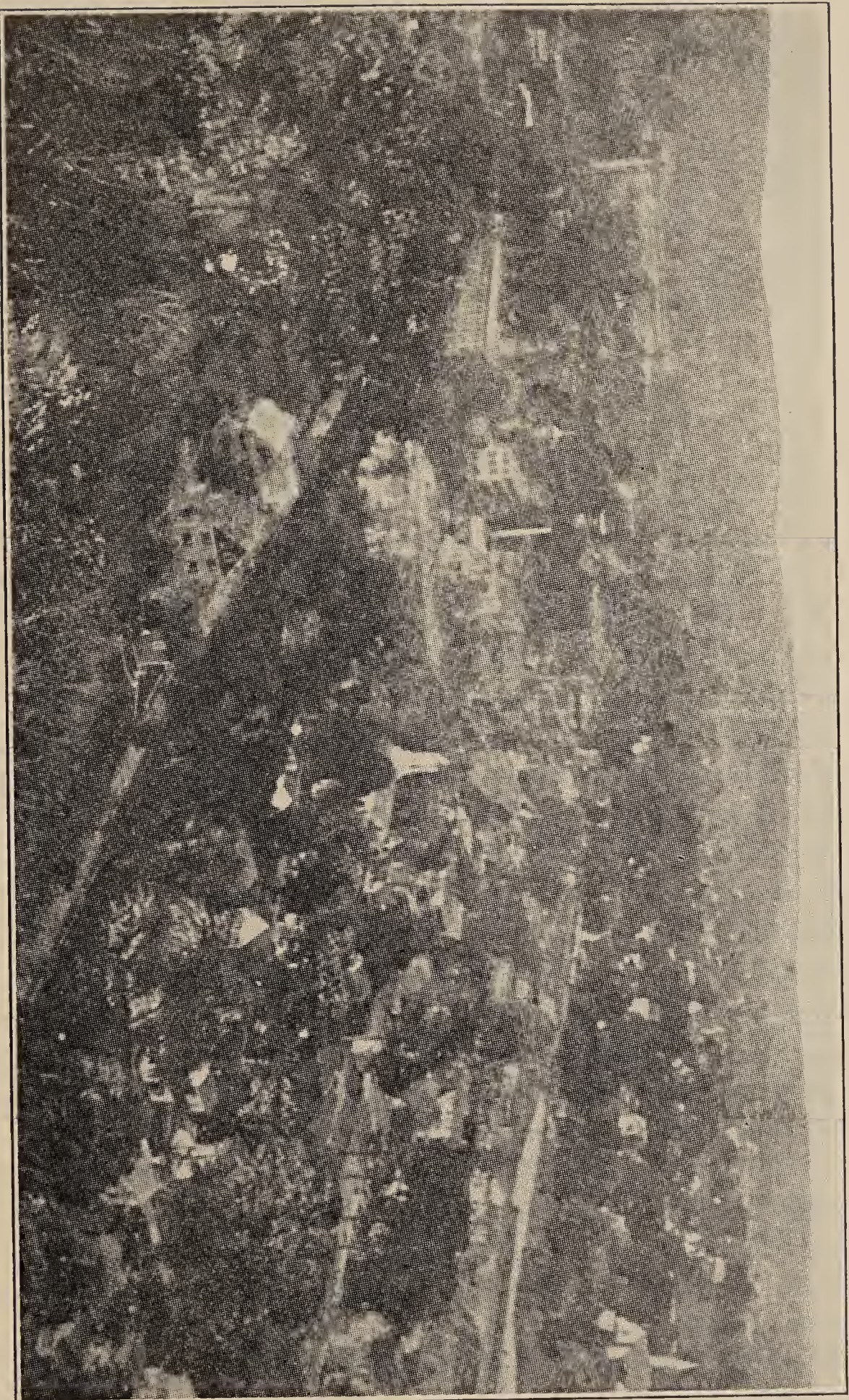
In 1920 Naugatuck had a foreign born population of 4,809, just less than 32 per cent. Next to Ansonia this was the largest percentage of foreign born in the county, though it was not markedly larger than in the rest of the county. The chief countries from which its foreign born came were Poland, 1,042; Ireland 723; Russia 521; Italy 438; Sweden 433 and Lithuania 407. Over two fifths came from within the boundaries of the old Russian empire.

Beacon Falls owes its existence to the water power from the Naugatuck. Attempts at manufacturing were made as early as 1850, first with rubber and then with woollen cloth and brass novelties. In 1920, it had a population of 1,593, practically all connected with the factories.

Seymour has a natural water fall, 20 feet in height, for two-thirds of the distance across the Naugatuck River; a dam completed the course across the stream and was first erected before 1800. With such advantages, it was natural that mills of all sorts should be erected. The real beginning of manufacture here occurred with the purchase of land and power privileges by General Humphreys in 1803 and the erection by him of woollen, cotton and paper mills. Today Seymour manufactures brass and copper goods, hard rubber goods, plush, tools, paper and telegraph cables. Its population in 1850 after the separation from Derby was 1,667. It numbered 6,781 in 1920.

Derby

At the junction of the Naugatuck and the Housatonic rivers is situated Derby. It has had a long history since almost the origin of the colony as we have seen—and a prosperous commerce. There was little manufacturing, except by grist, oil and lumber mills and no permanent development of industry along any of these lines. After 1815, Derby declined. The founder of the modern industrial town was Sheldon Smith. A native of Derby, he had made money in New York and Newark. Apparently he believed that the town was advantageously located for manufactures and he determined to establish them there. He associated with himself in this venture an unusually able business man, Anson Green Phelps, a copper merchant of New York. The new development began in 1834. By 1836, Barber says, "The village (of Birmingham, part of Derby) was commenced in 1834. There are at present about twenty houses and three mercantile stores; there is in it and about to be put in



VIEW OF SEYMOUR FROM CASTLE ROCK

operation, one factory for making sheet copper and copper wire; one for making augers; one for making carriages and axles; one for making nails or tacks, one for flannels and satinets, with some other minor manufacturing establishments. The water by which the mills and factories are put in operation is taken from the Naugatuck by a canal which extends upwards of a mile and a half northward of the village. A steamboat is about to commence running between this place and New York." One of the earliest mills was the Phelps Copper Mills, begun in 1836. They were equipped with special machinery imported from England and employed about 100 workmen, many of whom were Welsh and English. Anson G. Phelps organized these mills. Two characteristics of the industrial movement of this whole district are thrown into high relief by this story; the importance of the men who decided to locate manufactures at a given place; and the strategic advantage that the whole of New Haven County had in its nearness to New York. Hence the steamer began to run between Derby and New York as soon as there were products for that great market. New industries were created: tools, hoop skirts, pins, pens, corsets, German silver ware, iron founding.

The most important industry today is iron founding, represented by the great Birmingham Iron Foundry, with a capital stock of \$1,200,000, employing over 450 wage earners, with an annual product valued at \$1,500,000. It is interesting to note that of the present capital only \$90,000 has been paid in since the company was organized in 1836. The rest has been added from the profits of the business. Such a procedure has been characteristic of many firms of the county. That is, a large proportion of the capital that has been used in the various companies has come from the profits of the business itself.

In 1919, there were 1,367 wage earners in Derby with a product valued at \$10,000,000. The city had a population of 11,238 of whom 3,578 were foreign. The native countries sending the largest numbers of immigrants were Italy, 1,348; Poland, 855; and Ireland. The total number of foreign born was 3,578, or 31.8 per cent. A much smaller town than Naugatuck, it has nevertheless a larger proportion of manufacturing establishments owned by individuals, although the number is not very large. There are 24 establishments owned by individuals and 17 owned by corporations. The former employed 85 wage earners and the latter 1,471. The factories owned by individuals produced goods valued at \$425,000 as compared with goods valued at nearly \$10,000,000 produced by corporations. Thirty-five organizations, each with a capital of less than \$100,000, employed 186 workmen and manufactured \$612,000 worth of goods. Eleven organizations, each with a capital of \$100,000 or more, employed 1,381 wage earners and produced over \$9,500,000 worth of goods. The individual thus plays a greater part here than in the sister cities of Naugatuck and Waterbury, but at best it is only an insignificant part.

Ansonia

About 1844 Anson Green Phelps reached the conclusion that by moving north from Birmingham on the west bank of the Naugatuck, a better exploitation of the water power of the river could be made. He was unable to buy the land on the west bank at what he considered a reasonable price and then crossed to the east bank. There he developed an elaborate scheme of water power and founded the new town of Ansonia that has become one of the greatest brass producing centers in the world, another example of the influence of individuals on our industrial evolution. The first works were copper mills established in 1845; in 1854 the Birmingham Copper Mills moved to Ansonia and the two copper organizations were united under the influence of one of the stockholders, the masterful Anson G. Phelps. Out of this company grew the Ansonia Brass and Copper Company, which even in 1890 had a capital of \$1,500,000. In 1853 Wallace and Sons established their copper and brass factory that later became so important. In 1848 Farrel and Johnson established their foundry and machine business in Ansonia with a capital of \$15,000. Out of that firm has grown the Farrel Foundry and Machine Company with a capital of \$3,000,000. Brass, copper, machinery and hardware therefore form the chief industries.

The story of the origin of Ansonia suggests that the small independent proprietor would not have much of a chance. There were in 1919, however, 31 organizations owned by individuals and 13 owned by corporations. The former employed 250 wage earners and the latter 5,835. The value of the goods produced by the small independent manufacturer was \$1,420,000 and by corporations \$46,000,000. There were 40 establishments each with a capital of less than \$100,000, that employed on an average 103 wage earners in all and turned out goods valued at \$691,000. There were 10 establishments each with a capital of \$100,000 (five had a capital of \$1,000,000 or over). They employed 5,999 wage earners and manufactured goods valued at \$47,000,000. (In 1925 there were 30 establishments altogether; 5,148 wage earners, and product valued at \$45,200,000). Here as elsewhere, the great corporation dominated the business world, though a considerable number of small individual manufacturers played a part.

Ansonia was incorporated as a borough in 1889. In 1870 it had a population of 2,745 and since it has grown steadily. In 1920 it had 17,643 inhabitants and in 1930 a population of 19,860. In 1920, the number of foreign born was 6,017, over 34 per cent of its total number, the highest in the county. The chief countries whence they came were Italy (917), Poland (877), Russia (872), Ireland (782), Austria (538), England (467), and Lithuania (427). The groups that began to come in the eighteen eighties, the Italians and the Slavs, are the chief contributors. With their aid Ansonia has been created.

Ansonia has only about half the population of Meriden, and it is only slightly larger than its neighbor, Naugatuck. The figures for 1930 are as follows:

Census of 1930

Naugatuck	14,277
Ansonia	19,860
Meriden	38,450

Yet Ansonia far surpasses both the other cities in the value of its products. The figures for 1919 and 1925 were approximately:

	1919	1925
Ansonia	\$48,000,000	\$45,200,000
Meriden	34,300,000	37,600,000
Naugatuck	20,000,000	15,500,000

Ansonia thus ranks next after Waterbury and New Haven in the value of its manufactures.

The early history of manufacturing in the Naugatuck Valley was not the history of a single movement. Waterbury-Naugatuck, Seymour, and Derby-Ansonia formed three independent centers of growth. But they began to coöperate. Not the river, nor the turnpike, but the railroad drew them together—the necessity of improving the outlet for their goods and the entry of cheap raw materials. Anson G. Phelps of Derby-Ansonia, Israel Holmes, Aaron Benedict and W. H. Scovill of Waterbury combined their efforts to secure the construction of the Naugatuck Valley Railroad which in 1849 was connected with the New York and New Haven Railroad and thus opened the way to the emporium of New York.

CHAPTER VI

"CAPTAINS OF INDUSTRY"

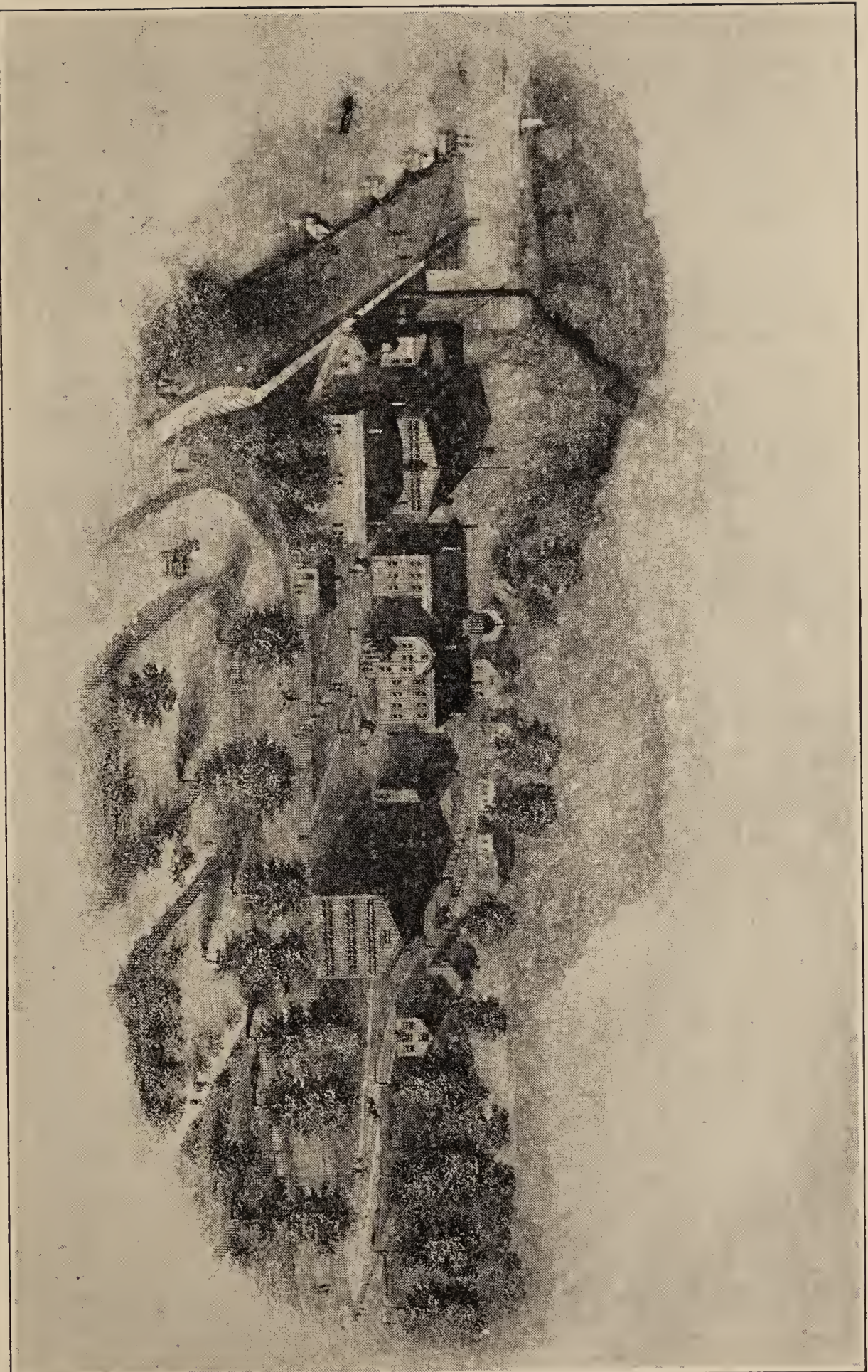
The question arises whence came the leaders of the industrial expansion. Whence came the capital to finance the new enterprises? In 1820 the county had been for about three generations the seat of a considerable foreign trade. Did that accumulation of capital among the old families finance the rising industries? Such a question could be raised primarily only in connection with New Haven city, the greatest center of the early commerce and also one of the chief industrial centers. Waterbury, Meriden, Naugatuck, and Ansonia rose to importance only through the development of industry. Derby's commerce decayed and the industrial evolution originated from outside capital. So the question narrows down to New Haven city. Let us look at the conditions and the families in the city during the period from 1800 to 1840. What capitalistic organizations were there?

There is no doubt that there was a considerable accumulation of capital. The history of the banks, the turnpikes, the canal, and the railroads demonstrates it. If we take 1845 as the date when the city has become predominantly manufacturing in interest, has the old moneyed class turned from commerce to increase its capital by developing industry? There is no sign of it. In 1831 the New Haven Chamber of Commerce sent six delegates to an Anti-tariff Convention in Philadelphia. Among them were Chief Justice Daggett and Roger Minott Sherman of Fairfield. When these delegates were appointed, the Chamber voted: "That the system of protecting manufactures, commonly called the American system, by the imposition of prohibitory duties upon foreign importations is in our opinion unequal and oppressive in its operation." Certainly manufacturing was far from the dominant interest among the chief business men of New Haven when such a resolution as this could be adopted. In his "History of the New Haven Bank," Professor Woolsey gives an excellent survey of the age which closes about 1840. One of his aims was to show the part played by the bank in the business life of the time. We see some of the commercial life, the investments of the bank, the interest of the bank in the canal, and in commerce, and its relations with other banks, the Panic of 1837. Yet from the records he shows us nothing to indicate that the bank or its officers played any significant part in the expansion of manufactures. Capital was of course applied to industry when some

energetic manufacturer wanted it and could furnish the proper security. But the capitalists did not turn to the investment of their funds in factories as they did to canals, turnpikes, banks and railroads. Wealthy men like Abraham Bishop, William Leffingwell, and Abraham Bradley profited by the sale of land to manufacturing establishments and to the resultant increase in the value of land in the city, but they played no other direct part in the expansion of industry.

While this statement is true in the main, some part of the manufactures of the city came directly from the work of men that had not made money in trade and turned from it to manufacturing. A very noteworthy case is that of the development of Eli Whitney's rifle factory. In 1798, he obtained a contract from the United States government to manufacture ten thousand stand of muskets. To fulfill the contract, he had to build the factory, instal and in many cases design and construct the machinery. Whitney was already a man of means and an alert man of business. He was one of the charter members of the New Haven Bank, founded in 1795. He had subscribed to twenty shares of stock at \$200 each, being surpassed only by David Austin and William Harriman, each of whom subscribed for thirty shares. Nevertheless his funds were not adequate for the new enterprise and he had to secure a loan of \$10,000 from the bank. His security consisted of the following men: Simeon Baldwin, lawyer, 3 shares in the bank; David Daggett, 2 shares; Pierpont Edwards, 4 shares; Aeneas Munson, director in 1806 and president of the bank, 1812-1831; Jeremiah Atwater; James Hillhouse, one of the leading men of the city; Elias Shipman, a prosperous shipping merchant on the Long Wharf, the first president of the Chamber of Commerce and the president of the New Haven Insurance Company; Timothy Phelps, a member of the first board of directors of the bank; Peleg Sandford; and Elizur Goodrich, eight shares of bank stock and a member of the first board of directors. Thus this important factory was made possible through the employment of the accumulated capital of the city and the support of the capitalists of the day. All the same it must be remembered that the establishment of this factory anticipated the general growth of manufacturing by almost a generation, that it was set up by one who was famous as the inventor of the cotton gin and hence would inspire confidence among business men, and that he was already prominent socially and in a business way. Few of the early industrialists combined so many advantages. Eli Whitney's factory does not look like the normal case.

A similar case was the cloth factories of Humphreysville (now Seymour). General Humphreys, formerly minister to Spain, bought a factory site at Rimmon Falls in the Naugatuck, including a dam, a sawmill, two fulling mills, clothier's shop and buildings appurtenant, paying \$2,647.92. He had the patriotic aim of developing a great manufacturing center here. John Winterbotham, a manufacturer from near Manchester, England, first joined him and then Thomas Vose of Derby, Connecticut,



(Courtesy of Edward G. Minor, New Haven)

FROM AN OLD PRINT SHOWING THE WHITNEY ARMS COMPANY IN ITS
ORIGINAL LOCATION

Arms Company buildings still standing are the building with cupola and group of stone buildings across the river (1800). The square building next the dam is the original pump house, built about 1861. The smallest building is a portion of the old grist mill, used as a store

and they formed a company under the name of Thomas Vose and Company. In 1806 they built a woolen mill and imported English artisans to work in it. This was followed by a paper and a cotton mill. General Humphreys never took an active part in the business; the real director was Mr. Winterbotham. As the purpose of the mills was philanthropic and patriotic, General Humphreys wished to avoid the terrible evils of the factory system that made the industrial cities of England a by-word. Consequently at his suggestion, the state passed a law supervising the mills, causing the proprietors to provide for the education of the children and to secure the humane treatment of the workmen. In 1810 the company was reorganized and became the Humphreysville Manufacturing Company. President Dwight said that the "best broadcloth produced here is considered as inferior to none that is imported." The weaving, it should be noted, was not done by the power loom in the factory, but by the hand loom in private families. This beginning of manufacturing was the result of the capital and the ideals of General Humphreys.

Another case in point was that of the L. Candee Company. Leverett Candee obtained a license from Charles Goodyear in 1843 to manufacture rubber and set up his factory in Hamden. He lacked the capital and two brothers, Henry and Lucius Hotchkiss of New Haven, supplied a sum of \$6,000. They were lumber merchants having succeeded their father in this business. Now in 1843 they began to turn to manufacturing. Thus was founded the L. Candee Rubber Company. In 1844, Abraham Heaton joined the firm with \$3,000 capital, making the capital stock \$9,000 in all. In 1852 a joint stock company was formed with a capital of \$200,000.

Anson Green Phelps is another instance of the same sort. He had made a fortune as a dealer in New York in copper, tin, brass, iron and lumber and in 1835 with Shelton Smith, he established a plant in Derby to make copper sheets and wire. They used English machinery and imported some English workmen. Later Phelps moved his plant to the east bank of the Naugatuck, Ansonia, and began the movement which made Ansonia one of the centers of brass manufacture in the world.

The story of James E. English (1812-1890) is another illustration of a man that accumulated capital in trade, then abandoned that line of business and built up manufacturing with his capital. Born in 1812, he left school at the age of sixteen and was apprenticed to a carpenter till he came of age. Then for two years he was a contractor and amassed \$3,000. With this money he entered the lumber trade with some success. The panic of 1837 led him to expand his commercial interests. "Buying and building vessels, shipping clocks to Philadelphia, and returning coal and general merchandise to New Haven and other ports became the means by which his success in his own special business was retained and secured." The Jerome Company owed him money and the failure of that company directed his attention to the possibility of making money by manufacturing clocks under proper management. Accordingly, as we have said, with Hiram Camp, Harmanus Welch (his partner in the lumber trade) and

others, he took over the Jerome's business for \$20,000 and organized the New Haven Clock Company.

Out of the profits of commerce therefore manufacturers developed in some cases. The merchant became the manufacturer. In general such does not seem to have been the ordinary line of development. The merchants continued to be merchants though they gradually drew away from the foreign and entered the domestic field. In the generations after the forties, when foreign trade vegetated, they and their children went into banking and the professions. After the passage of the Joint Stock Act in 1837 accumulated capital perhaps commenced to go into manufacturing in greater quantities as may be concluded, since gradually the industrial companies began to be capitalized at larger sums than before. But the actual route of the money is hard to trace with the means at our disposal. We may suppose however that there were other cases like those of Whitney, Phelps and the Hotchkiss brothers.

Undoubtedly many of the new manufacturing class rose by their own efforts from the condition of artisans, blacksmith, carpenters and the like, men who had a little simple machinery in their homes, who manufactured with no thought at all of a distant market, making for local consumption a few buttons, nails, axes, or something of that sort. Just the kind of thing that they had been doing for generations. The new element now that affected their rise was that machinery had developed a little more, that there was better order, that the means of transportation were to improve and where for centuries there had been only a local market for most of the manufactures, suddenly there was opened a world mart. For note, if we suppose that there had been no steam engine for factories or for transportation on land and water, all the "Yankee ingenuity" in the world would not have made the New Haven County of 1860 radically different from the county of 1830. The new means in transportation and the new engines in manufacturing were the decisive elements in the industrial change in this county. We can only cite a few cases of the men that rose to prominence in manufactures from the position of small independent workmen. James Brewster, 1788-1866, learned the trade of carriage maker as an apprentice, passed through the city in 1809 and decided to settle here. In 1810 he opened a small one story shop which grew into one of the great carriage firms of the United States. For a time he was president of the New Haven and Hartford railroad and it was in large part due to his efforts that it was successfully completed at that time. At his death his two sons were the two leading carriage manufacturers in the United States.

Chauncey Jerome (1793-1868), inventor and manufacturer, was born in 1793, the son of a blacksmith who died when the boy was nine years old. At first he worked on a farm and at the age of fifteen, he was apprenticed to a carpenter. Later he was in the employ of Seth Thomas and Eli Terry at clock making. In 1817 he began to make clocks for himself, first at Plymouth and then at Bristol. In 1845, after the burning of

the Bristol factory, he moved the whole establishment to New Haven, where he had previously erected a branch. Here he became the largest manufacturer of clocks in the United States.

This business was built up by Jerome mainly by his own unaided efforts. In 1851 outside capital began to come, for in that year a joint stock company was formed. In 1855 this company failed. Then the business was bought by a new company, The New Haven Clock Company, which still flourishes. The men who headed the new organization had worked their way up in exactly the same way as had Jerome, and all except James Hillhouse had been employees in Jerome's company. One of these, Hiram Camp, son of a farmer in Plymouth, Connecticut, was born in 1811 and when eighteen years old began to work for Jerome. In 1851 he finally went into business for himself and then the opportunity of his life came with the failure of the Jerome Company. He, James E. English, Harmanus Welch and others, put their capital together and set up the great New Haven Clock Company. Camp became the president and was in general charge for over a generation. The establishment of the clock industry in New Haven was unaided by trade except for the contribution made by James E. Hillhouse.

These men are everywhere. John W. Bishop (1823-1891), at the age of ten entered a paint shop for two years, then for two years more was a clerk in a store, and then was for two years on a farm. At the age of sixteen, he was apprenticed to John Douglas, a mechanic. At twenty-one, he finished his apprenticeship, a remarkable mechanic, and began making machinery, pumps, and steam fixtures. Later he became interested in the Grilley Company, manufacturers of cap screws, picture knobs and harness trimmings, "widely and favorably known as a successful manufacturing house." Says Atwater, "Among the self-made men of New Haven, Mr. Bishop may proudly take his position."

Mark Leavenworth (1774-1849) was born in New Haven and removed with his father to Vermont in 1784. Four years later the boy, who disliked this life in the wilderness, returned to Connecticut on foot. After attending school for a time in New Haven, he apprenticed himself to Jesse Hopkins in Waterbury to learn to make silver-plated knee buckles and shoe buckles. Fashions changed and his trade was worthless. In 1795 he commenced to make axes, steelyards, ramrods, bayonets and such like articles of iron and steel. From 1810 to 1836 he carried on the manufacture of wooden clocks. When that business declined because of the competition of brass clocks, he turned to the manufacture first of brass and then of cloth covered buttons. He was fairly successful and his career illustrates the steady growth of manufacturing. He had several partners, but his capital came in the main as a result of his own labors. "When bad luck came upon him, he was always ready to try again."

In his "History of Waterbury," Bronson says, "The present manufacturing interests of Waterbury are perhaps more indebted to Lamson Scovill (1789-1857) than to any other man." He was wholly a self-made



BROAD STREET, SEYMOUR



MAIN STREET, LOOKING SOUTH, SEYMOUR

man. Born in 1789, at the age of seventeen, he became a clerk in his father's store. When he was twenty-two, he was one of the firm of Leavenworth, Hayden, and Scovill who bought out and reorganized the manufacturing business of Abel Porter and Company in 1811. They manufactured metal buttons and out of this firm arose in great part the brass and copper industries of Waterbury. In 1827, W. H. Scovill bought out his brother's partners and the firm of J. M. L. and W. H. Scovill was formed. They had a capital stock of about \$20,000. Out of this partnership grew the powerful Scovill Manufacturing Company.

Another great firm of Waterbury was the Benedict and Burnham Company. It originated in 1812, says Dr. Anderson, when Aaron Benedict (1785-1870) began to make bone and ivory buttons. Born in 1785, he went to Yale, but did not finish on account of ill health. In 1823, this button company was reorganized and some New Haven men were admitted; they began to manufacture gilt buttons; their capital was \$6,500. Changes in personnel occurred with the capitalization constantly increasing out of the profits of the business till in 1843 a joint stock company was formed with a capital of \$100,000. From 1812 till his death in 1870, Deacon Benedict was connected with manufacturing in Waterbury. F. J. Kingsbury says, "Aaron Benedict * * * for many years during the formative and critical period of the town's history was one of the most conspicuous and influential citizens. * * * He was at the head of one of the largest and most successful of our manufacturing corporations." The *Waterbury American* said of him: "The transformation of the insignificant village which some of us remember into the busy and prosperous city which now fills the valley and overspreads the hillsides is due to Aaron Benedict, more perhaps than to any other man." Such was the estimate of contemporaries of one who was always devoted to manufacturing and who began with only a few thousand dollars.

Such men were not confined to New Haven or Waterbury. Charles Parker (1809-1902), a farmer boy, worked in the shop of Aaron Matthews in Southington in 1827, casting pewter bottles for six dollars a week. He saved \$70 in a year. Later he contracted in Meriden to make coffee mills and cleared \$1,800. With this capital he went on to the manufacture of hardware in general. "He was a pioneer in the manufacture of hardware in this county and * * * he was the first man to introduce steam power in Meriden." Before his employment of steam in 1844, his motive power was a blind horse at the end of a pole sweep. He was one of the most important manufacturers in Meriden. In 1837, Abram Hawkins opened a blacksmith shop in an old red shop in Birmingham. The next year he and his brother began making carriage axles and springs on a small scale; in 1839, they built a little factory without capital and out of this grew important iron and steel works.

Franklin Farrel (1828-1912) had a common school education in Derby. At the age of fourteen, he began to learn the trade of millwright from his father, Almon Farrel, the leading millwright and machinist of

the Naugatuck Valley. In 1849, he organized a foundry and machine business. His father, Almon, contributed \$8,000 and the Colburn brothers, millwrights of Derby, contributed \$7,000. The capital of this firm thus came from the earnings and savings of men engaged in manufacturing. From this beginning has developed the Farrel Foundry Machine Company with a capital of \$3,000,000 and a world market.

Many of the rising manufacturers began with capital that they had saved or borrowed. A man could easily begin on a small scale because the requisite machinery was simple and cheap and the necessary raw materials were small in quantity and not too expensive. Sometimes he entered a firm as a clerk or an employe of some kind, and in a longer or shorter time, would accumulate enough capital and business connections to leave and set up an independent establishment; or he would remain with the firm and win promotion till finally he would become a partner, or perhaps sole owner.

Of the first class, Israel Holmes (1800-1874) was an example. He received a common school education and then taught school. Business soon appealed to his active and powerful personality. He had to begin in a small way. Horace Hotchkiss and he formed a partnership to manufacture hats and Holmes assumed charge of the sales store for the firm in Augusta, Georgia, where he remained two years. Returning to Waterbury, he entered the employ of J. M. L. and W. H. Scovill. They put him in charge of their sales store in Waterbury. His ability so impressed them that they chose him as their representative to go to England to secure the machinery and the skilled workmen that they felt must be obtained if their factory was to prosper. In this mission, he was successful, despite difficulties. He, too, was one of the committee sent to Washington in 1833 by Waterbury manufacturers to lobby for a protective tariff for brass and again he succeeded. Leaving the Scovills, he organized in 1830 the first company to produce exclusively rolled brass and wire. He was the organizer later, and the first president of three great brass companies: the Waterbury Brass Company; Holmes, Booth and Hayden; and the Plume and Atwood Company. He had a mind that combined the ability to formulate large and comprehensive plans with the shrewd practical sense of the organizing genius. Says Anderson, "It is due to him more than any other man that the industrial activities of the place were directed into the prosperous course of brass manufacture."

To the second class belongs the career of Hobart B. Bigelow (1834-1891). Born a farmer's son, he received a common school education and became a machinist after serving his period as an apprentice. He entered the shops of Ives and Smith, and served for years as foreman of the machine department. Finally he bought the business and continued it as the Bigelow Manufacturing Company. George R. Kelsey began by manufacturing clothing and suspender buckles, first at Cromwell and then at Middletown. He had hardly any capital and "performed all the work by hand." Finally by dint of industry and various patents, he

established himself despite foreign competition. A fire destroyed the plant, but he worked on. In 1853, he became president of the Waterbury Buckle Company and then "took direct management of the West Haven Buckle Company;" it had a nominal capital of \$17,000 but in thirty years it paid \$783,000 in dividends.

Henry Hooker (1809-1873), descendant of Rev. Thomas Hooker, of Hartford, founder of Connecticut Colony, was a farmer's boy. He attended the district school and was then apprenticed to a carriage builder. After the completion of his term, he worked for a short time at his trade in Savannah, Georgia. He then returned to New Haven and formed a partnership to make carriages with Mr. Hubbell. From this small beginning, he progressed till he became the president of a joint stock carriage factory with a capital of \$200,000 and remained president till his death. According to Atwater he was one of the most important carriage builders of the nineteenth century.

Burritt Manville (1814-1884) was a cooper in New Milford till 1856 and sold his product to West India traders resident in New Haven. In 1856, he moved to New Haven himself and worked in a carriage factory for three years and then formed a partnership with Charles Bradley and John Kay to manufacture carriages. He was "a self made man" and "a thorough mechanic." His capital probably came from his own savings. The house that he founded became one of the most important in the city.

When one recalls the rhapsodical statements that are made concerning the debt that the new manufacturing owed to "Yankee ingenuity," one might expect that the new class of manufacturers were recruited primarily from among the inventors. Some of them indeed were. One instantly thinks of Eli Whitney. He began the manufacture of his cotton gin and only abandoned it when too many competitors swarmed into the field regardless of his patent rights. The introduction of his uniformity system meant many new patents and even changes that were not covered by patent. In this connection he began the manufacture of rifles. He had success in this field too, his son, Eli Whitney, was reckoned one of the three richest men in New Haven in 1840. One recalls Charles Good-year, but he remained an inventor and never became a manufacturer; his profits were made by the issue of licenses to manufacture under his patents. Thus on each pair of rubber shoes, he received at first three cents, later half a cent.

As we have seen, George R. Kelsey was an important manufacturer, and the development of his business rested upon ten patents that he took out. Dr. John I. Howe of New York perfected machinery in the decade, 1830-1840, for making pins automatically and in 1838 this industry was moved from New York to Derby. He is another case of the inventor who went into business. So were the Fowler brothers of Northford who also invented machinery of the same kind. Later, Dr. Howe invented a machine for sticking the pins in paper, an invention that gave the Howe Manufacturing Company (together with the company of Slocum and

Jellson in Poughkeepsie, New York, who used it) an unbeatable advantage over competitors. The Howe Manufacturing Company and the American Pin Company bought out the Fowlers and Slocum and Jellson. These two firms concentrated the whole pin industry of the United States in Waterbury.

Some therefore of the new manufacturing class came from the inventors. It must be recalled that the greatest number of inventions came after 1850 with the period of greatest expansion of industry, and machinery. There was a continual modification of processes and machines which sometimes resulted in the rise of new manufacturers, but in general it meant the further expansion of a business that was already established and the rise within it of the inventor.

New Factories

While new establishments easily arose about 1850 as manufacturing expanded, there came a time when it became more difficult for new plants to get started unless some overwhelming demand occurred. The number of establishments seemed to have become stabilized for it had remained about stationary from 1909 to 1914. Such a demand arose at the time of the World War. The number of establishments greatly increased only to decline again when the special conditions had passed away. The following table shows this clearly.

NUMBER OF ESTABLISHMENTS

	1909	1914	1919	1925
Ansonia -----	50	38	44	30
Derby	—	—	46	30
Meriden -----	120	127	162	92
Naugatuck	24	28	27	14
New Haven -----	588	432	637	465
Waterbury	169	170	221	156

As we have noted consolidation has also taken place. It must be remembered while the number of the plants may remain the same, there is always a variation, in that some of the firms have failed, or removed, or united with another and new ones have arisen. Nevertheless the condition is much more static than it was half a century ago. If one examines the chapters in Pape's "History of Waterbury," (e. g. in volume I, ch. xvii, that deal with industry), he will note the constant appearance of new companies. Most of these seem to be and probably are new companies arising from the business activity of energetic men. Some of them are really subsidiary companies of older firms that believe that some process, new or old, can be better exploited by having a separate organization in charge of it. In the main therefore the invention caused established plants to develop as time went on. The Winchester Repeating Arms Company has been developed by sundry patents on the rifle; the invention of a device to eject the cartridge at the side helped the Marlin Company of New Haven. The Miller Company of Meriden, organized

in 1844 to make whale oil lamps, has utilized a host of inventions and so remains today an important manufacturing establishment of modern lighting equipment. Few inventions have as far reaching effect as that of the pin sticking device that destroyed almost all rival pin factories and gave the Waterbury Pin Company and the Howe Manufacturing Company the monopoly of pin manufacture in the United States. The celebrated Waterbury watch was not exploited by the inventor, but by the company (Benedict and Burnham) that suggested the invention. In order to develop the business better, they formed a separate company, but that was a matter of detail in method.

The rise of manufactures therefore brought into existence a new class of business men; they came from the inventors, from workmen that without inventing had gone into manufacturing on a small scale and expanded, and from men with capital that turned from other business enterprises to manufacturing. Finally out of the establishments themselves as they expanded arose new leaders of industry and new inventors. After the growth of output and the growth and multiplication of plants, the number of plants and the amount of output seems to have become in a measure stabilized. We appear to be approaching an era of stabilization between the demand for goods and the number of establishments necessary to supply that demand.

What were the characteristics of the men that effected the change from commerce to industry in New Haven County? They had among other traits to be organizers; they must know how to deal with other men. It was not necessary for them to be inventors, or even to know very much about the details of the goods that they were manufacturing. But they must understand men. When Eli Whitney wanted to undertake the manufacture of guns in Hamden and lacked sufficient capital, he was able to raise it by obtaining the financial support of ten of the most important men of means in New Haven. When he was unable to fulfill his contract, he persuaded the United States authorities to grant him additional time and to advance him the necessary funds before the guns for which he had contracted were completed. Such feats are evidence, not of his skill as an inventor but of his capacity to handle men. Similarly, about 1850, early in his career, Joseph B. Sargent needed money for the expansion of his business (before he came to New Haven). He went, says Chandler, to the president of a Leicester bank who had known him from boyhood. "In his own way he told the story of his experience, savings, and plans. He had no endorser to offer; he could not tell when he could pay the loan; but could say that if he lived he would pay it at some time. As he finished his story—it was told at the banker's residence—the latter stopped in his thoughtful, listening attitude as he paced the floor, and said: 'Well, Joseph, I will lend you the money, and you may pay it when you can'." The executive capacity of James Brewster may be illustrated, for example, by his work for the construction of the Hartford and New Haven Railroad. He became its president for four years,

1833-1837, and it was largely due to his efforts that the money for building it was raised and the road put through at this time. He never hesitated to take responsibility. When the importer refused to deliver the rails which came from England and were valued at \$250,000, Brewster became himself responsible for this large amount. So Israel Holmes illustrates the capacity to deal promptly, tactfully and successfully with other men. His acquisition of machinery and skilled workmen in England on three occasions, his successful organization of the new company to manufacture brass, for the first time, on a large scale, grouping around him eight other able men, the company that afterward became Brown and Elton; his felicitous representation of the interests of brass at Washington in 1833, that resulted in a protective tariff for the nascent industry, all this and more testify to his powerful personality, supreme element in his success—the quality possessed in marked degree by these captains of industry.

These manufacturers too had the problem of labor, skilled and unskilled. They themselves did not always thoroughly understand the process that they were using. So the Scovills, Holmes, Phelps and others brought skilled labor from England. The real prosperity of Leavenworth, Hayden and Scovill (in Waterbury) says Lathrop dated "from 1820, when Mr. James Croft, an Englishman, entered their employ. * * * Trained in the art of making gilt buttons in Birmingham, England, he was the first workman of technical skill whose name appears in connection with the infant industry. His knowledge of the needs of the business here and as well of conditions in Birmingham led Mr. Benedict to send him seven times to England for tools and workmen." Holmes and Phelps also had machinery and workmen from England. Immediately another problem presented itself: the training of native workmen by the employers and by English mechanics; in addition, the enforcement of the discipline of the factory, the constant tending of the machines, the maintenance of regular hours, punctuality, proper living conditions in an environment strange to the work people that came from out of town. Mrs. Ann Stephens relates how General Humphreys sensed the difficulties of the whole problem and in part at least solved it, or at any rate tried to solve it. She says: "Colonel Humphreys took great interest in the discipline and education of the apprentice boys attached to the factory. Seventy-three of these boys were indentured, I have been told, at the same time from the New York alms-house and others from the neighboring villages. For these he established evening and Sunday-schools, with competent teachers; and indulged his military tastes by uniforming them at no slight expense as a militia company, drilling them himself. Of course so many lads, gathered from the lower classes of a great city, must have numbered some bad ones. Thefts and other small vices were sometimes discovered, and at such times the offender was given his choice to be rendered up to the legal authorities, or tried and punished by a court organized on the premises. Almost invariably, they elected the latter,

where they expected, and usually received a milder sentence than the severe laws of that period would have given."

Here we have the whole question: where the labor is to come from, how it is to be trained and disciplined in the factory and how it is to live outside. The labor for the match factory in Prospect was divided between work done in the factory and that done at home, the "putting out system." In either case, however, the employes were the young people from the farms and villages. In Naugatuck and Union City, the wage earners in the Hoe and Knife factory were from the same source, from the families of villagers, or people that came in from the country. At a button shop in Naugatuck "worked a large number of girls * * * many of them came from Litchfield County. * * * There were Carters, Chapmans, Hazens, Bensons, Barneses, and Olmsteads * * * I do not know how many there were but it seemed to me there was a hundred."

"The rising industry of New Haven attracted," says Colonel Morse, "artisans and laborers, native and foreign." He is speaking of the period from 1825 to 1837. The Irish immigration had begun already. They worked on the canal "and other employments." When Chauncey Jerome moved his clock factory to New Haven in 1845 he employed "a large number of workmen in trade, the most of whom came with him or followed to find employment in his establishment." About 1832 there came to New Haven "a most worthy class of artisans of Scotch nationality to work upon their (carpet) looms." By 1850, thinks Lathrop, the English mechanics had been superseded by Americans who had become skilled. The demand for labor was however greater than the supply, and hence we have steady immigration from abroad.

In Waterbury, the native Americans predominated as skilled labor from 1850 to 1870 and since then their place has been taken by foreigners and their children. In this respect Waterbury probably is typical of the county as a whole. There is a sharp distinction between skilled and unskilled labor, only a small percentage is skilled and it is of a high grade. This is the labor situation which the manufacturers have to face and in proportion as they succeed in getting and drilling their labor, making them loyal and coöperative, they are successful. James Brewster is a type. He set up a carriage factory in New Haven in 1810. "At that time," says Atwater, "the carriage journeymen received their wages in trade, and as they were very generally of drinking habits, the work was inferior and unsatisfactory. The advent of Mr. Brewster began a new era in carriage building in New Haven so real and marked, that he has been well called the father of the trade. He sought to raise the standard of workmanship by calling the best workmen to New Haven, by paying good wages in cash, and seeking in many other ways to raise them to a greater sense of responsibility and to a higher grade of mental and moral culture."

To what extent the efforts of General Humphreys to train and protect morally his alms-house protégés succeeded I am ignorant. The aim how-

ever shows his idealism. Eli Whitney, we note, erected a row of cottages for his workmen, perhaps there was no place for them to live, but he did not leave them to the tender mercies of some contractor. As far as the Naugatuck Valley is concerned Lathrop testifies to the success with which the manufacturers have organized their wage earners when he declares: "Workmen who are skilled in this particular industry (brass) are in the main only here to be found. * * * As attempts have been made from time to time to start new enterprises elsewhere, it has been found necessary to appeal to the Naugatuck Valley for workmen. At times wages have been offered which were double the prevailing rates in order to secure competent help. But so well have the mills treated their employes, so many own their homes, and so steady has been their employment that even this inducement has seldom been sufficient to secure help of the highest grade for what was thought might be an enterprise with an uncertain future.

Part of the task of a manufacturing business was to solve the question of the sale of the product. The manufacturer himself had to direct the work. We have already noted the relation of the peddler to the early development of manufacturing. Buttons, tin dishes, clocks, and the multifarious kinds of small hardware, of iron and brass might be sold in this way in a wider market than the village itself.

From the first, therefore, the manufacturer understood the situation in this respect. Chauncey Jerome himself relates how he did it, and he was no innovator; he was just following the example of his old employer, Eli Terry.

"We then went to Boston and bought a load of lumber and commenced operations. I was the case-maker of our concern and 'pitched into' the pine lumber in good earnest. I began four cases at a time and worked like putting out fire on them. My partners were waiting for some to be finished for them to go out and sell. In two or three days I had got them finished and they started with them and I began four more. In a day or two they returned home, having sold them at sixteen dollars each. * * * We worked on in this way until we had finished up the two hundred and sold them at an average of sixteen dollars apiece. We had done well and returned."

Or he found new business and manufactured the clocks to meet the demand. "I heard one day of a man in Bristol who did business in South Carolina who wanted to buy a few clocks to take to that market with him. I started at once over to see him and soon made a bargain with him to deliver twelve wood clocks at twelve dollars apiece."

While a manufacturing business could develop considerably with a relatively casual method of sales, as machinery and power were increasingly employed, a more highly developed method of distribution became necessary to dispose of the product. With the development of rolling brass, the companies had forced on them the necessity of disposing of it. Raw brass commanded only a limited market and hence arose an elaborate

list of all sorts of articles manufactured, buttons, kettles, clocks, lamps, trimmings and gadgets of all sorts. So the sales end of each manufacturing business was recognized from the start as very important. Hence the significance of the remark concerning Eli Terry that "there were so many clocks then making that the country would soon be filled with them and the business would be good for nothing in two or three years." Considerable trade could be built up in this peddling fashion. Thus from the beginning the sales end of a manufacturing business was regarded as important. One method was to have a store separate from the manufacturing establishment in the place where it was done. Thus Leavenworth, Hayden and Scovill had a store in Waterbury. Israel Holmes began his career as a salesman in the South and then took charge of this store. It was necessary to do more than have peddlers and a central store. In the case of the Scovill Brothers, at first, one had charge of the sale of goods in New York, Philadelphia and Boston, and the other had directed the factory. The importance of this element in the development of business is summarized by Lathrop: "The later enterprises included salesmen in the organization. From near the beginning of his interest in the metal button business, in 1823, Aaron Benedict had as one of his associates Mr. Benjamin De Forest, who resided in New York and superintended the sale of buttons. And when in 1829 Mr. Israel Coe entered the new firm of Benedict & Coe, it was as a recognition of his ability proved by three years' experience as a salesman. And when in 1834 Mr. Coe retired and Mr. G. W. Burnham, who had been a wagon peddler in his earlier days, became the principal member of a new combination with Mr. Benedict, his highest recommendation was that he was an exceptionally efficient salesman. After 1835 he resided continuously in New York in charge of the agency there."

"No sooner had Mr. Holmes left the employ of the Scovills in 1830 and organized the new firm of Holmes and Hotchkiss than he took for his part of the business the placing of the product and sought a market in Boston and elsewhere."

"Selling agencies were successively inaugurated as they were needed and pushed the sale of the products of the mills and factories."

In 1854, J. B. Sargent established a commission house in New York to market the product of Sargent and Brother, later established in New Haven as Sargent & Company. Today it maintains sales branches in both New York and Chicago. By 1824, Brewster, the carriage manufacturer in New Haven, established a "repository" in New York directed by John R. Lawrence under the name Lawrence and Brewster. Hubbell and Mortton had carriage "repositories" in Savannah, Georgia, and Mobile, Alabama, where they carried a large stock for their southern trade. M. Armstrong & Company, carriage manufacturers, did a large business with New York City, supplying hotels with carriages of various descriptions. They also had an export trade. Many other carriage factories had a large trade in New York, with the South and abroad; it must have been developed in this way by sales

houses. Atwater and King had repositories in Atlanta; Brockett and Tuttle had repositories in Davenport, Iowa, to build up their trade in the Northwest, in New York City, and carried on an extensive foreign commerce.

The New Haven Clock Company followed the example of its antecessor, Chauncey Jerome, and tried to build up an extensive trade at home and abroad. They had salesrooms in New York and Chicago. They established branches in Liverpool, China, Japan and other places. At least half their products were exported. Mayer Strouse & Company have warerooms for their corsets in New York and their trade says Atwater, "is world wide," as is that too of Sargent & Company.

Out of this intensive organization grows export trade. The Miller Company in Meriden does an immense foreign trade in lighting fixtures. "There is hardly a region of the world," says Gillespie, "where its product has not gone." The Meriden Britannia Company established a salesroom in New York in coöperation with another company soon after its organization in 1852; in 1863 it set up its own salesrooms and soon the secretary of the company made his headquarters in New York to give his personal attention to that branch of the business. In 1866 the company established agencies on the Pacific coast, in Chicago and in London.

So sales direction was an important factor in expansion, both in the development of trade in the United States and abroad. No doubt the fact that New Haven had been accustomed to foreign trade (of a different sort, it is true) led the new manufacturers to think just as readily of trade abroad as of trade at home. The foundations of this expansion were laid before 1840, but the great development took place afterward, i. e., railroad and steam transportation played as great a part as did proximity to and ease of communication with New York. New Haven County grew with New York.

The new manufacturers therefore were managers, could obtain capital, were good directors of workmen and were able to build up sales organizations; they were so deeply concerned with their own interests, that an intense rivalry existed. In the brass industry, says Lathrop, "personal jealousies and internal strife caused dissensions which led to splits in associations already formed and to the organization of new enterprises." Nevertheless, from the earliest times, these men had a feeling of community interest and were constantly coöperating to attain some common advantage.

In 1813 a group of ten manufacturers, one of whom was a Meriden man, Patrick Clark, agreed on minimum price, the others being men of New Britain. In 1833 James Brewster with others obtained a charter from the Legislature for a railroad from New Haven to Hartford. Ever since the beginning of the nineteenth century, the brass industry had been protected by customs. The tariff measure of 1833 proposed to admit sheet brass and wire free. Waterbury was alarmed and Israel Holmes and Israel Coe were sent down to Washington to prevent this change.

As a result of their representations, the tariff on these articles was maintained. Some may assert that the brass industry has not been helped by the tariff. In any case, the producers have believed that a tariff was necessary and have continually watched the government at Washington to see that their interests were protected. The same attitude characterized the manufacturers engaged in all the major industries of the county. As soon as manufactures developed in Waterbury, the problem of adequate communication with a great market arose. There were turnpikes to New Haven, Derby and Hartford, with water communication to the outside world at all these places. But the turnpikes were the difficulty. Hence arose in the cities the demand for a railroad. Aaron Benedict, W. H. Scovill, Israel Holmes, Anson Phelps, and others received a charter, gave some bonus, and furnished the right of way. The road was opened to Winsted in 1849. Very early the companies of the Naugatuck Valley felt that coöperation would be better than competition. As early as 1853, an agreement was signed by representatives of every brass mill in the valley regulating prices and in 1856 production also. This arrangement lasted till 1870 when it broke down. Renewals of pools were made from time to time, and out of this feeling and these attempts ultimately grew the American Brass Company. Here, however, we are concerned only with the way that very early various companies felt a common interest and took active measures to carry it out.

One factor that has aided drawing together different companies to advance common interests is the fact that the same industrial magnate has money invested and is actively connected with more than a single company, even in different cities. In the Naugatuck Valley, the same group of men were connected with most of the greater and also the smaller concerns. While therefore they were interested in competition, they also could see the advantages of coöperation. Anson G. Phelps had interests in Ansonia; later he organized a copper company in Seymour. There was even some connection between New Haven and Waterbury. One of the incorporators of the great Waterbury firm of Holmes, Booth and Hayden in 1853 was Henry Hotchkiss of New Haven. Charles Dickinson, successively secretary, treasurer, and president (1866-1888) of the Benedict and Burnham Company of Waterbury, was also at his death president of Hall, Elton and Company, manufacturers of plated ware in Wallingford and president of the Meriden and Waterbury Railroad. The introduction of single individuals into various firms is more characteristic of manufacturing establishments of the Naugatuck Valley than of the other cities of the county.

The close relations between capital and manufacturing industries and influences working toward solidarity of interests is maintained through the development of banking. Among the officers and directors of the banks are found men of various industries. Thus Henry Hotchkiss was president of the L. C. Candee Rubber Company, a director of Holmes, Booth and Hayden in Waterbury, president of the United States Pin

Company of Seymour, president for twenty-one years of the New Haven County Bank and president of the Union Trust Company of New Haven. Hobart B. Bigelow, head of the Bigelow Company, became in 1882 president of the Merchants National Bank of New Haven of which he had been already a director. In 1835 Erastus C. Scranton became president of the Elm City Bank (now the Second National Bank of New Haven), and in 1865 president of the New York and New Haven Railroad Company. Matthew G. Elliott, merchant, was in 1852 president of the New Haven and New London Railroad Company, president of the Tradesmen's Bank of New Haven, and also vice president and director of the New Haven Savings Bank. James Brewster, important as a carriage manufacturer, was one of the incorporators of the New Haven Savings Bank.

In Meriden, Edward Miller was head of the great Miller Manufacturing Company, trustee of the Meriden Savings Bank, and a director of the Home National Bank. There is George R. Curtis, treasurer of the Meriden Britannia Company, president of the Meriden Silver Plate Company, director in three other Meriden manufacturing companies, and in one manufacturing company each of Wallingford, Waterbury, and Hartford. He was also a director of two Meriden banks and trustee of another. These cases are not exceptional. Thus leaders in commerce, banking and manufacturing are brought together through directorships in companies and especially in banking. Hence is developed the sense of common interests and the means of adopting a common policy.

While foreigners would admit the business sagacity of our captains and lieutenants of industry, they would expect that such men would be uninterested in other phases of life. Let us see whether these expectations are realized. Many of these men, perhaps we should say the typical cases, are interested in the welfare of their church, their city, in society as a whole. James E. English of New Haven, made "numerous generous bequests to public objects and (to) innumerable private charities." He gave \$10,000 to the Law Library of Yale; \$20,000 to the English Drive in East Rock Park, and purchased and presented to Yale University Library a bound set of Parliamentary Papers of Great Britain, 1805 to 1873, comprising 742 volumes. Hiram Camp of the New Haven Clock Company supported two Sunday Schools, two missionaries in Nebraska, a city missionary in another state. He founded the well known College Preparatory School, Mount Hermon Boys School, and helped establish Northfield Seminary for girls, to both of which he regularly and generously contributed money and served on the boards of trustees. Henry Hotchkiss is said to have helped many young men; he was also greatly interested in the New Haven Colony Historical Society, and was a director of this organization.

J. M. L. Scovill, that great figure in the Waterbury Brass industry, was a member of St. John's Protestant Episcopal Church, and a liberal contributor to that body. He and his brother William endowed the Scovill Professorship at Trinity College. William's charities, says Anderson,

"were bountiful. * * * He took great pride in his native town and was a leader in plans for its growth and adornment. He was a devoted member of the Episcopal Church and a warden of St. John's parish for many years. To his foresight, good judgment, and generosity we owe our public green and there was hardly a public or semi-public improvement from 1830 to 1850 in which he was not foremost and did not make up some deficit at the end."

Samuel W. Hall (1814-1877) director of the Scovill Manufacturing Company gave by his will \$5,000 for a monument to the soldiers of Waterbury who fought in the Civil war; \$20,000 to Riverside Cemetery; \$20,000 to St. John's Parish; \$15,000 for a new church in Waterbury. F. J. Kingsbury (1823-1898) was engaged in banking and manufacturing, e. g. he was president of the Scovill Manufacturing Company, a director of the New York and New England Railroad, and of the Naugatuck Railroad. He was treasurer of the Bronson Library Fund, treasurer of the Protestant Episcopal Diocese of Connecticut, member of the Corporation of Yale University. In 1893 he was elected president of the American Social Service Association, and again in 1894. He was a member of the American Antiquarian Society, of the American Historical Association, and of the New Haven Colony Historical Society. In 1893 Williams College gave him the degree of LL. D. Horace P. Shares (1836-1902) was one of the most important brick manufacturers of Connecticut. He was a great worker in church and Sunday School, for many years serving as Sunday School superintendent. Ruel P. Cowles, in the coach trimming trade, president of C. Cowles and Company, manufacturing coach trimmings, was for fifteen years superintendent of the Sunday School of the College Street Congregational Church, a deacon of that church, for many years secretary and later president of the Young Men's Institute, an active temperance man and for thirty-five years member and official of the Sons of Temperance.

James Brewster organized the Young Men's Institute to help train his men; he organized courses of scientific lectures for them, given by professors in Yale, at an annual cost to himself of \$5,000. As a result it is said, he attracted to New Haven a superior class of workmen. He endowed New Haven with an Orphan Asylum. He was a member of the United Church. Charles L. English, lumber merchant and banker, was a member and worker in the Young Men's Institute, a member and director of the New Haven Colony Historical Society, a vestryman of St. Paul's Church, and often a delegate to Diocesan conventions.

Henry Trowbridge (1814-1885) prosperous merchant in the West Indian trade, was a member of Center Church in New Haven and founded the Trowbridge Reference Library in the Yale Divinity School. So many of these merchants were church members that it seems true to say that such was their normal position in society. Like the merchants many of the manufacturers play important parts in the religious and philanthropic activities of New Haven. Judged by present standards some of these



(Courtesy of the New Haven Colony Historical Society)

HOUSE IN NUT PLAINS, BUILT ABOUT 1760
Salt-box type. Chimney sixteen feet square at base



(Courtesy of the New Haven Colony Historical Society)

HOUSE IN NUT PLAINS WHERE LYMAN BEECHER WAS MAR-
RIED TO ROXANA FOOTE

sums of money may seem small; for the nineteenth century they were not small but generous.

George R. Curtis (1825-1893) was a silver plate manufacturer of Meriden, president of one company and director of several, as well as banker. He was intimately connected with the work of the Protestant Episcopal Church, and he gave a church and parish house to a new parish in Meriden. His wife gave Meriden the building of the Curtis Memorial Library after her husband's death.

What was the attitude of the members of the older society toward the "novi homines?" The question chiefly concerns New Haven city, for there the old "Standing Order" was most firmly intrenched, because New Haven was the largest and wealthiest centre of population, was the original settlement and one seat of the government of the state. Elsewhere the Standing Order would be quickly submerged by the rising tide of the new population possessing numbers and wealth, in those parts where cities grew up: Waterbury, Derby, Ansonia, Meriden, and Naugatuck. In the parts that continued predominantly rural, like Guilford, and Orange, the old order remained superior whatever political changes may have occurred. In New Haven city, the old order and its descendants clung long to their rights and privileges. They called themselves the "town born" and stigmatized the others as "interlopers." Naturally such terms were employed principally in conversation, and cannot easily be found in the written record. Neither term appears in Atwater's index. But he says, "Ezra Stiles was a New Haven man by birth and was imbued with all the traditions of the place." In his account of Wooster Ensign he says, "Wooster A. Ensign, a son of Thomas and Esther Ensign, was born June 11, 1823, in the house then standing on what is now the corner of George and Dow streets. He is therefore entitled to rank among the town-born, a distinction which once carried with it a certain preeminence and which is still (1887) highly prized."

Col. Gardner Morse speaks of the "town-born ground work of business life in New Haven." Thus there are occasional references to this feeling. Mr. Thomas R. Trowbridge brings out in sharp relief the feeling that existed toward the new business class, first, against those that rose by trade, and then those that rose by manufactures. In his account of the Long Wharf, written in 1865, he says, "The work (in 1802) under the superintendence of Mr. Samuel Punderson, who was also the contractor for the principal part of it * * * [he] entered into the spirit of his work as one of the old 'town born' should have done." And again, "This Wharf was the pride and boast of the 'town born' * * * Who has not heard of 'Captain Brown,' such an idolizer of the 'town born,' and who had such an aversion to all 'interlopers,' who, when on one of his numerous voyages at sea, his vessel in imminent peril of sinking, and it becoming necessary to throw the cargo overboard to lighten the ship, to save the lives of the crew, and for the safety of the vessel, directed the goods belonging to the 'interlopers' to be thrown over, and to save those belonging to the 'town born?'"

Finally he used the term interlopers to stigmatize the men of the industrial revolution. "Suddenly, from divers directions, there came a vast number of men who were called, in the old New Haven vernacular 'Interlopers;' these men, not content with purchasing these venerable buildings—deliberately pulled them down, and in their stead, erected their great brick stores and warerooms, their great churches and 'Mansard-roofed houses,' laid down pavements, created new streets, paved them, sewered them, and—assessed for them.

"Entirely disregarding the most passionate entreaties and prayers of the 'old town born,' they made New Haven a city, with all the usual concomitants of Public Buildings, Parks, Railways, Railroad Bonds, Police Force, and—Tax Bills."

The newcomers were not slow to oppose the obscurantism of the "town born." Even as late as 1887, they are saying, "It is unquestionably a fact that the conservative element in New Haven is far too large and if, instead of this conservatism a little of the go-ahead, welcome-to-all policy which Bridgeport has adopted, was used, there is no reason why New Haven should not grow as fast, or faster than Bridgeport. * * * There are many cases where the shortsightedness of New Haven people has been of incalculable loss to the city and Bridgeport has stepped in and taken advantage of it. It is high time that the 'town born' croakers who are perfectly satisfied with New Haven as it is, stepped out and gave way for those who are willing and know how to develop New Haven's prosperity."

Such feelings were bound to pass away. Necessities of life, of trade, of business in general, with increase in attendance at College and University, drew together "interloper" and "town born." If one examines the boards of directors of banks, railroads, manufacturing establishments at the close of the nineteenth century, one finds descendants of both, coöperating.

The influx of outsiders who have attained wealth and position has almost obliterated the division line, as even in 1887 Atwater in the passage quoted suggests. Today, nearly half a century later, we may say that intermarriage has become so common that almost any one whose family has lived for three generations in New Haven is "town born."

The *novi homines* took their place quite naturally, in the political life of city, state and nation. Green Kendrick (1798-1873) coming from the South to Waterbury as a result of the influence of his father-in-law, Mark Leavenworth, distinguished himself in politics as well as in business. To him in part was due the passage and the terms of the Joint Stock Law of 1837 in Connecticut. Praised as a beneficent piece of legislation and often copied, it made easier the organization of joint stock companies, and thus made available to purposes of industry various scattered small sums of capital, benefitting captains of industry and also the small capitalist. The law coming just when it did stimulated the development of Naugatuck Valley industry in particular and Connecticut in general. Mr. Kendrick

was a Whig, was a member of the General Assembly, was speaker, and lieutenant governor.

Everyone knows the political career of James E. English, of the New Haven Clock Company and the First National Bank. He was selectman, member of the New Haven County Council, state senator. While such a career was unusual for length of service and variety of office, it was normal in that interest in business led naturally to participation in politics. Hobart B. Bigelow, president and founder of the Bigelow Company, was elevated to various city offices, culminating with that of mayor in 1879-1881. He was member of the General Assembly and in 1881 was elected governor of the state. Joseph B. Sargent (1822-1907) founder of Sargent and Company, served as selectman of the town of New Haven for six years, was a member of the Board of Public Works for two terms, and was mayor from 1891 to 1895.

The offices most commonly held were local offices, members of the Senate and the House of Representatives of the state. Governors and members of the National Congress at Washington have generally been lawyers. Enough has been said to indicate that men engaged in manufacturing have played their part in the political evolution of their city and state. The new class that arose was not simply devoted to business, but in politics, religion, philanthropy, as well as business, it played an honorable part. The leaders of society today are composed of the descendants of the old order that was supreme in 1818 and the new commercial, industrial and learned men that have arisen since.

As one looks over the biographies of the commercial and industrial leaders of the last half of the nineteenth century he is struck by the small proportion that were college graduates. The college career then did not normally lead to business. Times have changed. The bankers, manufacturers, and traders today to a much greater degree than earlier are graduates of universities and colleges. It should be observed also that the sons of the industrialists supply part of the members of the learned professions, doctors, lawyers, ministers, professors. Society throughout has become again homogeneous.

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